

THE

WESTMINSTER

AND

FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1848—JULY, 1848.

Legiti non inquit utopie, sed ut nihil veniat in practicam, cuius non fit etiam doctrina.

Locke *De Lum.*
Persons who have not thoroughly examined to the bottom all their own tenets, must confess they are unrightly proud of their, and are unexcusable in imposing that as truth on other men's belief which they themselves have not searched into, nor weighed the arguments of probability on which they should receive or reject it. —Locke *Essay on Human Understanding*

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INDEX

TO THE

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Westminster Review,

Nos XCVI., XCVII., APRIL, 1848—JULY, 1848.

A

Abdication of Louis Philippe, 157
 Addington Lord Sidmouth, 1, birth, 2, school-days, *ib* enters Oxford *ib*, returns from Devizes 4, his first speech *ib* chosen Speaker, 5, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer 9, list of his administration, *ib*, plans of defence against Napoleon's invasion, 10 financial measures, 12 resignation, 14, created Viscount Sidmouth *ib*, speech on stamp duties 14, Secretary of State for the Home Department *ib*, attachment to the Church 22
 Administration of national trust property, 491
 Admiral Byng, 350
 Advantages of a knowledge of the physical science, 446
 Adventures in Mexico 84
 Alarm of invasion in 1744 367
 Amari Un Periodo delle Istorie Siciliane 199
 American school of philosophy, 338
 Analysis of the House of Commons, in 1741 364
 Anatomy of the Navigation Laws 244
 Ancient Sea-Margins, 565
 Appeal to Paris, 253
 Approach to London, 265
 Arago, 169
 Archbishop of York on the battle of Picton Pans, 370, made Archbishop of Canterbury 374
 Architecture of the present reign, 465.
 Arithmetic of Annuities, 275
 Arthur Frankland, 248
 Arthur Young on superior advantages of Juggernauts, 22, his own experience, 27
 Arthur's Mission to the Mysore, 262
 Artist's Married Life, 540
 Ascent of the Cataracts of the Nile 323

Assignats, 191
 Asylum for Idiots, 83
 Attainments of Scholars in Welsh Schools, 47
 Auguste Comte, letters from, 234.

B

Bancroft's History of the United States, 341
 Barricades in Paris, 151
 Basile's Pantameron 234
 Battle of Culloden, 372, of Trafalgar, 403, of Eylau 414
 Bechstein's Chamber Buds, 272
 Benefits of University residence, 456
 Bicetre Asylum, 70, 72
 Bolingbroke, 366
 Book of Ballads from the German, 261
 Books have established a universal republic, 213
 Buckingham palace, 476
 Burning of Lord Somers's papers, 376
 Bush servants, 233, hospitality, *ib*
 British army, 502 Museum, 477
 Byron's statue, 482

C

Catases 314
 Cadotte 336
 Cairo, 321
 Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, 348
 Canarse politeness, 264
 Cardiganshire schools, 58
 Carnot's circular on elections, 192
 Case of City charges for sewerage, 430
 Cathin's Notes 553
 Causes of panics, 188
 Character of Louis Philippe, 139.
 Charles Albert of Sardinia, 560
 Charles of Anjou, 202
 Charles Yorke, Solicitor General, 380
 Cheap newspapers, 130
 Chinese population 241, religion, 243
 Chick-a-bob-boo, 556
 Choral Melodies, 563

- Circular of Ledru Rollin, 173.
 City only a portion of London, 435;
 police, 434.
 Claims of the Corporation, 435.
 Classical literature in England, 443.
 Conditions and Prospects of Ireland, 258.
 Consequences of a run upon the Savings'
 Banks, 198.
 Consolidation advantageous to road
 trusts, 134.
 Conquest of Mexico by Cortes, 85.
 Constitution of present House of Com-
 mons, 486.
 Convertibility, doctrine of, 189.
 Corporation of London, and Sanitary
 Reform, 421.
 Cost of transport of agricultural produce,
 23; of railways, 125.
 Cottages in Wales, 63.
 Cottier and proprietary tenantry, 302.
 Count Mole's failure to form a ministry,
 156.
 Course of Education, the Bicêtre Asy-
 lum, 75.
 Cultivated land in Great Britain, 212.
- D.
- D'Aubigny's Germany, England, and
 Scotland, 264.
 Davy's Principles of Nature, 280.
 Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales,
 375, of George I., 361; George II.,
 382.
 Decree of the Provisional Government
 on elections, 194.
 Decorations of the new Houses of Par-
 liament, 481.
 Defect in the French system of educa-
 tion of idiots, 82.
 Delta of the Nile, 320.
 Destiny of German Catholicism, 265.
 Deterioration of the French races, 107.
 Difference between small tenant farmers,
 and small proprietors, 25.
 Direct taxation, 308.
 Dissensions in the family of George II.,
 365.
 Distinction between ruling and represent-
 ing a nation, 195.
 Distinctive character of public buildings,
 171.
 Division of landed estates not necessarily
 tending to *morcellement*, 25, 29.
 Doings of a Lunatic Aristocracy, 563.
 Domes of large buildings, 479.
 Dr. Whewell on English University
 Education, 111.
 Drainage of the Irish bogs, 557.
 Duchess of Orleans in the Chamber of
 Deputies, 160; her arrival in England,
 167.
 Duke of Cumberland and the rebels, 372.
 Dupont de l'Eure, 169.
- E.
- Eastern Life, 314.
 Economy and retrenchment in adminis-
 tration of the revenue, 490.
 Edinburgh Review on the French war, 8.
 Education in Wales, 36, of idiots in the
 Bicêtre, 75.
 Effects produced by architecture, 461.,
 Egypt and Mahomed, 317.
 Egyptian antiquities, 461.
 Ellenborough, Lord, on Pitt and Adding-
 ton's administrations, 17.
 Emeute in Vera Cruz, 89.
 Employment of spies and informers, by
 Lord Sidmouth, 18.
 England owes much to France, 128.
 English, as taught in Welsh schools, 45,
 47, 68.
 English loan to France, 127; University
 education, 441.
 Escape of Louis Philippe and the Queen
 from the Tuileries, 159.
 Exclusion of minorities from a share in
 the representation, 195.
 Expense of road legislation, 134; of City
 officers, 132.
 Expulsion of English workmen from
 France, 178.
 Extension of the franchise, 488; of local
 self-government, 189.
 Evil eye, 224.
 Evils of private tutorial system at the
 Universities, 461.
- F.
- Fall of English funds on the announce-
 ment of a republic in France, 188.
 Farin's History of Italy, 512.
 Fergusson's Ancient Topography of
 Jerusalem, 260.
 Fiction in the United States, 345.
 Financial crisis in Paris, 127; difficulties
 of the French Provisional Government,
 86.
 First Navigation Acts, 244.
 Foreign Literature, 199, 504.
 Fourier's principles, 126.
 Freedom for Education, 197.
 Free press, 492.
 French peasantry, their condition pre-
 vious to the last revolution, 32;
 revolution of 1848, 137.
 Funeral of the victims of the revolution
 of 1848, 176.

INDEX.

- G.
- George Sand's address to the working classes, 183.
- German People's Library, 522; Soldier, 228.
- Germans writative, 212.
- Germany, England, and Scotland, 264.
- Gettatore, 225.
- Glasgow University training, 460.
- Government control of the Universities, 462.
- Grimm on Basile's Pentamerone, 254.
- Gruswold's Prose Writers of America, 333.
- Guizot's last appearance as a minister, 153, landing in England, 154.
- Gulf of Ullabah, 329
- H
- Harris's Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, 348
- Hilgard's Twelve Paragraphs on Pauperism, 532
- Hin lu blacksmith, 263, ignorance, 264.
- Historical literature in America, 340
- History of the Hebrew Monarchy, 268.
- History as a branch of University education, 445
- Hours of labour regulated by the competition of workmen, 180.
- I
- Idiots, Education of, 70, in the county of Lancaster, 70, 72, 74.
- Impeachment of Warren Hastings, 5, of the French cabinet, 148.
- Importance of Education, 212
- Impressions of Continental Travel, 505.
- Improvement of Irish lands, 34
- Income and qualifications of teachers in Welsh schools, 44, and character of school houses in Wales, 53.
- Indians at Manchester, 554 in London, 555.
- Indirect taxation, 307.
- Individualism twofold, 215.
- Industrial occupations should be open to both sexes, 305.
- Inequality of electoral districts, 195.
- Inferiority of American to English literature, 334.
- Insanity Tested by Science, 562
- Instruction given in Welsh schools, 47.
- Interior of new Houses of Parliament, 173.
- International copyright, 334.
- Ireland before and after the Union, 550
- Irruption of the people into the Chamber of Deputies, 162.
- Italian Picture Book, 219.
- Italian soiree, 220, grace, *ib.*; spy system, *ib.*; improvisation, 222; lotteries, 223; dream-books, 224.
- Italy, Past and Present, 560.
- J.
- Jerusalem, 332.
- Journal of Psychological Medicine, 80.
- Judge Story's Commentaries, 345.
- Juban style abrogated, 376.
- Just laws of inheritance, 500.
- K.
- Knapp's Chemical Technology, 276
- L.
- Labour commission, 178; its results, 185.
- Lady Hardwicke, 373; her death, 383
- Lamartine, 169, 171; his circular on the prospects of France and Europe, 175.
- Lamartine's History of the Girondins, 137.
- Law reform, 499.
- Le National, 137.
- Ledru Rollin, 170; his circular on the elections, 193.
- Letter to Albert, Ouvrier, 120.
- Levana, or the Doctrine of Education, 207.
- Lewald, Italienisches Bilderbuch, 219.
- Life in Mexico, 93.
- Life of Lord Hardwicke, 348.
- Literature and its abuses, 116, of the United States, 333.
- Local revenue of the Metropolis, 440.
- Lombards in Italy, 516.
- Lord Hardwicke, summary of his character, 350.
- Lord Sidmouth, 1.
- Lotteries in Italy, 223.
- Louis Blanc, his Organisation du Travail, 105; nomination to office, 103; his opinions on Christianity, 104, sophistries of his book, 105, on competition, 106; on England, 108; on unhecked competition, 111; on Napoleon's system, 112, against war, 114; review of the literary profession, 116.
- Louis Philippe, his character, 139. policy, *ib.*; abdicates, 157; his escape from the Tuileries, 159; arrival at St. Cloud, 165, at Dieux, 166, at Newhaven, 167.
- Low state of classical literature in England, 442.
- M.
- Mackay's Town Lyrics, 283

Mahmoodiah canal, 320.
Manufacture of soda, 277.
Marie von Arnheim, 564.
Market gardens only small farms, 24.
Marrast, 170.*
Martin's Ireland, 550.
Massacre of the Champ de Mars, 170.
Mathematical and classical students at the Universities, 468.
Maury's Statesmen of America, 333.
Measures for the welfare of France, 122.
Mesmerisin and its Opponents, 587.
Methods of teaching at the universities, 458.
Mexican patriots, 90; inn-keeping, 91; travelling, *ib.*; life, 93; character 96; troops, 98.
Middle classes of the Italians, 221.
Middle Kingdom, 241.
Middleton, Sir Wm., on the Pitt and Addington administrations, 17.
Military rank, 119; morality, 230.
Mill's Principles of Political Economy, 289.
Mirabeau's Friend of Man, 26.
Miscellaneous Notices, 238, 540.
Misrepresentations of Lord Hardwicke's character, 348.
Mrs. Salkeld and Philip Yorke, 353.
Monkeys at Bangalore, 263.
Monmouthshire mining districts, 64.
Moral and mental condition of the Welsh people, 61.
Mosque of Omar, 332.
Mount Hor, 331.
Mugge's Schleswig Holstein, 501.
Murray (Lord Mansfield), Solicitor General, 366; **Lord Chief Justice**, 378.
Music at an Italian soiree, 222.

N.

Naples, 226.
Napoleon's intended invasion of England 395; at Potsdam, 412; detriments to invade Poland, 413.
National Address to the Queen, 103.
National debt of France, 185; **Guard Mobile**, 177.
National Guards called out, 151; **declare for reform**, 152.
Natural History of the Human Species, 284.
Natural philo-ophy in the United States, 345.
Navigation Law, as it is, 217.
New Houses of Parliament, 464
New Mexicans, 101.
New principle of working the Northern Railway of France, 123.
Newspapers, 150.

Nichol's Thoughts upon some Important Points in the System of the World, 270; **Stellar Universe**, *ib.*; planet Neptune, *ib.*
Night-side of Nature, 273.
Nile boatmen, 322.
Notes on Herodotus, 238.
Notice of Committee of the Reform Banquet, 141.
Number of foundlings in France, 106.

O.

Objectionable taxes, 308.
Objections to new Houses of Parliament, 466.
Opening address at the Johannum Paulinum, 209.
Opuscula Omnia Botanica Thomæ Johnsoni, 564.
Orator Henley, 377.
Oratory in America, 312.
Ornament of the new Houses of Parliament, 469.
Organisation of Industry, 103, 181.
Owen's principles of communities, 300.

P.

Pagan's work on Road Reform, 132; proposed substitute for statute about and turnpike tolls, 135.
Palace clock of Residenzplazza, 329.
Palestine, 331.
Pall Mall, 175.
Panic in England in 1816-7, 188
Pantheon at Rome, 179.
Paris in January, 1818, 141
Parrot exhibitions at school examinations, 48.
Partnership en Commandite, 545.
Passes on Large and Small Farms, 22
Patrimones of the Church of Rome, 519
Patronage of London Corporation, 131.
Peace, 112, between the United States and Mexico, 102.
Peter, 350.
Phalnstere, 125.
Philip Yorke, his birth, 351; **articled to Mr. Salkeld**, 352; **intimacy with Mr. G. Parker**, 354; **called to the bar**, *ib.*; **his success**, 355; **returned to Parliament for Lewes**, 356; **his marriage**, *ib.*; **made Solicitor General, and knighted**, 357; **Attorney General**, 358; **his conduct at the trial of Lord Mansfield**, 359; **purchases the Hardwicke estate**, 360; **made Lord Chief Justice**, 361; **explosion in Westminster Hall**, *ib.*; **made Lord Chancellor**, 362; **purchase of Wimpole**, 363; **speech in defence of Walpole**, *ib.*; **sentiments on the rebellion**, 369,

- elected High Steward of Cambridge, 375, raised to an Earldom, 376, resigns the great seal, 379, sent for to court by George III, 383, his death, 385, contradictory accusations of his enemies, 386
 Pim's Conditions and Prospects of Ireland 258
 Pitt's first speech, 1
 Plan for elections, 197
 Planets, 271
 Political economy a misnomer, 290
 Poor Laws, 106
 Preventive poor laws, 502
 Price of land in Australia, 252
 Primogeniture, 302, and Peasant Proprietors, 22
 Principles of Nature, 280
 Probable futurity of the working classes, 293
 Proceedings in the French chambers in January and February 1848, 141
 Profitable expenditure of the late French Government 18
 Proposals to abolish Statute Labour and Turnpike Tolls 13
 Prospective writers of America 333
 Provisional Committee of France, its errors 118 government demanded, 161 its first proclamation 168, first sitting, 171, abolishes punishment of death for political offences, 172, abolition of oath by, 173
 Public expenditure of 1836 and 1848 contrasted 502, offices at Whitehall, 474, speaking 313
- ### R
- Railway Colonization and Currency, 286
 Railways their importance 124, their cost 125 application to farming purposes, *ib*
 Rambles in Schleswig-Holstein 504, about Bath 567
 Real representation of the people 487
 Rebellion of 1714, 367
 Reform promised to the French people, 153, banquet forbidden, 145, for army and navy 501
 Regulation of wages by a money standard, 189
 Religious freedom, 497
 Report of Commissioners on the State of Education in Wales, 36, of Inquiry for Improvement of the Health of the Metropolis, 421
 Representation in the City of London, 428
 Republicanism and Currency separate questions, 192
 Requisites for a general system of drainage, 425
 Resources of France under Napoleon, 406
 Revenues of the Church of England, 495, of the Church of Rome, 521
 Revision of taxation, 491
 Revolution in holiday attire, 235
 Ricardo's Anatomy of the Navigation Laws 244
 Richter's Levana, 207
 Road Reform, 129
 Road and the Railway, 129
 Roads pioneers of progress, 129
 Roman roads, 129
 Royal Exchange, 478.
 Run upon savings' banks, 198
 Ruxton's Adventures in Mexico, 84
- ### S
- Sacking of Agosto 201
 Salt facts and figures, 568
 Santa Anna, 87 89
 Scene in a Mexican pulqueria, 93.
 School examination in Wales, 50
 Schools assisted by the Committee of Council on Education, 498
 Schoolmaster in Montgomeryshire, 45, in Carmarthenshire, *ib*
 Scott Lord Stowell, 3
 Scrope's Irish Relief Measures, 258
 Sculpture on the pediment of the Royal Exchange, 480
 Self-restraint of the French people, 126.
 Semiramis, 567
 Sermons preached at the Foundling Hospital, 547
 Sicilian vespers, 199, 205
 Sir John Cope, 370
 Situation of Napoleon at Boulogne, 401
 Sheridan's speech on the impeachment of Warren Hastings, 5, on his support of Lord Sidmouth, 16
 Small number of persons killed in Paris in February, 1848, 179
 Socialism and socialists, 182
 Sociétés en Commandite, 123, their advantages, 124, 298
 Source at Rome, 220
 Song of the Bicêtre idiots, 80
 Source of the mistaken idea of safety in the French ministry, 149
 Sphinx, 328
 Spirit of religion inextinguishable, 217
 Stamp duty on newspapers, 492
 Statesmen of America, 333
 Statistics of scholars in Welsh schools, 37, Glamorganshire, 40, Midland District, 41, Monmouthshire, 42
 Story of the Seasons, 549

INDEX.

- Storming of Rome, 232
 Strafford, Lord, on employment of spies by Lord Sidmouth, 26.
 Subjects taught and mode of teaching at the Universities, 442; suggestive hints towards improved, 563.
 Sunday schools in Wales, 56; summary of, 60
 Sunken City, 261.
 Suabian dynasty ended, 201.
 Suppression of cheap newspapers, 150, of the chair of political economy in France, 289.
 Surrender of Ulm, 403.
 Suspension of cash payments in France, 187; in Belgium, 188; its assumed consequences, 191.
 Sylvan's Caledonian Canal, and the Land of Burns, 568.
 Syria and the people, 319.
- T
- Tax on advertisements, 308, on newspapers, 309.
 Texas, and its annexation, 86
 The Gossip, 522.
 The Plant, a Biography, 544.
 The Sepulchre, 288.
 Thiers and Odillon Barrot appointed ministers, 156.
 Thiers, *Histoire du Consulate et de l'Empire*, 386, his anti-English views, 388, on the French invasion, 398, his character of Pitt's administration, 405.
 Thornton's Plea for the Peasant Proprietors, 22, on the condition of the French peasantry, 24.
 Trial of the Earl of Macclesfield, 359, of the rebel lords, 373.
 Tripos of physical and moral sciences at Cambridge, 445.
 Troops fire upon the people at the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, 155; ordered to cease firing and to retire, 156; disarmed by the people, 157, in the court-yard of the Tuileries, 16.
 Tuileries taken, 158.
 Turner's Notes on Herodotus, 238.
 Turnpike Roads, 130.
 Tutorial system at Cambridge, 460.
 Twelve Paragraphs on Pauperism, 530.
 Tyranny in Sicily, 202
 Tytler's Elements of General History, 278.
- U
- Unstamped newspapers, 150.
- V
- Van Sommers' Fluctuations of Consols, 137.
 Vardullo, 255.
 Vesuvius, 227.
 Victoria Town, 468
 Voice from Australia, 251
 Vote of the Duc d'Orleans on the trial of Louis XVI., 172.
 Voting by lists objectionable, 194
- W
- Want of height in the New Houses of Parliament, 466
 War, 229, with France, in 1792, 6, with Prussia, 407
 Warren Hastings, his impeachment, 5, on the French invasion, 15
 Welsh cottages, 63
 Westminster bridge, 371, and the new Houses of Parliament, 467
 Whewell, Dr., on University Education, 441.
 Williams's Middle Kingdom, 241
- Y
- Yankee pedlar in Mexico, 100
- Z
- Zach's idea of formation of the earth, 213

ERRATA.

- Page 467, line 24, for "However, the towers," read "The towers, however."
 Page 468, line 6, for "yet even this," read "yet even thus."
 Page 475, line 15 from bottom, for "terminating on the new Stafford House," read "terminating in the new Stafford House"
 Page 477, note, second line from bottom, for "three flights of eleven each," read "three flights of ten each."
 Page 480, line 6 from bottom, for "requisite," read "exquisite."

CONTENTS—

	PAGE.
1. Life of Lord Sidmouth	1
2. Primogeniture and Peasant Proprietors	22
3. State of Education in Wales	36
4. The Bicêtre Asylum	70
5. Adventures in Mexico	84
6. Louis Blanc	103
7. M. Albert, "Ouvrier."	120
8. Road Reform	129
9. The French Revolution of February, 1848.	137

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

1. Sicilian History in the Thirteenth Century, p. 199.—2. Levana, p. 207.—3. Italian Picture Book. p. 219.—4. The German Soldier, p. 228.—Correspondence, 234.

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. Notes on Herodotus, p. 238.—2. The Middle Kingdom, p. 241.—3. The Anatomy of the Navigation Laws, p. 244.—4. Arthur Frankland, p. 248.—5. A Voice from the Far Interior of Australia, p. 251.—6. The Pentamerone, p. 254.—7. Condition and Prospects of Ireland, p. 258.—8. An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem, p. 260.—9. A Book of Ballads from the German, p. 261.—10. A Mission to the Mysore, p. 262.—11. Germany, England, and Scotland; or Recollections of a Swiss Minister, p. 264.—12. A History of the Hebrew Monarchy, p. 268.—13. Thoughts upon Some Important Points relating to the System of the World: The Stellar Universe; The Planet Neptune, p. 270.—14. Chamber Birds, p. 272.—15. The Night Side of Nature, p. 273.—16. The Arithmetic of Annuities and Life Assurance, p. 275.—17. Knapp's Chemical Technology, p. 276.—18. Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern, p. 278.—19. The Principles of Nature, p. 280.—20. Town Lyrics and other Poems, p. 283.—21. The Natural History of the Human Species, p. 284.—22. Railway Colonization and a Colonization Currency, p. 286.—23. The Sepulchre, p. 288.

CONTENTS—

	PAGE
1. Principles of Political Economy	289
2. Eastern Life; Present and Past	314
3. Literature of the United States	333
4. The Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke	348
5. History of the Empire, by M. A. Thiers	386
6. The Corporation of London, and Sanitary Improvement	421
7. English University Education	441
8. The New Houses of Parliament	464
9. Address to the Queen	483

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

1. Rambles in Schleswig-Holstein, p. 504.—2. The History of Italy, p. 512.—3. General German People's Library, p. 522.—4. Twelve Paragraphs on Pauperism, p. 530.

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. The Artist's Married Life, p. 540.—2. The Plant; a Biography, p. 542.—3. Partnership "en Commandite," p. 545.—4. Sermons Preached in the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital, p. 547.—5. A Story of the Seasons, p. 549.—6. Ireland Before and After the Union with Great Britain, p. 550.—7. Catlin's Notes of Eight Years' Travels and Residence in Europe, p. 553.—8. Italy, Past and Present, p. 560.—9. Insanity tested by Science, p. 562.—10. Suggestive Hints towards Improved Secular Instruction, p. 563.—11. Doings of a Lunatic Aristocracy, p. 563.—12. Choral Melodies, p. 563.—13. Memoirs of Marie von Arnheim, p. 564.—14. Opuacula Omnia Botanica Thomæ Johnsoni, p. 564.—15. Ancient Sea-Margins, p. 565.—16. Semiramis, a Historical Morality, p. 566.—Miscellaneous, p. 567.

THE
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Review.



ART. I.—*The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, First Viscount Sidmouth.* By the Hon. George Pellew, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Three vols. London: John Murray. 1847.

WE think that the “desire to remove the obscurity in which Lord Sidmouth’s real merits and services have hitherto been enveloped,” which the writer of this biography states as “having furnished the principal inducements to the present publication,” originated in a laudable impulse. Of the Addington administration we believe there are few persons who know much more than could be learnt from Canning’s somewhat scurrilous and once popular lampoons. With the name of Sidmouth, again, are associated certain recollections of a disagreeable kind, which are calculated to leave a very erroneous impression of the real character of the man. It was therefore most natural and becoming that the children of one so much beloved and esteemed, as Lord Sidmouth appears to have deservedly been, by those who knew him intimately, should desire to see justice done to his memory. His lordship, as the present biographer informs us in his preface, left a voluminous correspondence, which, by a testamentary paper, he consigned to certain trustees, with permission to make a selection from them for publication. This duty was undertaken by his lordship’s son-in-law, the Hon. Dr. Pellew, Dean of Norwich. And whatever difference of opinion there may be respecting some matters of detail, we think that, upon the whole, Dr. Pellew has performed the very delicate task entrusted to him with judgment and good taste.

Henry Addington, afterwards the first Viscount Sidmouth, was born on the 30th May, 1757, in Bedford Row, in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn. He was the eldest son of Dr. Addington, a physician of considerable eminence, whose practice introduced him to (among other persons of rank and eminence) the first Earl of Chatham; an accident to which, without disparagement to Lord Sidmouth's merits, we think it is mainly owing that his lordship died a peer and privy councillor, after having filled some of the highest offices of the state, instead of dying an obscure and briefless barrister, after a life of disappointed hopes and unrequited toils. In saying this, as will be seen in the course of these remarks, we do not by any means depreciate or overlook the merits of Addington, ascribing all merit to Pitt and the other rhetoric-mongers, and none to him, as some have done; we only say, that we consider it owing to the connection with Pitt that Addington was brought forward into so conspicuous a position.

At the age of five, Henry Addington was placed under the care of the Rev. William Gilpin,* who kept a school at Cheam, in Surrey. In his twelfth year he was removed to Winchester. And his paper of admission into the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, bears date January 7th, 1772:† so that he was but fourteen years of age—surely an absurd proceeding, if not open to more serious objections than absurdity—the object being to get standing on somewhat the same principle that admission into the army was made at such an age as to give occasion to the story of the Scotch nurse announcing to the cook that “the Major was greeting for his porridge.”

In May, 1773, he and his brother were removed from Winchester, and placed under the tuition of Dr. Goodenough, afterwards Dean of Rochester and Bishop of Carlisle, who at that time took private pupils at Ealing. On the 15th of January, 1774, Henry Addington entered the university of Oxford as a commoner of Brazenose College, and commenced his residence in the October following. Some of the extracts from the correspondence about this time furnish a few criticisms and remarks a little startling. Addington writes to his father in a strain of rapturous admiration of Sophocles and Euripides, such as it never happened to us (albeit educated at the university—nay, more, at the college in that university—to which Porson belonged, and where his example and fame had made the study of the Greek dramatists not only fashionable but compulsory,) to know

* Author of ‘*Essays on Picturesque Beauty*,’ &c.

† Dr. Pellew states it to be 1771; but the date in the books of Lincoln's Inn is 7th January, 1772.

any one feel or to hear any one express, and which, savouring as it does strongly of the boyish affectation natural at that age, would have been judiciously omitted. The fact of the matter is, *almost* the only persons who ever attain such a thorough knowledge of the language of those writers as to enable them to read their writings with facility sufficient for a thorough enjoyment of them, are not persons capable of deriving a very high and exquisite degree of enjoyment from works of art of that nature. They are the persons whom Sir Walter Scott, in a letter printed in the Appendix to the third volume of Dr. Pellow's work, has most graphically described as "the obscure pedants of universities and schools—men most respectable, doubtless, and useful in their own way—excellent judges of an obscure passage in a Greek author—understanding, perhaps, the value of a bottle of old port—connoisseurs in tobacco, and not wholly ignorant of the mystery of punch making; but certainly a sort of persons whom I (Sir Walter), for one, would never wish to sit with, as assessors of the fine arts." Again; Dr. Addington thus writes to his son—"I think you may profitably employ your evening hours in reading 'Herodotus,' Aristotle's 'Rhetoric,' or Locke, 'On the Human Understanding.' The latter will finish you as a logician." It may be submitted that the worthy doctor had a somewhat crude notion of "finishing a man as a logician." But, in truth, none of these passages ought to have been published.

While Addington was an undergraduate at Oxford, a friendship arose between him and William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, and then a fellow and tutor of the university. The acquaintance commenced in the Oxford stage coach, in 1777. They stopped to dine at Maidenhead Bridge, and drank a bottle of port; after which they chatted very familiarly for the rest of the way; Addington commenting with great freedom on the demerits of college fellows, whilst his companion insidiously encouraged him. When the coach stopped at University College, Scott, as he alighted, said, "Well, young gentleman, I have had a very pleasant journey; but the next time you feel inclined to abuse college fellows, consider that you may possibly have a poor college fellow in the coach with you. Good evening." The next day the college fellow called upon the undergraduate.

Addington took the degree of B. A., February 26th, 1778, but remained at Oxford some months longer, studying algebra, fluxions, &c. In February, 1779, he is again found at Brazenose, and studying algebra for an hour every evening with Mr. Williamson.

Addington appears at first to have adopted the law as a profession. In 1780-1, he occupied chambers in Paper Buildings,

and kept his terms regularly in Lincoln's Inn. In September, 1781, he married.

On the 26th of February, 1781, William Pitt, then in his twenty-second year, made his first speech in the House of Commons, the effect of which is thus described by Dr. Goodenough to Addington:—

“ I cannot resist the natural impulse of giving pleasure, by telling you that the famous William Pitt, who made so capital a figure in the last reign, is happily restored to this country. He made his first public re-appearance in the senate last night. All the old members recognised him instantly; and most of the young ones said he appeared the very man they had so often heard described. The language, the manner, the gesture, the action were the same; and there wanted only a few wrinkles in the face, and some marks of age, to identify the absolute person of the late Earl of Chatham.”

Although, as Mr. Pitt told Mr. Wilberforce in 1805, he and Addington “ had been friends from their childhood, and their fathers before them,” very few particulars relating to their first acquaintance have been preserved. The earliest letter in the series of Pitt's letters to Addington which remains, is dated Friday, December 26th, 1782, and simply appoints a meeting at Pitt's residence in Berkeley Square, on the following Sunday.

Pitt was soon after driven from his post of Chancellor of the Exchequer by the coalition between the parties of Mr. Fox and Lord North. But in December, 1783, this coalition ministry was dismissed from office, and Pitt, still not twenty-five, became prime minister. On the 28th of the same month, an interview took place between Pitt and Addington; and their increasing intimacy became apparent: but no immediate official appointment to Addington was the result. On the dissolution of parliament, which took place on the 25th of March, 1784, Addington was returned as one of the members for Devizes.

Addington, though he applied himself diligently to the business of Committees, was for a long time almost a silent member of the House: nor did his friend Pitt's exhortations produce much effect in inducing him to put himself more forward, alleging in his excuse the distaste and disqualification for public life created by early habits and natural disposition. On the 21th of January, 1786, Addington, at Pitt's particular desire, seconded the address; but though he appears to have acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his friends, he did not again address the House during that session. He appears, as his biographer, Dr. Pellew, observes, to have participated in the feeling expressed by Gibbon: “ I shall not speak. The good speakers fill me with despair, the bad with horror:”—a feeling, the more general diffusion of which were a consummation most devoutly to be wished for.

The first business of importance which occupied the attention of parliament on its meeting in 1787, was the impeachment of Warren Hastings. On the 7th of February, Sheridan opened the third charge against him for his treatment of the princesses of Oude, in that famous speech of five hours and a half, which Pitt, Fox, and Burke declared to have surpassed all they had ever read or heard of the best eloquence of ancient or modern times. But, for any aid that this speech afforded towards the advancement of business, the attainment of justice, or the investigation of truth, Sheridan's auditory might as well have been listening to one of his farces;—indeed, better, since in the latter case their judgment would have remained at the end of the farce if uninformed, likewise unperverted; whereas in the former, it was disturbed by the perversion, exaggeration, and over-colouring of facts. And then look at the man who performed this wonderful feat of oratory. Who would have taken the opinion or judgment of Sheridan upon any point, the determination of which called for the exercise of those qualities of mind which men earnestly seek after when they have a question to determine that involves momentous interests? All this corroborates what these pages furnish but too clear evidence of—the often pernicious effect of declamation, of rhetoric, of oratory. In the case of Hastings the mischief was comparatively limited in its extent. But we shall see as we proceed the resources of a great country recklessly wasted, its blood shed like water, and its gold scattered like dust by a clique of brilliant but superficial declaimers, in a manner and to an extent which has been deeply and bitterly felt by our fathers and by us, and will be deeply and bitterly felt by our children's children.

Addington had no sins of the rhetorical kind to answer for. He had sat almost four whole sessions in parliament before he made his second speech. Would that the example were generally followed. We should then see the business of parliament performed after another fashion from what it now is. And yet this was all that Canning had to allege against him in those lampoons in which he attempted to make Addington and his family the laughing-stock of the country.

On the 8th of June, 1789, Addington, who had just completed his thirty-second year, was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons by 215 against 142, who voted for Sir Gilbert Elliot. The twelve years during which Addington filled the speaker's chair, were, perhaps, with the exception of the twelve years immediately succeeding the assembling of the Long Parliament on the 3rd of November, 1646, the most eventful and momentous in modern times. During those years, in France, the most wonderful events and some of the most wonderful men succeeded each other with

a rapidity more resembling that of the changes in "a phantasma or a hideous dream," than the course of actual existence. For, from the 4th of May, 1789, when the *States-General* met, what a succession of events from the first *émeute* to the day of the sections, when Bonaparte's grape-shot blew out *émeutes* for a time at least!—from the first cry of "Arm! arm! and act!" through the wonderful Italian campaign of 1796, to the successful passage of the Alps and the victory of Marengo!—from the Mirabeau of the *States-General* and *Constituent Assembly*; the "Roman tribune of the people;" through Danton, "the Mirabeau of the *Sans-culottes*;" through Robespierre the Dictator, the only man in ancient or modern times who became such without military aid; to Napoleon Bonaparte, the extraordinary sub-lieutenant of the regiment of la Fere, general, consul, emperor, conqueror, "who, born no king, made monarchs draw his car!"

It is not surprising that such events should stir strongly the minds of men through all Europe. As regards Pitt's dealings with the subject, there are two distinct questions to be considered: 1st. Whether it was or was not necessary to go to war with France at all? and, 2ndly, Assuming, for the sake of argument, that war was inevitable, whether Pitt carried it on in the best and most effective manner,—which is the same thing as saying, attained the objects he sought with the least possible waste of the means at his disposal, with the smallest possible sacrifice of blood and treasure? Both these questions are complicated ones, involving the consideration of many matters, resting upon evidence to which different parties may attach different degrees of weight. Without, however, pretending to treat the subject fully and conclusively, a few cursory observations, chiefly suggested by the valuable evidence contained in Dr. Pellet's volumes, may be here offered.

Those who assume the inevitable necessity of war with France in 1792, assume at the same time the right of England and other foreign states to interfere in the internal affairs of France—the same right which Louis XIV. of France assumed to force back upon England, by means of French bayonets, a family which the English nation had expelled from their throne—a right, too, which we imagine will hardly be advanced, much less maintained or asserted at the present day by any European power.* This view appears to be supported by the answer made by Lord Grenville to the celebrated letter addressed by Bonaparte to the king of

* Since the above was written this question has been set at rest, as far as England is concerned, by the prompt and decided recognition by Lord John Russell of the principle of non-intervention, on the first announcement of a new French republic.

England on the 25th of December, 1799, in which he asked whether the war, which had ravaged the whole world for eight years, was to be eternal. The two notes which Lord Grenville addressed to the French government on that occasion, if they did not amount to an actual rejection of the first consul's overture, appeared to leave him no option but to regard them in that light; for they precluded all negotiation "until the permanency of the existing government in France should have been tested by experience." Surely no foreign government has any right to insist upon imposing such conditions as the price of peace upon any other government, independent and supreme. What business has the sovereign of Great Britain to enter into such a question, to inquire whether the sovereign of France be one or many—be king, consul, emperor, or committee—or whether such sovereign be likely or not likely to continue to be sovereign? And when Lord Grenville proceeded, moreover, to advert to the origin of the war, and to recommend the restoration of the Bourbons, he afforded an opportunity of retort, of which those able politicians, Bonaparte and Talleyrand, did not fail to take advantage.

"If," they observed in their reply, "the wishes of his Britannic Majesty (in conformity with his assurances) are in unison with those of the French republic, for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it?" Their answer to the allusion respecting the restoration of the monarchy was still more pungent. "The first consul could not doubt," it stated, "that his Britannic Majesty recognised the right of nations to choose the form of their own government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown: the chief consul is, therefore, unable to comprehend how the minister of his majesty could annex insinuations, no less injurious to the French nation than it would be to England, if an invitation were held out in favour of that republican government which England adopted in the last century; or if an exhortation were given to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there. If," the note proceeds, "at periods not far distant, his majesty invited negotiations and pacific conferences, how is it possible that he should not now be eager to renew negotiations to which the present reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress?"

But, assuming the necessity for war, how was that war carried on by Pitt and his friends? According to their own account, with consummate vigour and ability. "The period," said Lord Grenville, on the 10th of February, 1801, "during which I and my colleagues have been in office, has been critical beyond example. . . . It is our consolation to reflect, that the same vigorous line of conduct will still be pursued." What was this same vigorous line of conduct? It consisted in a long series of

isolated expeditions against swamps and sugar-islands, the cost of which was fearfully disproportioned to the object sought to be attained. Lord Sidmouth's biographer informs us that his lordship, in after years,—

“Used to lament this predatory system of warfare against petty colonies, as occasioning a waste of life and treasure altogether disproportionate to the result intended; and as uselessly dissipating those resources which, if employed against France herself, might have made her sensible of the miseries she was inflicting on others, and probably hastened the tardy catastrophe of the years 1814 and 1815. He often told his friends that after his accession to the government he called for a statement of the losses, from every cause, incurred by the British forces on foreign service, especially in the West Indies, since the commencement of hostilities in 1793, a period of about nine years; and that it amounted to the astounding number of 1,350 officers, and 60,000 men;—a loss probably not greatly exceeded by that incurred by the Duke of Wellington in his six Peninsular campaigns.”

The contrast between the Napoleon and Pitt manner of conducting a war has been described with great force and truth by a writer (supposed to be Lord Brougham) in the 25th number of the ‘*Edinburgh Review*,’ Art. 14.—

“He singles out the vital part of his whole adversary, and the point of it which is most exposed. In that vulnerable heart he plants his dagger, and he knows full well that the remotest limb will quiver with the shock. He sends forth his host, in the plenitude of its array, to sweep over the interjacent regions, and to pour itself, in one grand, deep, but contracted and therefore irresistible torrent, into the centre of the strength of Europe. Here,—as near Berlin and Vienna as he can, he fights his battle; and while you are menacing the Western departments,—or landing and re-embarking in Italy,—or capitulating in Holland,—or idling in Portugal and Egypt,—or butchering your friends in the north,—or burying your own men and planting the slave trade in the West Indies,—he is playing that great game which must place in his hands the sweep of all those small stakes for which you are pretending to throw.”

In the beginning of the year 1801, Mr. Pitt having come to the conclusion, together with the majority of the cabinet, that the first session of the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland should be signalized by the concession of the Catholic question, and that a recommendation to that effect should be introduced into the speech from the throne, and having totally failed in removing the king's conscientious scruples on the subject, his majesty sent for Mr. Addington, and desired him to undertake the conduct of affairs; and upon Addington's earnestly requesting to be excused, the king said to him, in the most emphatic manner, “*Lay your hand upon your heart, and ask yourself*

where I am to turn for support if *you do not stand by me.*" On retiring from the king's presence, Mr. Addington (who had, on the king's first writing to him on the subject, gone to Mr. Pitt, in the hope that he might succeed in persuading him to relinquish all further agitation of the question) a second time consulted Mr. Pitt, whose reply was, "I see nothing but ruin, Addington, if you hesitate." The result was the formation of the Addington administration in March. On Saturday, the 14th of March, his majesty received Mr. Pitt's resignation, and, on the same day, presented the seals to Mr. Addington, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

* List of the members of Mr. Addington's administration, March, 1801:—

Right Hon. Henry Addington, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor.

Duke of Portland, Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for the War Department.

Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

Lord Chatham, President of the Council.

Lord Westmoreland, Lord Privy Seal.

Lord St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Lord Lewisham,* President of the India Board.

In June and July the following changes took place:—Lord Chatham became Master-General of the Ordnance; the Duke of Portland, President of the Council, *vice* Lord Chatham: Lord Pelham, Secretary of State, *vice* Duke of Portland. The above constituted the cabinet. Other departments:—

Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Mr. Charles Abbot, Chief Secretary in Ireland.†

Sir R. Pepper Arden, created Baron Alvanley and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, *vice* Lord Eldon.

Sir Wm. Grant, Master of the Rolls, *vice* R. P. Arden.

Sir Edward Law, Attorney General.

Hon. Spencer Percival, Solicitor General.

Right Hon. Charles Yorke, Secretary at War.

Lord Glenbervie, } Joint Paymasters.

Right Hon. T. Steele, }

Charles Bragge, Esq., Treasurer of the Navy.

Lord Charles Spencer, } Joint Postmasters General.

Lord Auckland, }

Lord Arden, Master of the Mint.

Nicholas Vansittart, Esq., } Secretaries of the Treasury.

John Hiley Addington, Esq., }

Hon. Dudley Ryder,‡ Treasurer of the Navy.

John Smith, Esq.,

Charles S. Pybus, Esq., } Lords of the Treasury.

Nathaniel Bond, Esq., and }
Lord George Thynne, }

* Afterwards succeeded by Lord Castlereagh.

† Afterwards succeeded by Mr. Wickham.

‡ Succeeded shortly afterwards by Charles Bragge, Esq.

When Mr. Addington entered upon his duties, the war was in its ninth year. The battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, and the treaty of Luneville, had left France no enemy but Great Britain, Turkey, Naples and Portugal. Holland was incorporated with France. Austria had been compelled to accept peace on conditions dictated by the conqueror, one of which was, the exclusion of British merchandise from her whole frontier. Spain had become hostile to Great Britain. Russia, Prussia, Denmark and Sweden had entered into a confederacy for the purpose of subverting her maritime rights. While this was the aspect of foreign affairs, at home, to use Mr. Addington's own words, "there was no prospect but of domestic embarrassments. In Great Britain, the people were discontented; in Ireland, on the verge of renewed rebellion." Moreover, the national debt, which at the commencement of the war amounted to £227,000,000, had been nearly doubled; and £25,500,000 had been added to it in the present year, to enable the available income of the kingdom, amounting to about £40,000,000 to meet the whole annual charge which, including £20,144,000, the interest of the national debt, had risen to the sum of £68,000,000.

In the space to which we are necessarily confined, we cannot pretend to enter into all the details of Addington's administration. But, as one topic of particular importance, we shall select for consideration his plan for defence against the threatened invasion of Bonaparte, together with his general views as to the best mode of conducting the war against the ambitious encroachments of that unprincipled adventurer. And, as bearing on the same subject, we may here cite some just and forcible observations made by Mr. Addington on the 5th March, 1802, on bringing in a bill for facilitating commercial intercourse with the United States of America by the removal of certain prohibitory duties. Mr. Windham, in his remarks on the bill, having expressed an opinion that we should look for dignity and support rather to our martial spirit than to our commercial prosperity, the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied:

"That it appeared of late more fashionable than it should be to pronounce commercial pursuits incompatible with high sentiments of honour and national glory, and to assert that a nation could not excel

Sir Philip Stephens, Bart.,

William Elliot, Esq.,

Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart.,

James Adams, Esq.,

John Markham, Esq.,

William Gartshore, Esq.,

Commissioners of the Admiralty.

in both. This was a sentiment which in principle was not just, in policy was not eligible, in experience (as applicable at least to this country) was not true. For we had found in the course of the last twelve years a growing commerce, and certainly not a declining spirit of ardour, zeal, and courage in the cause of our country, manifested in all the exertions of our army and our navy. Every branch of the public service repudiated the supposition that a commercial and wealthy country cannot preserve its advantages over other states by uniting military excellence with its superior wealth. This country was happily a splendid instance of both."

Whatever may have been originally the state of the case with regard to war with France, we think that after the growth which Bonaparte's ambition had attained after the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, a permanent, secure, and honorable peace was impossible. During the peace of Amiens (which lasted from 27th March, 1802, when the treaty was signed at Amiens, till the 18th May, 1803, when war with France was again formally declared), besides numerous other aggressions and insolences, Bonaparte would enter into no commercial treaty. When British vessels entered a French port, they were seized and confiscated; the parties so aggrieved could obtain no redress; and to repeated applications from the English ambassador on these subjects no satisfactory answer was given. But notwithstanding the refusal to enter into a commercial treaty, commercial agents were sent over to the principal sea ports of the United Kingdom. And it appeared from the letter of 17th November, 1802, from Citizen Talleyrand to Citizen Fauvellet, one of these agents at Dublin, that they were stationed there with hostile objects, and—seeing that the two nations were then at peace—with objects not only hostile but dishonourably hostile. To try for a moment the conduct of Bonaparte by a standard which may be considered as in some degree applicable to it, would Oliver Cromwell, albeit an astute politician as well as a mighty man of war, have resorted to such unprincipled pettifoggery as this? And as Oliver would not have descended to such trickery, neither would he even for a moment have submitted to Bonaparte's insolent pretensions. Surely it would have been a mere farce to talk of being at peace with such a man. England exhibited, during the peace, many proofs of amity—satisfied just demands of French subjects (France would listen to no claims of British subjects)—permitted the expedition to sail to St. Domingo—completed the restitution of the Cape of Good Hope—prosecuted Peltier at the public expense for his libellous attack on Bonaparte. And we think it

very questionable whether Britain did right to leave a single ground of complaint, which she did by the retention of Malta, contrary to the 10th article of the treaty; though this indeed was alleged to be done as a compensation for, and altogether in consequence of, his own virtual evasions of the spirit of the treaty, by encroaching upon the state of possession subsisting on the continent at the time of its signature.

But the proper mode of conducting the war is another question. And a really able statesman, an Oliver Cromwell or a Frederic of Prussia, would have gone about it in a somewhat different fashion from that either of Mr. Pitt or Mr. Addington, though we think Addington's plans and views on this subject incomparably superior to Pitt's.

In regard to Mr. Addington's financial measures to provide against the war, they were, to say the least of them, better than that system of arithmetical charlatanerie which has in some quarters obtained for Pitt the character of talents for finance. The Income Tax had been freed from incumbrance and repealed, and Mr. Addington now resolved to new-model it entirely. The Income Tax, as proposed in 1799, was charged at the rate of 10 per cent. (with certain exemptions and modifications) upon the net income of all persons making a return of £60 a-year and upwards, in a form circulated by the Tax Office, without specifying (unless specially called upon to do so) the sources from which that income was derived. The commissioners had the power (rarely exercised) to swear the party as to the amount of his income; but this oath was final and conclusive. This tax, estimated at ten millions, did not, on an average, produce more than five. The new plan adopted by Mr. Addington proceeded upon a different principle. It is unnecessary to enter into the details, as the tax is now paid under nearly the same regulations; and we need not here re-state our opinion of its defects. The important distinctions between Mr. Addington's tax and Mr. Pitt's was, that Mr. Addington's was nearly twice as productive as Mr. Pitt's.*

Mr. Addington, in his speech of the 11th of June, 1803, explained the principle on which his budget had been constructed. After reminding the committee of the hope expressed by the enemy that he should eventually exhaust the resources of this country by the accumulation of expense, he observed that

* From *Lord Sidmouth's MS. Notes*, cited by Dr. Pellew, vol. ii. p. 196. "The mode of collecting Mr. Addington's tax was also much easier; the former also operated on an assessment of £120,000,000, the latter on one of £80,000,000. The former was made by upwards of 600,000 persons, the latter by about 340,000."

“ His great object was to raise a large part of the supplies within the year. The extent to which he wished to carry this principle was, that there should be no increase whatever of the public debt during the course of the war. To this end, it was necessary to ascertain the probable amount of the annual charges, and then to provide for carrying on a protracted contest without making any greater addition to the public debt than would be annually liquidated by the Sinking Fund. The annual charge of the war, unless increased by the intervention of continental alliances, he calculated at £26,000,000. If, then, the House should adopt the present measure, and if he was correct in his estimate of the growing produce of the Consolidated Fund, and in his calculation of the annual taxes, there would only remain the sum of £6,000,000 to be borrowed, which would be more than covered by the Sinking Fund, amounting to £6,494,000. In this case we should be enabled to meet a war expenditure of £26,000,000 without any increase to the public debt. He trusted, therefore, that this system would be adopted. It would inspire confidence at home, and create respect abroad; it would convince the other powers of Europe that they may safely unite with us in resisting the common enemy, since our resources afforded full security for the punctual discharge of any engagement into which the country might enter: above all, it would convince the enemy of the hopelessness of contending with our finances, and that we were invulnerable in that respect. The records of similar financial efforts, he observed, were to be found in early periods of our history. Taxes were raised within the year on all descriptions of property, descending even to the wages of servants. He would refer, in illustration of this fact, to the times of William and Mary, when the funding system was first introduced: not only was a levy of four shillings in the pound imposed at that time on land, but also two and a-half per cent. on stock in trade; five shillings in the pound on all salaries, offices, perquisites, and pensions; and professional persons were charged four shillings for all emoluments whatever resulting from their practice. It was to be recollected that, arduous as those times were, they could not be compared in that respect with existing circumstances; for the present contest was for the preservation of the country as a free state; and the question now to be decided was no other than this—whether Great Britain should maintain her own independence, or tamely suffer her name to be erased from the list of nations.”

On the 18th of June, a message was presented to parliament from the king, recommending that a large additional force should be forthwith raised. And on the 20th, Mr. Yorke, the secretary at War, proposed, that in addition to the regular and other forces already embodied, an army of reserve, consisting of 50,000 men, should be raised by ballot, to serve for four years.* This propo-

* Mr. Yorke mentioned that there were already 73,000 men in the militia.

sition was carried. It was found impossible to recruit the regular army with the requisite expedition by means of bounties: and Mr. Sheridan remarked that “a compulsory levy of men for the regular regiments was altogether unconstitutional; whereas the country could compel every man to come forward to repel invasion.”

On the 18th of July, the government brought forward another important portion of their plan of defence, in the shape of a bill for enabling his Majesty to exercise his ancient prerogative of calling, in case of invasion, for the services of his liege subjects. This bill provided for the enrolment and assembling of all men between the ages of 17 and 55 who were capable of serving; and for their being exercised and drilled. This measure, called the Military Service Bill, was received with much approbation by the leaders of parties, and was passed with all practical expedition into a law.

On the 9th of December, Mr. Yorke gave the following statement of the military and naval preparations of Great Britain and Ireland:—

“Regular troops in permanent pay, including militia, in Great						
Britain	...	...	...	...	...	130,000
In Ireland	...	...	...	...	...	50,000
Sea Fencibles	...	...	...	...	...	25,000
Volunteers accepted and arrayed, in Great Britain, of whom						
220,000 armed with muskets,	120,000 not yet so armed					340,000
In Ireland, all armed	...	...	...	...	...	70,000
				Total	...	615,000
<i>Naval force:—</i>						
Number of ships of war employed	...	...	...	...	...	469
Armed flotilla, of all sizes	...	...	...	...	...	800

Besides twenty armed ships, furnished by the East India Company, and ten frigates by the corporation of the Trinity House, for the protection of the Thames. In short, as Mr. Addington observed, ‘Of the male population of the empire, from eighteen to sixty, one-fourth was then actually under arms.’”

Three great parties, headed respectively by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, having formed a confederacy against Addington, on the alleged want of vigour in his measures for defence; and on the 25th of April, 1804, the majority in favour of ministers in the House of Commons, having been only thirty-seven, Mr. Addington determined to resign, which he accordingly did, and Pitt returned to power. Addington agreed to join Pitt, and was created Viscount Sidmouth. He kissed

hands as Viscount Sidmouth on the 11th of January, 1805, and was sworn President of the Council on the 14th.

The loose notions of Pitt, Fox, & Co., as given in these pages, on the defence of the country against invasion, show what poor incapable creatures these mere parliamentary declaimers were, without military genius or experience, and without professional or practical knowledge or experience of any kind; all that they knew of man's life being limited to an acquaintance with parliamentary declamation, a little red-tape routine, and the pleasing mysteries of the gaming table, and other English aristocratic occupations of the day. Compare their wretched and rhetorical crudities with the plan of Picton (vol. ii. p. 233, note), and that of Sir Edward Pellew, (ii. 259.) The whole matter is well summed up in Warren Hasting's letter to Addington, (ii. 276.)

"The people see and know," says Hasting, "that an ample, sufficient, and well-distributed provision has been made for their defence against the threatened invasion; they have seen resources called forth for which no one gave this country credit; they are pleased with the economy of the public expenditure; they have proclaimed a spirit of zeal and unanimity which they certainly never showed nor felt during the last war, nor during the late administration; they have not been intimidated by arbitrary arrests and endless imprisonments; and even your enemies admit your integrity, while they profligately sneer at it. Such, sir, are the characters of your administration; and in what is it defective? I adopt the language of others when I answer, IN ORATORY; IN THAT WASTE OF WORDS AND TIME, WHICH IS THE INVARIABLE SUBSTITUTE FOR USEFUL MATTER, AND PROGRESSIVE ACTION."

Hastings, with all his faults, was, compared to such bags of wind* as Pitt and Fox, Windham, Grenville, and Canning, an able administrator—a man of action—a doer, which is involved in the very idea of a statesman, not a talker—a man of words.

Dr. Pellew thinks, and apparently not without reason, that many of the subsequent disasters, and, by consequence, much of the enormous debt incurred by this country, would have been avoided by the adoption of Addington's line of policy instead of Pitt's.

"Had Mr. Pitt," says the dean, "pursuing the system of his predecessor, been content to remain in this state of armed and watchful repose, or had he confined his attacks on the enemy to those distant

* We once heard an admirer of Pitt say, by way of describing his wonderful powers, that "his voice was like a big drum." He had hit the nail on the head in a way he did not intend; for we may indeed say—whether we look at the details or the result of Pitt's administration,—that for some ten or a dozen years Great Britain was governed by a big drum—a thing of "sound and fury, signifying nothing."

points, where alone he was vulnerable, one of two things must have ensued. Bonaparte must have executed his menace at a risk which neither he nor his army would willingly have encountered, or he must have incurred the discredit of abandoning his project altogether. Unfortunately a different course was pursued, by which the French were relieved from their awkward dilemma, and instead of an element on which they had always been beaten, were presented with that exact theatre of war, which, of all others, they would have preferred. Russia was persuaded to march, and Austria was hurried into a war, for which she was not prepared; thus the withdrawing the army from Boulogne became a measure to which Napoleon could resort without discredit; and the rivetting the chains of the continent more deeply than ever, at Ulm and Austerlitz, was the necessary result. This series of misfortunes was attributed by Mr. Addington chiefly to the *manner* in which Mr. Pitt had opposed the late administration, and placed himself at the head of the government. He had imputed to his predecessor the inadequacy of his naval and military preparations, and his having taken no care to secure the country by continental alliances. Having, therefore, supplanted him on these grounds, a totally different policy on his own part appeared essential to his continuance in power; and he acted as if he felt deeply pledged to show an increase of vigour by sea and land, and to make foreign nations contribute to the defence of this country. But whatever may have been the inducement to this line of policy, the result undoubtedly was most disastrous; and Mr. Addington, if he had not previously been confident of the superiority of his own system of conducting the war, must soon have painfully ascertained it, by observing the total and calamitous failure of that of his successor."—vol. ii. pp. 310, 311, 312.

Mr. Sheridan's speech in the House of Commons upon the 6th of March, 1805, presents a very true and forcible picture of Pitt's conduct towards Addington.

"The right honourable gentleman," he said, "has thought fit to allude to the support which I gave to Lord Sidmouth, when that noble lord was Chancellor of the Exchequer. He represents it as an insidious and hollow support. I hope it is not my character to give any support of that description. I say I gave my support to the late administration with the most perfect good faith; and I know that the noble lord has always been ready to acknowledge it. But supposing I had not supported him with fineness and fidelity; what then? I never had professed to do so, either to that administration or to this house. I supported them because I approved of many of their measures; but principally was I induced to support them because I considered their continuance in office a security against the return to power of the right honourable gentleman opposite me, which ever appeared to me as the greatest national calamity. If, indeed, I had recommended the noble lord to his majesty—if I had come down to the house and described the noble lord as the fittest man in the country

to fill the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, because it was a convenient step to my own safety, in retiring from a situation which I could no longer fill with honour,—if, having seduced him into that situation, I had afterwards tapered off from a prominent support, when I saw that the minister of my own choice was acquiring greater stability and popularity than I wished for—if, when I saw an opening to my own return to power, I had entered into a combination with others, whom I meant also to betray, from the sole lust of power and office, in order to remove him,—and if, under the dominion of these base appetites, I had then treated with ridicule and contempt the very man whom I had before held up to the choice of my sovereign, and the approbation of this house and the public,—then, indeed, I should have merited the contempt of all good men, and should have deserved to be told that I was hollow and insincere in my support, and had acted a mean and perfidious part.”

The following is a good description from a county member (Sir William Middleton, Bart., of Suffolk), of the respective characters of Pitt’s and Addington’s mode of administration:—

“I assure you I was amongst those friends who did not imagine that you and Mr. Pitt would act long in concert with each other. Your constitutional, economical, and temperate mode of conducting the affairs of the country, made the machine of the state go on smoothly and quietly, as if the parts all fitted with mechanical exactness, and required but little force to set it into motion. Whereas, the present lavish, jobbing, imperious system, forces on the same machine, and racks and jars it so much that the consequences must be dreaded by all.”

Lord Ellenborough on the same subject,—

“20th October, 1805.

“I have just taken a ramble along the coast, and seen the great dyke, or canal near Hythe, of which about fourteen miles are completed out of thirty-six. It will cost an enormous sum of money, and be, in my poor judgment, of no adequate use. An invading enemy will, by means of fascines, get over it in any part they please in a very short time. The martello towers may be of some use; but the expense of the various works, barracks, &c., &c., in every part of this county, is perfectly appalling. . . . The wanton waste of public money which presents itself to view in every direction must soon undo us in point of finance, as some late measures have irretrievably done in point of fame. I long to resume my personal communications with your lordship, on the most critical and interesting situation of public concerns, both at home and abroad. The gloom of the present moment is not illumined with a single ray of comfort. God send us a better fate than we, I fear, deserve!”

Again, Lord Sidmouth himself says,—

“The prodigality of the late administration has imposed great financial difficulties on their successors.”—ii. 441.

“It is painful to be convinced, as I am decidedly, that the continent has been lost by our precipitancy of last year; that, by prodigality, we have missed the inestimable advantage of carrying on the war with a diminishing, instead of an increasing debt, and that without the last addition to the property tax: that our army, on the other hand, is diminishing by the rejection or neglect of those measures which necessarily tended to its augmentation; and that the volunteers are in danger of becoming a cumbrous mass without zeal, spirit, or discipline. You will not wonder that, recollecting how things actually were, with a presumptuous persuasion, possibly, as to the state in which they might have been, I am particularly hurt and harassed to see them as they are.”—ii. 442.

On the house going into committee upon the Stamp Duties Bill, on the 5th of June, 1810, Lord Sidmouth made a speech in favour of the principle of raising as far as practicable within the year the revenue necessary for the expenses of that year, of confining the loan within the narrowest possible limits, and, as some loan was inevitable, of providing for the interest and the gradual liquidation of the principal by the imposition of additional taxes. “The dangers,” he observed, “against which it was particularly necessary to guard, in a protracted war like the present, were *profusion and negligence*. It was essential that there should be one hand only in a public purse: if there were many, even though all were clean, it would quickly be emptied. Individuals might be brought to distress by servants not dishonest, as might a nation by ministers not corrupt.”

On the subject of the Corn Law, Lord Sidmouth appears to have entertained the fallacious views of his party to their full extent. In a letter dated March 15th, 1815, he expresses his “conviction that the protecting price (80s.) as fixed by the bill, is not sufficient.”—(iii.) 127. And yet he professed to be a follower and admirer of Adam Smith.

During Lord Liverpool’s administration, Lord Sidmouth held the office of Secretary of State for the Home Department in very troublous times. As one principal point of attack against Lord Sidmouth has been “the employment of spies and informers,” as it was called, it is but justice to his memory to give the statement of his present biographer on this subject.

“It was during the discussions on this subject that a question arose respecting the manner in which information of the proceedings of the disaffected had been procured at the Home Office, which exposed Lord Sidmouth to much obloquy and misrepresentation. Whether in a free country the detection of malefactors, through disclosures made by their accomplices, be a justifiable step, or an expedient only be-

fitting a despotic government, depends on the manner in which it is attempted, and is therefore especially liable to the exaggerations of party. No one would deny, that for any government to employ artful seducers to foment rebellion in peaceable districts, and convert loyal subjects into traitors, would be an act, not only most reprehensible in itself, but also highly inexpedient as a matter of policy, since its own repose and security must depend upon the tranquillity of the country. This, however, was conduct of which Lord Sidmouth was altogether incapable. The whole tenor of his manly, frank, and honourable career, presents a flat contradiction to such a suspicion; and the author is confident that his lordship would not have stooped even to defend himself from a charge so abhorrent to his nature, had any one, in the paroxysms of political excitement, been so unjust as to prefer it. Lord Sidmouth, however, used always to maintain that at the period in question, when the welfare and security of a great nation were at stake, it was his imperative duty, as Secretary of State, not only to adopt all justifiable means of obtaining information of the plans of the conspirators; but also to accept, and as far as might be expedient, to avail himself of the disclosure of any offence, either perpetrated or meditated, which might be offered to him by parties implicated therein. Secrecy was the only element in which the evil-doers, with whom his lordship had to deal, could exist. Their chance of success depended entirely on keeping their plots concealed from all loyal and peaceable men, until the moment of action. It was only, therefore, through some confidant that their mischievous intentions could be known and defeated. This, in truth, has ever been the system pursued in this country, under the sanction of the constitution, for the prevention and detection of crime. The law constantly offers both impunity and reward to those criminals, who contribute, by their evidence, to the conviction of their fellows; and it does so on this principle—that justice requires it;—that crime could not otherwise be prevented. For it is not probably so much in the punishment, as in the prevention of crime, that the usual practice of receiving the testimony of one malefactor against another, is found most beneficial. The impression which universally prevails amongst evil-doers, that any one of their number will never hesitate to betray his neighbour, to save himself, obstructs the formation of plots and combinations amongst such characters, by destroying all real confidence between them, and thus materially conduces to the peace and good order of society. If, then, the British constitution encourages the employment of accomplices as a wise and salutary measure, in unravelling the commonest transactions of criminal justice, ill would it have become Lord Sidmouth, then the chief administrator of the criminal law of the kingdom, not to have adopted the same precaution; and if, through his lordship neglecting so to act, a sudden outbreak (as was too probable) had occurred, and mischief had arisen from the absence of preparation on the part of the authorities, who would have more bitterly condemned him than those very parties whose censure he incurred, by listening to informers

desirous to make all the compensation in their power, by revealing what they knew of the lawless transactions in which they had been engaged? This was the whole amount of the groundless charge against Lord Sidmouth. When Oliver or any other party presented himself to the civil or military authorities, his lordship received their information, and encouraged them to continue their observations, and to communicate such further intelligence as they might obtain. None of them, however, were employed in the first instance by Lord Sidmouth; but themselves sought him out: and if, which is not probable, they in any instance instigated the conspirators to crime in order to betray them, the treacherous act must have been entirely their own; as nothing would have excited more his lordship's indignation than the bare idea of so base a proceeding. So entirely, indeed, did his noble nature despise this accusation, that to the close of his life he refrained from taking any step in refutation of it; and hence, with the exception of one or two accidental allusions, his private correspondence contains no reference whatever to the subject. The facts doubtless are faithfully explained in the official records at the Home Office, and to them his lordship, with the indifference which belongs to conscious rectitude, has intrusted the final justification of his conduct."—Vol. iii. p. 185.

In addition to the preceding statement, we consider it but fair to give also the following letter received by the Dean of Norwich from Lord Strafford, whose position as military commander of the disaffected districts (when General Byng) must have rendered him intimately acquainted with the whole subject.

"The Right Honourable Lord Strafford, G.C.B. to the Dean of Norwich.
"44, Grosvenor Street, London, Aug. 15th, 1816.

"Sir,

* * * * *

"I have read the copy of my letter of the 9th March, 1818, to Lord Sidmouth, and have not a doubt of its correctness. The statement is true, and I do not object to your making use of it in any way you may wish, in furtherance of the object you mention.

"Oliver was sent to me with a letter from Lord Sidmouth,* to the purport that he (Oliver) was going down into that part of the country where meetings were frequently held, and that he had been desired to communicate to me any information he might obtain as to the time and place of such meetings, *in order that I might take timely measures to prevent their taking place; the wish and intention being to prevent, not to encourage them, as was alleged against the government.*

"I have often regretted that I had not the opportunity to speak in the house fully and fairly what I knew and what I thought;

* The only occasion on which Oliver ever waited upon, or was seen by Sir John Byng, was when he delivered this letter. Being late for the coach, which passed at the distance of two miles, Sir John sent him, with a servant, in his gig, which explains the circumstances alluded to in the 'Leeds Mercury.'

for I entertain a very favourable opinion of Lord Sidmouth's feeling, and anxiety upon all the communications I received from him; and I will only add, that when I saw him upon my appointment to the Northern district, and found that I had but two regiments of cavalry and two of infantry, for that extensive district, I told him I could only make so small a force available by having the best possible information; and before he confidentially entrusted to me that which he might receive, I thought it but fair to state that, having been in constant employment from the age of fifteen, I had had little time for politics; but that if I was to go into Parliament, I should take the same line my brother did, then in opposition. His lordship's instant reply was, 'From this moment you have my entire confidence;' and he then told his secretary to let me read every letter he had, on subjects connected with the district: and fully and faithfully he acted up to that reply on all occasions.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"STRAF FORD."

Lord Sidmouth receives, as might be supposed, from his biographer, the Dean of Norwich, much commendation for the attachment he manifested to the church. On his lordship's motion in the House of Lords, on the 19th of June, 1810, for returns tending to prove the necessity of providing increased accommodation in churches, Lord Holland made some remark on the luxury of the clergy; in reply to which Lord Sidmouth observed, that "there could not be considered any great luxury in the established church, when it appeared, that out of 10,000 livings, upwards of 4,000 were of less value than £150 per annum." A very strange sort of logic certainly—since the argument, if argument it can be called, is, that because some 4,000 poor clergymen and their families are half-starved, or at least deprived of anything in the shape of, or approaching to the shape of, luxury, those who enjoy the enormously rich benefices are not luxurious. This is getting into, or at least making the needful preparation for getting into heaven by proxy. Fancy a sleek, rubicund bishop, or dean, who has, like *Dives*, been clothed in purple and fine linen (purple is an episcopal colour), and fared sumptuously every day, holding a parley with St. Peter at heaven's gate, and insisting on his claim to get in, founded upon the merits of the 4,000 clerical Lazaruses who are here paraded before the House of Lords by Lord Sidmouth, by way of *demonstrating* that the clerical *Diveses* or *Divites* (if you choose) are not luxurious! Really, my Lord Sidmouth, one is inclined to rise from the perusal of this life of you by your son-in-law, with a respect and even a certain degree of liking for you as an honourable and kind-hearted man; but, my lord, does not this look prodigiously like cant? But cant or not, shockingly bad logic it certainly is. Your perusal of Locke 'On the Human

Understanding' has, as it seems to us, given you but a questionable "finish as a logician."

Lord Sidmouth's biographer says of him: "He wanted the quality of a commanding eloquence. He was a reasoner rather than a debater." So much the better—and better still, if he had been a better reasoner than he was. But, in fact, Lord Sidmouth, though a sensible, honourable, good man, was evidently not a man of a very powerful or even a very cultivated intellect. His biographer informs us that he possessed great firmness of character; nothing could shake his nerves. "He considered," he once said to his father, "that no one was fit to be a public man who cared a farthing whether he should die in his bed or on a scaffold." And we think he was right.

Lord Sidmouth died on the 15th of February, 1844. He had resigned the seals of the Home Department on the 17th of January, 1822, and lived for the last twenty-two years of his life in retirement.

A. B.

ART II.—1. *On Large and Small Farms, including a view of the progress of the division of the soil in France, since 1815.* By H. Passy, Peer of France, &c. Arthur Hall & Co.

2. *A Plea for Peasant Proprietors; with the Outlines of a Plan for their establishment in Ireland.* By Wm. Thos. Thornton. John Murray.

THE influence over economists and politicians obtained by the writings of Arthur Young, on the superiority of large farms, has been, and remains, a serious obstacle to an improvement of landed tenure. We say this in reference to the discouragement it has occasioned to those who have sought the abolition of entails, and the simplification of the laws relating to the transfer of real property, and with no wish to deny the almost self-evident proposition, that in a given set of circumstances a large farm may be more economically managed than a small farm, and be rendered, relatively to the expenditure of labour, more productive. The mistake was, in assuming that these given circumstances are always the same, and that the profitable occupation of land is, in all cases, to be regulated by some uniform rule of extent. The causes which determine the mode and extent of cultivation are various, and not easily to be modified or improved by arbitrary systems. The first consideration that affects the hypothesis of Arthur Young, is the broad distinction to be

observed between a country, the resources of which are confined to agriculture, and one in which, from the accident of mineral wealth in coal and iron, a great part of its population is employed in manufactures and commerce. The large farm theory supposes money wages, money prices, and the neighbourhood of crowded cities, where a thousand quarters of corn can be sold on a market day. But how in a country where great manufacturing and commercial establishments are unknown, and where there are no crowded cities? Is cultivation in such a case to be altogether neglected, and a resident population not to be allowed to grow food for their own consumption, because the farms that suffice for such an object must necessarily be small? Is it quite clear, that because a farmer in Hertfordshire may advantageously plough in a straight line a furrow of a mile in length, that it would be equally expedient for the new settlers in the Oregon territory, or even in Upper Canada, to plan their fields upon the same scale? And if not expedient there, would it be much more so in the West of Ireland, for all practical purposes equally remote from a market?

The first question that every producer asks himself when he commences cultivation, is, what he is to do with his produce? Tell him that there is an excellent market for potatoes 200 miles off, but only accessible by bad roads; and his reply is, that the oftener he sends his waggon and team such a distance, the poorer he will become for his pains. He knows that whatever he grows must be sold nearer home, or that his profits would be converted into losses.

Cost of transport settles the question of much or little; and hence in all new and thinly peopled countries, and in those districts of populous empires which are the most removed from the centres round which capital is diffused, tillage cultivation is only practicable, at all, upon the small scale. Whatever is grown, is grown to be consumed on the spot, and a few acres supply the food of a village.

As commerce increases, the tendency of agriculture, on corn lands, is towards a consolidation of small farms. One man leaves his farm to be managed by another, when by an opening in trade he finds he can do something better for himself than by digging; and hence the fact, that in commercial England there are now fewer small farms, in proportion to the extent of land under cultivation, than in the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors: while in the extreme parts of Ireland, the highlands of Scotland, Wales, Canada, and New Zealand, that have not felt the same influence, small farms prevail; that is to say, farms adapted almost exclusively to a narrow local demand.

Another consideration that affects the argument is the fact that extent of land is no criterion of the amount of produce the land will yield; the produce per acre depends chiefly upon the application of capital in the shape of labour and manure, and these may be so applied, that ten acres in the hands of one man may be made to yield heavier crops than 100 acres in the hands of another.

The market gardens round London and Edinburgh are but small farms under another name; and this is a case in which it is better worth the while of a cultivator to give a rent of £5 per acre for 20 acres of land close to a market, than 5s. per acre for 200 acres at a distance. First, because the expense of carriage for his crops would be possibly equal alone to the difference of rent; and secondly, because some portion of his crops, as peas, strawberries, &c., would be spoiled by the least delay in bringing them to market.

The case of nurseries, hop-gardens, vineyards, cider-orchards, and fruit farms, is analogous. As a general rule they are small, and yet nothing would be gained by increasing their extent; and even on corn lands, to which the principle of large farming is most applicable, there is a limit which it is never advisable to exceed. The limit is the number of farm operations the farmer himself can personally superintend, without trusting to the vigilance of others. Waste begins when this limit is passed.

Those who tell us that the remedy for the evils of Ireland is the consolidation of its small farms, should be asked first to prove the remedy possible. Grant them all the facilities they may desire of ejectment, and conceding the power of the law to exterminate a cottier population if necessary, what we require to know, is, how a large *farm*, as contradistinguished from a mere sheep-walk, say at Killahaneenagh in Munster, is to be made *to pay*. Build your barns, purchase your horses, ploughs, harrows, and threshing machines; plant your fences, drain your land, and imagine your crop grown at a cost not exceeding the usual outlay per acre for a similar farm in Kent; then add to that cost the expense of carrying your corn fifty miles to the nearest port, and there shipping it for Liverpool; and where is your profit? The experiment would be somewhat like the making of bricks at York for a *villa ornée* at Kensington, and with a similar result. The first condition essential to the prosperity of large farms is accessible markets. Without it you may convert a county into a grazing common, or, like the Duke of Athol, shut up 100,000 acres for red deer,—but *tillage* must be abandoned in such localities, if you give up the principle of consuming your own produce.

We must make up our mind to the fact, that remote or out-of-the-world districts will either be covered with small farms, or become extensive wastes. We can choose only between the two. Are the wastes to be preferred as a guarantee against pauperism? We think not.

There is no greater error than the assumption that small farms have a tendency to produce and perpetuate a wretched, reckless, and redundant population. The wretched, reckless, and redundant population exists, it is true, in Ireland; but it is not the small extent of Irish farms that is the cause of the evil, but the nature of their tenure.

A man becomes reckless when his means of subsistence are precarious; and this is the state of all small cultivators holding their land without leases, at high rents. There is no adequate motive for industry when the improvements of a tenant are made upon a property not his own, and of which all the benefit is certain ultimately to go to another. The class of persons who contract early and improvident marriages, are always those who believe that their situation cannot be made worse, but will never be permanently better. It is otherwise with those who have something to lose, and who, secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of their own labour, can look forward with hope. Hence a marked difference between the state of small tenant farmers, and *small proprietors* cultivating their own land; and hence also one difference of result which should especially arrest the attention of political economists. While in Ireland, under the law of primogeniture, there seems no limit to the divisions and subdivisions of tenant farms, the small freehold farms of the continent descend, for the most part, from father to son, entire. The equal laws of inheritance of France, lead to a division of landed estates when large; but it has now been proved by the stubborn evidence of facts that they do not tend, in the case of moderate estates, to their indefinite '*morcellement*,' or to that infinitesimal subdivision which was predicted as the operation of these laws. Heirs have generally wit enough to discover, that when the capabilities of a property would be injured by the allocation of a field to one and a barn to another, it is their best policy to have the property sold or valued as a whole, and to divide, not the property itself, but the proceeds.

A Bill is now before Parliament for facilitating the sale of encumbered Irish estates, and the fact that such a Bill has become necessary, is a striking proof of the extraordinary misconceptions which have prevailed upon this question. So far from the system of primogeniture having a tendency to prevent the '*morcellement*' of land to a mischievous extent, Ireland is a proof that it pro-

motes it; and in the worst manner. The process is very simple and needs but little explanation.

A large estate held by a proprietor who resides perhaps in London, some hundred miles away, is neglected. Being entailed, it cannot be sold without the consent of the eldest son, who must be of age before he can join in the conveyance. Wanting money, the proprietor mortgages his life interest in the property; afterwards wanting more, he persuades his son to join him in a second mortgage, which neither are able to redeem. The estate thus descends mortgaged from one generation to another, and perhaps encumbered besides with jointures and rent charges for widows and junior members of the family. These at last proceed to such a length, that the head landlord has sometimes less interest in the property standing in his name than his humblest tenant; and in the meantime the title becomes so complicated that neither a part nor the whole can be disposed of; and tenants with capital, if they should present themselves, find they can obtain no security for their outlay. Every part of the estate being equally liable for all the encumbrances upon it, a new tenant may be ruined at any moment by a seizure from parties of whom he had never heard. What is the consequence?—Land returning to a state of nature, deprived of the capital which would develop its fertility; and a class of tenants little better than squatters, setting all claims equally at defiance, and at best able to pay but little more than the rent of a potato-garden.

Whether the Bill introduced by Lord John Russell is sufficiently simple in its details to effect the object, we exceedingly doubt; but the principle it involves is of greater practical importance than that of perhaps any measure likely to be adopted during the present session.

Two works, recently published, have called attention to the subject, and we are glad to embrace the opportunity of recommending them to our readers. The first is a translation of papers on large and small farms, by M. Passy, a former minister of commerce and finance, and a member of the now *late* Chamber of Peers. The other is entitled, ‘A Plea for Peasant Proprietors, with the outline of a Plan for their establishment in Ireland,’ by William Thos. Thornton, author of ‘Over Population and its Remedy.’ We shall make a few extracts from each of these publications to illustrate the nature of their contents, and explain more fully some of the bearings of the argument which we have thus briefly endeavoured to enforce.

The first memoir of M. Passy, read before the French Institute, Aug. 24, 1844, commences with the history of the controversy.

“In 1755, this question was handled in a work, now justly fallen

into neglect, but which, at the time of its publication, made a deep impression. This was 'The Friend of Man' of the Marquis de Mirabeau. Five editions, thrown off in less than six years, prove the eagerness with which the work was read; and to the stirring effect which it produced we are indebted for the first establishment of agricultural societies in France. The Marquis de Mirabeau denounced those vast domains, given over, as he asserted, to tenants-at-will, or to indolent stewards, charged with furnishing the means of dissipation and luxury to their owners, passing their lives in towns, and too proud to look after their estates. The territory of a country, added he, can never be too much broken down; it is this subdivision which gives all its vitality to a State; and he relates having himself made a trial of it, by dividing a large field among several peasants, who had become independent upon their allotments, and had doubled the rent previously drawn from the property. Several causes contributed to procure for the opinions of the Marquis de Mirabeau a favourable hearing. First, in the eyes of the well-educated classes, they had the merit of being in accordance with classical notions—with the traditions of Greece and Rome—that were all in favour of moderate fortunes and small patrimonies. In the second place, they came in aid of the democratic ideas which then began to prevail in society. Finally, they were mixed up and associated with schemes and plans of political reforms, whose realisation was eagerly desired. Thus did they meet with the most cordial reception; and so eagerly were they caught at, that in 1789 there were found Bailiwicks, which, in the instructions given to their deputies to the States General, requested that coercive measures might be taken for restricting the size of farms."

In England, about the same time, an opposite doctrine began to prevail, from other causes in operation, the effects of which did not equally extend to France. The peace of Utrecht had laid the foundation of a rapid course of manufacturing and commercial prosperity in this country, which led to a consolidation of small farms in numerous instances, and to great improvements in methods of cultivation.

"Arthur Young had begun his career by cultivating, with indifferent success, a small estate belonging to his family. At a later period of his life, a second attempt, in the same way, had been followed by the like results. Tired of these ruinous experiments, he resolved to quit the practice of farming for the teaching of it. Possessed of a large stock of information, and an acute observer, his works were generally read; and the opinions emitted in his 'Annals of Agriculture,' contributed not a little to bring that discredit on small farms, from which they have never recovered in England.

"The tours which Young made in France during several consecutive years, had the effect of confirming him in the views which he had adopted. French agriculture could not support a comparison with that of his own country. It was only a little more advanced in the

provinces where rents in kind had given place to money rents; and Young, attributing its general inferiority to the small dimensions of the farms, became more than ever a partisan of the regime of his country.

“The views of this highly influential writer are simple, and easy to sum up.

“Small farms, says he, require too much manual labour, and do not yield a sufficiency of disposable produce. The persons who occupy them are deficient in capital and skill, so that the smallest improvements exceed their means. They require more horses, at the same time that they furnish only limited resources for raising live stock. The more farms there are on a given space, the more farm buildings and implements are needed; that is to say, the greater are the unproductive expenses.

“Great farms, on the contrary, by distributing labour over a large surface, do not require so many horses or labourers, and, the local consumption subtracted, enable the cultivators to carry to market a greater quantity of alimentary substances for the use of the classes engaged in other pursuits. On such farms there is a division of labour, and each operative, being confined to one kind of work, performs it better. The farmers are, moreover, of a superior order, both in point of wealth and intelligence; and the higher profits which they realise furnish the means of effecting all needful improvements.

“These assertions, of which the increase in the quantity of the produce of the soil seemed to attest the accuracy, made an impression on a number of minds. Among the writers who endeavoured to propagate them was Herrenschwand, a physician, by birth a Swiss, and a distinguished economist. In a work published in London in 1786, under the title of a ‘Treatise on the Principles of Population,’ this writer reproduced the notions of Arthur Young; and his adoption of them in a work, in which the bulk of the questions then engaging the attention of enlightened men were treated of, had the more weight, seeing that he could be suspected neither of national partiality nor of professional prejudice.

“But if well vouched for facts seized on the popular conviction in England, in other countries facts of equal authenticity led to conclusions altogether opposite. Belgium, for example, had two zones of arable country completely different from each other. In the Walloon district the system of large farms prevailed; and, notwithstanding the natural richness of the soil, the return from such farms was small. The district lying between Ghent and Antwerp—the country of Wals and Termonde—was, on the contrary, entirely covered with small farms, and there, lands originally sterile, had become of an admirable fertility. No where was the land let at so high a rate, was so much live stock reared, or was there found a more dense population in the enjoyment of so much comfort. At the sight of so striking a contrast it was perfectly natural for Belgian agricultural writers to hesitate in awarding the preference to large farms; indeed, some of them went so

far as to denounce them as nuisances of which the country should be cleared; and, in 1760, the States of Hainault actually passed a law for their suppression.

“Nor did Italy and Spain any more furnish adherents to the doctrines of Young. This was because, in both these countries, small farms possessed a proved superiority over all others. In Italy, whilst the large farms of the Roman States are found to be the receptacles of poverty and sloth, the farms of Lombardy, not measuring more than twenty-five hectares, and the *métairies* of Tuscany, that in general do not exceed three or four, are the seats of the most prosperous activity. In Spain there is nothing that can be compared to the small possessions of the kingdom of Valentia and Lower Catalonia, a decisive fact that left no doubt on the part of the natives as to which system the preference ought to be awarded.”

The French revolution, which abolished primogeniture, majorats, and entails, and established equal laws of inheritance, gave a new and animated interest to the discussion. Writers have never since been wanting to assert that the change has been fatal to French agriculture,—that the land was becoming cut up into shreds, and the country hastening to ruin. These, it is true, have been the opinions chiefly of English writers; but after the restoration they had sufficient weight in the French Chambers to cause, in 1826, the introduction of the draught of an act for the partial restoration of entails and primogeniture. The project, however, was found too unpopular to be persisted in, and soon after came the revolution of July, and prevented its revival.

M. Passy proceeds to show that where agriculture is free, it is not equal laws of inheritance that determine the extent of farms or the mode of cultivation, but the peculiar circumstances of different localities; the distribution of the population; the nature of the climate; the quality of the soil; and the kinds of produce in request. The fears, he tells us, somewhat clamorously expressed, that the change of law had led, or was leading, to infinitesimal subdivisions of landed property, might have been allayed by the reflection that the new system adopted was not a modern innovation, of which the world had not had ample experience. The ancient republics of Italy, the greater part of the provinces of Holland, and the cantons of Switzerland, had flourished under equal laws of inheritance, and in none of them had the evils said to be inseparable from the principle of these laws been found to exist.

The statistical facts adduced by M. Passy are deserving of especial attention. It has been so generally assumed by the advocates of primogeniture, that equal laws of inheritance must necessarily lead to infinite partitions, that a very general belief is entertained, even among persons the least favourable to the feudal

system, that a very rapid increase in the number of small farms is in progress on the continent. M. Passy shows that in France the contrary is the fact, but that there has been a slight increase in the class of freehold proprietors, including proprietors of houses and lands; not however at all in proportion to the great augmentation that has taken place in the numbers of the population.

“It is to be regretted that there are no means of knowing the exact number of the owners of the soil; but, in the absence of such information, we know that of the properties—that is to say, the number of properties inscribed in the lists in the name of the same person in each of the districts designed for the collection of the Land-Tax.—As many of the taxpayers have lands and houses in different parts of the country as there are even properties, portions of which extend into several districts, the number of properties is much greater than that of proprietors; but this fact cannot invalidate the accuracy of the conclusions to be drawn from the variations which are seen in the arithmetical figures. Betwixt the cipher of properties and that of proprietors there exist relations that cannot differ in any great degree, and it is impossible for one of them to rise or fall in amount without the other experiencing the like change.

“Observe, then, what have been, since 1815, the increasing ciphers of landed properties and the population:—

Years.	Number of Properties as Taxed.	Population.
1815	10,083,751	29,152,742
1826	10,296,698	31,851,543
1835	10,893,528	33,329,575
1842	11,511,841	34,376,723

“These ciphers show an increase of 14 per cent. in the number of properties during the twenty-seven years that separate 1815 from 1842. This is a yearly addition of scarcely more than one-half per cent.—an addition that would be unworthy of notice in case the population had, on its side, received no augmentation. But the case is otherwise;—the population during the same period has increased about 18 per cent.—and it follows that, instead of having multiplied beyond measure, the number of proprietors has not even followed the general movement of the population, and was, relatively to the total mass of inhabitants in France, a little less in 1842 than it was in 1815.”

The proportion of increase in the number of separate properties, including houses and lands, shown by the figures of M. Passy, may perhaps be more clearly stated as follows:—

Increase in the number of properties separately registered to the land tax, from 1815 to 1842.....	1,428,090
Increase of population from 1815 to 1842.....	5,223,979

The tables supplied by M. Passy in reference to the extent of territorial divisions in different parts of France, are still more conclusive. The following is the summary of a return from 21 Cantons of 28 agricultural departments in different parts of France, and 69 rural communes of the Seine; embracing none of the large towns.

	Number of separate Properties.
1810	1,341,817
1845	1,331,109

The aggregate returns, as far as they have yet been completed, show a more equal distribution of wealth in 1845 than in 1810; the number of proprietors generally having slightly increased within the last thirty-five years; but it seems singular enough, after all that has been said to the contrary, that they supply the evidence also of a clear tendency rather to the consolidation of landed property than its further subdivision; the number of separate properties having actually diminished in many agricultural districts, as in the above case, and the increase for the whole of France appearing to arise solely out of the new houses required for the growing population of large towns.*

The facts have been fully explained, and the whole question very ably argued, by Mr. Thornton, in reply to some very extraordinary statements of the 'Quarterly Review,' upon the Condition of the French Agricultural Population. The wretched state of the small farms described by Arthur Young, and subsequent writers, was the state in which they were found by the Revolution of 1789, which swept away that system of feudal, *Irish* tenure under which they had been held, and enabled the work of agricultural improvement really to commence.

"That the condition of the French peasantry, whether proprietors or field labourers, if not yet perfectly satisfactory, has been steadily improving for many years past, is evident from the testimony of all who have themselves examined it. The opposite opinion is maintained by those only who have made their researches in books, instead of amongst the people. The 'Quarterly' Reviewer considers it quite certain that the small landholders are in great distress, because in the ten years ending with 1835, about one-fourth part of the whole landed

* The error involved in the opposite supposition must have arisen out of a misapprehension of the expression "*cote foncières*," which may be rendered—register of freeholds. In France, as in England, a land tax may be a charge upon a plot of building ground 20 feet square, or a charge upon a park of a thousand acres.

property of the country was sold, whereas sales of land are really the most obvious and effectual means of counteracting the evil tendency of the French law of succession. During the same ten years, a fourth part of the land likewise passed into new hands by inheritance or gift, the new owners being of course in the first instance much more numerous than those whom they succeeded. Most of their shares were only fractions of the estates of their predecessors, and being too small to afford them what they considered a suitable livelihood, were sold and annexed to other properties. Yet these sales, which prevented the further *morcellement* of land, and the enlargement and consequent impoverishment of the agricultural class—these very sales are declared to be signs of the poverty which they really prevented. A similar construction is placed, without much more reason, on the extent to which landed property is mortgaged, the interest payable in consequence being equal to one-third of the estimated rental of the kingdom. This would be a startling fact if the proprietors had become so deeply indebted from the difference between their ordinary income and their ordinary expenditure. It would then be obvious that their resources had not been sufficient for their permanent support, and that in order to provide for immediate necessities, they had been compelled to make use of their capital, and so to ruin their prospects for the future. But the Reviewer himself admits, though he does not see the importance of his admission, that the debts were incurred before the debtors became proprietors, or rather in order to enable them to become proprietors. A large proportion of the land-owners obtained their property by purchase, and their debts are a part of the purchase-money still remaining unpaid. In this there is not the smallest ground for uneasiness. In France, as in other countries abounding with small estates, it is usual for a person who cannot afford to buy a piece of ground outright, to buy a certain interest in it, leaving it still charged with an annual payment to the last owner, until by industry and thrift he shall have saved enough to free it from all incumbrances. Until that time arrives, he in fact holds his land by payment of a fixed rent, the very best possible tenure by which he could hold it, except that of an unembarrassed proprietor. The French mortgagees are, for the most part, tenants of this description, paying on an average, interest or rent, whichever it may be called, at the rate of four shillings an acre, which being no more than an English farmer commonly pays for poor's rates, can scarcely be deemed sufficient to reduce a French peasant to pauperism.*

The present state of the French peasantry and farm population has been thus described by recent writers:—

“ ‘With a tolerably intimate knowledge,’ says Mr. Inglis, ‘and distinct recollection of the lower orders of France, I am inclined to assert that, upon the whole, the French peasantry are the happiest of any

* ‘A Plea for Peasant Proprietors.’—Murray.

country in Europe.' While passing through Languedoc, Inglis particularly remarked the 'very enviable situation' of the labouring class. Upon every estate large enough to require them he found one or more small separate houses, in each of which two or three farm servants were accommodated. These people had commonly a garden, and a bit of land for Indian corn, and were supplied by their master with as much bacon and wine as they required, besides receiving enough of wages for clothes, &c. A day labourer received two francs. The people appeared to be well off, and paupers were rare. He did not see one *miserable* between Carcassonne and Toulouse. No special allusion is here made to small proprietors; but in a district in which they are intermixed with hired labourers, their condition is always the best of the two. The peasantry are observed to be most prosperous in those parts of France in which the largest proportion of them are proprietors. Mr. Henry Bulwer remarks that by far the greatest number of indigent is to be found in the northern departments, where land is less divided than elsewhere, and cultivated with larger capitals. Mr. Birkbeck, noticing that on the road from St. Pierre to Moulins, 'the lower classes appeared less comfortable,' found on inquiry that 'few of the peasantry thereabouts were proprietors.' Mr. Le Quesne, who, when asking the causes of the smiling productiveness of Anjou and Touraine, received for answer that the land was divided into small parcels, noticed that the houses of the country people there were remarkable for their neatness, and indicative of the ease and comfort of their possessors. They are built, he says, of fine white stone, and besides being more numerous, are far superior in appearance to those of Normandy, where estates are larger, and where the labourers on those estates commonly live in miserable mud cottages, with heaps of dung and filth in front. Yet even in the districts in which small properties so much abound, there would seem to be no lack of larger farms to afford work to such cottagers as are not fully employed at home. Inglis, in his walks through Touraine, was overtaken by a countryman who said that he had land enough of his own to supply him with bread, and to enable him to keep a cow and a couple of pigs, and that he was accustomed to earn in addition from twenty-five to thirty sous a day by working for others. These sketches are taken at random from different parts of a country of which Mr. Macculloch, in 1823, prophesied that in 'half a century it would certainly be the greatest pauper warren in Europe, and along with Ireland have the honour of furnishing hewers of wood and drawers of water for all other countries in the world.' Well might Mr. Laing as, in his tour through France, he read this lugubrious prediction, 'look up from the page and laugh to see around him on the rivers, canals, and roads, in steam-boats, iron suspension bridges, new factories, and coal works—numberless proofs of the progress of industry and wealth under the very system so prematurely denounced.'"

The object of Mr. Thornton's work, 'A Plea for Peasant Proprietors,' must not be confounded with the views of some, who having observed that small farms are, in certain cases, more pro-

ductive than large farms, would have all large farms broken up. Mr. Thornton seeks only the improvement of the tenure of small farms in those districts where, from the absence of manufactures and commerce, small farms must necessarily abound. He shows that, in Ireland it is not a question of whether the peasantry shall or shall not endeavour to get their subsistence from the soil,—no other resource being open to them,—but whether they shall be enabled to cultivate the land on the terms most favourable to production, or be left as they are now with no adequate motive for the application of either labour or capital to the work of permanent improvement. The plan he proposes is the purchase and drainage on the part of government of the waste lands, and the apportioning of them in small farms among the population, upon such conditions as would enable the cultivators to secure the entire fruits of their own industry for themselves, the government reserving only a quit-rent in compensation for its original outlay.

“Of such lands Ireland contains 6,290,000 acres, of which 2,535,000 are said not to be worth the cost of improvement; but 1,425,000 acres are acknowledged to be improveable for tillage, and the remaining 2,330,000 for pasture. These wastes are scattered over the whole island, but it fortunately happens that they are most extensive in those counties in which there is the largest amount of destitution. In Mayo, for example, there are 170,000 acres of waste land fit for cultivation; in Galway, 160,000; in Donegal, 150,000; in Kerry, the same number; and in Cork, 100,000; whilst in all Ulster, exclusive of Donegal, there are only 269,000; and in the whole province of Leinster, only 186,000. Altogether there are 1,425,000 acres, classed as arable; and these, with the addition of 175,000 acres of land, which, though represented as only fit for pasture, is really, as shall be presently shown, well deserving of tillage,—would suffice for 200,000 allotments, of eight acres each.

“The waste land of the best quality is, however, far from being fit for immediate cultivation. Some of it may only require to be pared, burnt, and limed, but much is bog or moor, which requires to be thoroughly drained, and to have the sub-soil mixed with the surface mould and with lime; but these, and all other preliminary operations, might be performed at very little expense by the persons for whose ultimate benefit they were designed. The proposed grantees are at present without employment, and, unless some such measure as that under consideration be adopted, without any prospect of it. They are now, and they must continue for an indefinite period to be, supported at the public expense, and it would be much cheaper to keep them usefully engaged than to maintain them in idleness. It would therefore be good economy to take them forthwith into pay, and to employ them in draining and sub-soiling the wastes selected for reclamation. After the completion of these preparatory operations, the next step would be to mark off districts suitable for the settlement of

collections of families, which would vary in size according as the colonies were intended to constitute separate village communities, or to be united to communities previously existing. Each district should be divided into lots corresponding in number to the number of settlers, and the latter should be further required to construct a cottage, according to an approved plan, on every lot. Every family should then be placed in possession of one of the cottage farms, and be made perpetual lessee, at a fixed rent, and on certain other conditions, which will be more particularly described hereafter; and having been furnished with tools and some farming stock, should be instructed that, after the next harvest, they would have to provide for their support by their own industry."

The plan has our hearty approval; and we trust that in these times, when the working classes are beginning to find themselves in a position to take the redress of their grievances into their own hands, or to demand attention to them, it will not share the common neglect which has hitherto befallen almost every practical suggestion made, tending to the real benefit of the sister kingdom. Let us repeat, however, our conviction, that a well-digested law for facilitating the sale of encumbered estates would be a measure of equal if not greater importance. There is abundance of occupied land in Ireland, not waste land, and yet lying waste, that would presently be brought into the highest state of cultivation if it could only change hands, and become a valid security for the investments of labour. We speak of a measure which might be devised, and not of the Bill now before the House, in which we have no confidence. What is required is, first, an universal registration of landed property; and, second, short and inexpensive title-deeds, with the guarantee of government; for which both buyers and sellers would willingly pay a premium more than compensatory to the government risk.

As the Chancellor of the Exchequer wants money, we would ask him to take this suggestion into his consideration. Suppose he were to guarantee the titles of the existing holders of all estates, almost without examination; what would he lose, by actions brought against him by the real owners? Supposing a liberal premium paid by all parties for the simplification and guarantee of title, what would he gain? We will not hazard figures in a vague guess, but we are satisfied the balance in favour of the treasury might be rendered considerable; and it is impossible to conceive of a tax that would be more cheerfully paid. The requisite data for calculating the amount could be supplied by the railway companies. In the innumerable instances in which these companies have had to settle questions of complicated title by a summary process, how few have been the mistakes committed! H.

ART. III.—*Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales, appointed by the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education. In pursuance of proceedings in the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Williams, of March 10th, 1846, for an Address to the Queen, praying her Majesty to direct an Inquiry to be made into the State of Education in Wales, and especially into the means afforded to the Labouring Classes of acquiring a knowledge of the English language.*

AN inquiry into the condition, moral and physical, of the Welsh people, bespeaks at least such interest in its results as novelty can impart. Our constitutional love of travel, and the restless spirit of English curiosity, have rendered us tolerably well acquainted with the domestic habits and political peculiarities of every people in the new world, from the Copper Indians to Patagonia—alike conversant with the popular idiosyncrasies of Icelanders and Hottentots, and painfully familiar with everything continental. Our sympathies, if less erratic, are certainly far more partial than our inquiries. To a Parliament which devotes nearly half its time, and no mean measure of its philanthropy, to Ireland—bestowing the largest share of its Imperial solicitude upon one-twentieth of its empire—it must have appeared somewhat impertinent in Mr. Williams to have directed attention to Wales. The north of this obscure territory is indeed familiar enough to tourists, and the south to mineralogists; but otherwise Wales has hitherto been a *terra incognita* in our political geography, over which sympathy skips in its transit to Ireland. The fact, nevertheless, stares us in the face, that this country, more purely British than any other part of the kingdom, with its loyal inhabitants, its great natural capacities, contributing no small measure of its vast mineral wealth to the supply of our most important necessities, has lain, as far as regards all concern for the moral, the mental, or even the physical welfare of its people, nearly as much neglected and overlooked as if it were a province of Tartary buried in the Steppes. Wales has deserved better of us; and we rejoice that at length there is some promise of the birth of a sympathy in the well-being of that country.

Mr. Williams's motion was made on the 10th of March, 1846, when Sir James Graham, the then Secretary of State, promised an inquiry: in pursuance of which promise the present Government appointed three commissioners last autumn to execute it. They were Mr. Lingen, a Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford; Mr. Jelinger Symons, Barrister; and Mr. Vaughan Johnson; all three being lay members of the Universities of Oxford or Cam-

bridge. They commenced their labours, at first jointly, early in the same month. After making preliminary arrangements each commissioner took a separate district. Mr. Vaughan Johnson proceeded to *North Wales*, the whole of which fell to his lot; Mr. Lingen and Mr. Symons dividing *South Wales* and Monmouthshire between them. The result of their labours lies before us in three ponderous blue folios. Part I. contains the fruits of Mr. Lingen's inquiry, comprising the counties of Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembrokeshire. Part II. contains one report on Brecknockshire, Cardiganshire, and Radnorshire, and another on the mining district of Monmouthshire, by Mr. Jelinger Symons. Part III. comprises the rest of Wales in the counties of Anglesea, Carmarthenshire, Denbighshire, Flintshire, Merionethshire, and Montgomeryshire, by Mr. Vaughan Johnson.

The comprehensive instructions given to the Commissioners by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, who superintended the inquiry, determined the extent and character it was to assume; and armed with these instructions, the three Commissioners (aided by two Welsh assistants each) proceeded to their task in October; and during the winter, certainly one of the most unfavourable on record for such an enterprise, accomplished their investigation in every parish, and with scarcely an exception, as far as we can gather from their reports, into every school for the poor in Wales. The inquiry appears to have been completed in the month of May.

We shall now endeavour to cull its most interesting results, which we shall comprise under the separate heads of—*I. Statistics of Scholars. II. Income and Qualifications of Schoolmasters and Mistresses. III. the Instruction given, and the Attainments of the Scholars. IV. Character, Tenure, and Income of Schools. V. Sunday Schools. VI. General Mental and Moral Condition of the People.*

I. STATISTICS OF SCHOLARS.—The day schools for the poorer classes, and the scholars they contained, appear to us to be the most important items in the voluminous statistical details with which these Reports are deluged. As they exhibit the comparative dearth of education in each county, we deem them sufficiently interesting to find a place here. The first column under each county in the following table gives the actual number of scholars found on the books, or belonging to all the schools for the poorer classes in each county; the second column in each gives the proportion per cent. of the whole population *at each age and of each sex*. For instance, in Flint the female children under five years old *at school* are 8·2 per cent. of the whole number of that sex in the county.

TABLE OF DAY-SCHOOL SCHOLARS IN WALES, with their Ages and Sexes, and Proportion to the Population.

AGES OF CHILDREN ON THE BOOKS.		ANGLESEY.		CARNARVON.		DENBIGH.		FLINT.		MERIONETH.		MONTGOMERY.		BRECKNOCK.		CARDIGAN.		RADNOR.		CAERMARTHEN.		GLAMORGAN.		PEMBROKE.		WALES.	
		Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. of Scholars to the same class of Population.	Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. of Scholars to the same class of Population.	Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. of Scholars to the same class of Population.	Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. of Scholars to the same class of Population.	Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. of Scholars to the same class of Population.	Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. of Scholars to the same class of Population.	Number of Scholars.	Centesimal Proportion to the same class of Population.	Number of Scholars.	Centesimal Proportion to the same class of Population.	Number of Scholars.	Centesimal Proportion to the same class of Population.	Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. to the Population.	Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. to the Population.	Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. to the Population.	Number of Scholars.	Proportion per cent. of Scholars to the population of each class.
Under 5 years:—		137	4.1	343	4.4	149	2.6	392	8.5	67	3.5	127	2.8	234	6.6	92	2.0	54	3.4	453	6.2	1,339	11.4	433	7.8	3,750	6.2
Male		117	3.7	349	6.3	204	3.5	376	8.2	64	2.5	150	3.3	192	5.5	90	2.0	52	3.0	378	5.4	1,295	11.3	441	7.5	3,728	6.2
Female		20	0.4	94	1.1	45	0.8	16	0.4	3	0.1	77	1.7	42	1.1	2	0.0	2	0.1	75	1.0	44	0.4	61	1.1	22	0.4
Total		254	3.9	692	5.3	339	3.0	798	8.3	151	3.0	277	3.1	486	6.0	183	2.0	106	3.3	831	5.8	2,664	11.4	564	7.4	7,488	6.2
Between 5 & 10 yrs:—		1,107	34.3	1,729	34.7	2,435	44.6	2,469	58.9	928	38.5	1,489	34.3	1,217	39.4	1,257	28.7	422	26.1	2,205	31.8	4,731	48.1	2,434	44.5	22,503	40.1
Male		756	24.3	1,346	27.2	1,859	35.3	2,070	50.6	684	29.6	1,250	28.8	944	29.3	883	16.0	297	19.0	1,459	21.3	3,883	39.0	1,511	27.4	16,749	30.2
Female		351	10.0	383	7.5	576	10.3	399	9.3	244	10.0	239	5.5	273	7.1	374	8.7	125	7.1	746	10.5	848	7.7	923	17.1	5,754	10.1
Total		1,458	39.4	3,075	30.9	4,294	40.0	4,569	54.8	1,612	34.1	2,743	31.5	2,161	34.2	1,942	22.4	719	22.6	3,664	36.6	8,664	43.5	3,945	35.9	30,252	35.2
Between 10 & 15 yrs:—		733	25.1	1,313	29.7	1,539	29.3	1,112	28.5	929	39.4	867	21.1	851	28.8	1,229	31.1	311	20.1	1,696	27.1	1,861	19.9	1,780	36.7	14,141	26.4
Male		533	18.3	887	20.8	1,219	25.3	1,157	30.5	414	20.9	670	21.6	547	18.5	532	13.9	245	17.3	906	14.7	2,079	23.4	1,109	22.1	10,486	20.16
Female		200	7.8	426	8.9	320	6.0	155	4.0	515	20.5	197	5.0	304	10.3	697	17.2	66	4.8	790	12.4	782	8.0	671	14.6	3,655	6.8
Total		1,288	21.8	2,290	25.4	2,758	27.2	2,229	29.4	1,243	30.4	1,743	21.4	1,398	23.7	1,761	22.6	556	18.8	2,602	21.0	3,940	21.6	2,869	29.3	24,027	34.2
Grand Total:		1,007	30.9	3,285	29.0	4,193	34.0	4,003	31.4	1,844	36.2	2,483	10.9	2,302	24.0	2,478	30.1	787	16.6	4,734	21.2	8,201	35.7	4,637	28.7	40,934	28.9
Male		1,497	15.4	2,882	17.5	3,282	20.6	3,583	29.0	1,692	17.1	2,282	17.6	1,683	17.4	1,807	10.4	594	12.6	2,713	15.7	7,287	23.4	3,601	18.7	30,273	18.7
Female		3,404	18.2	5,967	19.7	7,405	22.8	7,366	30.2	3,006	21.7	4,765	18.4	3,985	20.7	3,885	18.3	1,381	14.6	7,067	17.7	15,288	24.8	7,698	23.6	71,367	21.3
Number of Schools..		60		79		127		131		60		121		96		101		43		179		327		206		1,637	

It results from this table that only 27·3 per cent. of the entire population of a school age (between 2 and 15), are at school in Wales. A very great dearth of instruction is thus indicated, especially where so very large a proportion of the population is within the pale of those who would avail themselves of schools for the working classes. Assuming that six years is the shortest period during which the education, even of the humblest child, should be continued, an approximation to the number who ought to be found in that case at school at any one time will be attained with tolerable accuracy in this manner. Take the whole number of children above two and under fifteen years of age in Wales, and deduct one-fifteenth* for those children who belong to the wealthier classes, and for those who are incapacitated by illness from attendance at the schools in question, and half the remainder will be the number who ought to be at school at any one time in order to sustain an average period of six years' schooling for each child. According to the Census Tables of 1841, the calculation would run thus:—Total number of children between two and fifteen in Wales = 260,948 — $\frac{260,948}{15}$ = 243,552. Of which one-half = 121,776 ought to be found at school; to these we must add 7 per cent. for the increase of population since 1841, which gives us 130,300; whereas 71,367 only were found there, showing a deficiency of no less than 45·2 per cent. This is the aggregate deficiency.

In looking at the details afforded by the table, we find some topographical inequalities in the distribution of schooling worthy of note. The counties stand thus in amount of schooling:—

<i>Above the average.</i>	<i>Below the average.</i>
(N) Flint	(M) Brecknock
(S) Glamorgan	(N) Carnarvon
(S) Pembroke	(M) Montgomery
(N) Denbigh	(N) Anglesey
(N) Merioneth	(S) Carmarthen
	(M) Cardigan
	(M) Radnor

The letters prefixed, indicate whether the counties belong to North, Midland, or South Wales. It will be observed, that the great dearth of education is in the Midland counties, and the greatest amount of it in the Northern ones. Not only is the difference between Flintshire, on the one hand, and Radnorshire

* This is the result of some experience and data, and, as regards Wales, will be found tolerably accurate.

and Cardiganshire, on the other, above 100 per cent. in favour of the former, but we find that, whilst the six Northern counties assigned to Mr. Johnson, and the three Southern ones to Mr. Lingen, give an average proportion of about 22 per cent. at school, in Mr. Symons's Midland district the average is but 17 per cent. The disparity is still more striking, if we regard the ages at which these inequalities are the greatest; they occur in the most aggravated degree at the precise time when education is the most important; namely, between 5 and 10 years of age. In the South and North districts, from 36 to 37 per cent. of the children of that age are at school, but in the Midland, not 27 per cent. As might be expected, where there are manufactures to employ the children the falling off from school is greater in the former than the latter of these divisions, in the succeeding lustrum from 10 to 15. A band of moral and physical barrenness encircles the centre of Wales.

As regards the attendance at school of the sexes, there is a marked inferiority in that of the females, and again is this evil omen predominant in the Midland district. The number of scholars in proportion to population of the same age and sex results as follows in each district:—

	Males.	Females.
Northern	24.0	19.9
Midland	20.9	13.3
Southern.....	25.0	19.5

Nevertheless, the male population under 15 exceeds the female only by 1.7 per cent.

Mr. Lingen remarks of his Southern district, that though before fifteen the males exceed the females in the population, after that age the females exceed the males, in Carmarthenshire, by one-tenth, in Pembrokeshire by one-fifth; a disproportion which he rightly observes—

“Marks in what quarter the adult male labour in South Wales is drained off, viz., to the coal and iron districts; for, if we take the population under fifteen years of age, the males are in each county in a majority. But, while the female population is left to preponderate in the rural nurseries of labour, its educational destitution is comparatively greater than that of the other sex.”

This drain of semi-adult and adult males to the mining districts, entirely corroborated by a corresponding variation in the population, is an important feature, on which Mr. Lingen thus comments:—

“It will be observed, however, that in Glamorganshire the percentage of those under five years of age considerably exceeds, and of

those over ten years of age considerably falls short of that in the other *two** counties. This is no more than was to be expected, because in Glamorganshire, labour very soon becomes valuable (a boy of eleven or twelve can earn from 5s. to 7s. per week); and manufacturing employment is not suspended by the vicissitudes of the seasons, so as to afford more leisure at one time of the year than at another for older persons to go to school again. It would therefore appear, that so far as any desire is manifested by the poor themselves to extend the period of education, the inclination in the rural districts is to continue it longer, and in the manufacturing to commence it sooner, than at present. Such indications are instinctive announcements in what manner these classes can most conveniently, and therefore will most readily, co-operate with extrinsic efforts to educate them. Infant schools ought to bear a much larger proportion to day schools in the* manufacturing than in the rural districts."

Whether, on the other hand, the manufacturing interest should not accommodate itself to the educational interest, may be a matter of question. Be this as it may, the fact is one of much moment, showing that the existing tendency of the mining industry in Wales is hostile to the progress of education.

Female education seems, however, to be most neglected in the agricultural districts. It is a fact worthy of note that only in those counties where the general average of instruction is the highest, as in Flintshire, and Glamorganshire, and Denbighshire, is there any approach to an equality of education between the sexes.

Mr. Symons says upon this subject, after stating similar statistics in his Midland district—

"The stay at school was taken without distinction of sexes, according to the schedules furnished for the purpose; but I have reason for thinking that the stay of the girls at school is even shorter than that of the boys, although they have more leisure and can be better spared. When it is considered how influential is the mind of the mother in moulding the conduct and determining the character of her off-spring, it appears doubly essential that girls should be well and carefully educated. In my district, not only in amount of schooling, but in attainments, they are decidedly worse off than boys. The reason for this inferiority is, that money being the sole motive for acquiring the little education that exists, that inducement is much less strong with respect to females than with regard to males, for men are supposed to be more in need of arithmetic and writing for their advancement in life. Another reason is the preponderance of schoolmasters over schoolmistresses. Each favour their own sex and neglect the other, as a general rule; though I have met with some exceptions; but the girls

* Not so with respect to Carmathen, which exhibits the same features. See the preceding table.

for the most part are more imperfectly instructed, if possible, than the boys. The effect is observable in the gross ignorance of the female peasantry; and this is especially great in Cardiganshire and Radnorshire."

On the Monmouthshire mining district, as to the proportion of children of each age, the report given by Mr. Symons is necessarily defective, since he reports only on the Welsh and mining parts of Monmouthshire, and the Census Tables do not enable him or us to supply the detail necessary to complete the above statistics. Nevertheless, much is attained; and we shall group the chief results with those of the other districts. We may premise, however, that it is one of peculiar interest, inasmuch as the increase of population there has exceeded that of any other county in the kingdom, through the rapid tide of immigration, and the country which occupied Mr. Symons's inquiry was that mineral basin through the centre of which Frost and his followers marched to Newport. The total population of this district, comprising the 18 mining parishes, and those containing iron manufactures, amounted to 86,079, of whom 46,244 are males, and only 39,835 are females. The following were the children found on the books of the schools.

Under five years.....	{ Male	713
	{ Female	659
	Total.....	<u>1,372</u>
Between five and ten years	{ Male	2,249
	{ Female	1,675
	Total.....	<u>3,924</u>
Between ten and fifteen years ...	{ Male	615
	{ Female	741
	Total.....	<u>1,356</u>
Under fifteen years.....	{ Male	3,577
	{ Female	3,075
	Grand Total.....	<u>6,652</u>

This completes the total number of children at day schools, not only in Wales but in the whole territory Welsh in character and sympathy, showing an aggregate of 78,019 children at school out of an entire population, amounting at least, when the school

census was made last year, to 1,060,000, being 7.73 of the whole population.

The utter inefficiency of the instruction given is still further attested by the extreme shortness of the stay of the children at school. In Mr. Johnson's district of North Wales, no less than 52.2 of the whole number at school had been there *less* than one year; in Mr. Symons' Midland district, 56.9; and in Mr. Lingen's, 49.8:—a very insignificant portion remain as much as three years; in the Midland district, only 7.9 per cent. The attendance is given by fits and starts with long intervals. Mr. Symons says—

“The belief is very general among the parents that the benefit of schooling bears a precise proportion to the amount of days, or weeks, or months they purchase of it; and they buy it retail just as they would buy butter by the ounce. A mother told me that she always liked to deal alike by all her children, and, as she could afford only a year's schooling, she divided it equally amongst all four.”

In the winter, many schools start up which disappear in summer, when there is employment to be had. The attendance is most irregular, even whilst the children profess to go to school. Mr. Johnson says—

“The average length of time which is devoted by each child for the purpose of receiving instruction is a result which could not possibly be ascertained, from the extremely imperfect and irregular records of attendance.”

And this remark applies necessarily to the other districts; as far as it could be ascertained the average duration of stay does not appear to exceed one year for each child. This can alone be reconciled with the ascertained proportion between the number of children and day scholars in Wales by the fact stated by Mr. Symons—

“That a much larger proportion of the whole number capable of being at school do, at some period of their youth, appear there. Relays succeed each other: and the rapid succession of children, which results from the shortness of stay at school, enlarges the superficial extent of schooling, and embraces a greater number of children than would be indicated by the same number at school were their stay there longer. On the other hand, this effect is in some measure limited by the fact that the same children frequently re-appear at the school they have left. This *pro tanto* reduces the total number of children required to supply the floating amount at school, and augments the probable number of absentees, who have no schooling whatever.”

Mr. Lingen speaks of similar irregularity of attendance in the South. “With the great mass of the children,” he says, “there

is nothing like regular attendance." In Monmouthshire, Mr. Symons found all classes agreeing that the attendance was "excessively fitful and utterly inadequate for the purpose of instruction."

"Very great fluctuations were said in most schools to occur in attendance; *the periods of industrial activity being those in which the dearth of attendance was the greatest.* The desultory and broken attendance of children at school often extends over several years."

Such are the main results of the statistics of scholars.

II. INCOME AND QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS. — A Welsh schoolmaster seems to be considerably worse off than a journeyman workman. His income seems to fluctuate between that of a London pot-boy and a cabman. In the North, their income averages £25 3s. per annum; in the Midland district, £23 16s. 7d.; in the Southern, £21 14s. 9d.; and in Monmouthshire, £26 4s. After glancing at this state of the finances of education, we were not much surprised to find that the qualifications of the teachers and the quality of the teaching, with a few exceptions, correspond with the value set upon, and the price paid, for their labours.

Sketches abound in the reports of the specimens of the genus pedagogue, which appear to have presented themselves to the Commissioners throughout the country. The vocation of schoolmaster appears to be a perfect refuge for the destitute.

"The teachers in North Wales are (says Mr. Johnson) drawn from the lowest class in society, which contains individuals competent to read, write, and cipher. In many cases even these conditions are dispensed with; and any person who is supposed to understand the English language better than his neighbours, is encouraged to undertake the office of schoolmaster. . . . Females of the poorest class being enabled, while engaged in domestic service, to acquire a knowledge of English with greater facility than men, the class of schoolmistresses is composed of persons who have been employed as sempstresses, charwomen, and servants of the most humble description."

Mr. Symons and Mr. Lingen give long lists of the trades and occupations which have been unsuccessfully followed by existing schoolmasters and mistresses. Excisemen, fishermen, governesses, barbers, laundresses, colliers, cooks, masons, ladies' maids, potters, publicans, dissenting ministers, widows and weavers,—form about a tithe of the discordant vocations which figure in these lists. The great object of schools in Wales is, to teach English; not because it is liked or admired, but because it is deemed the road to all sorts of gain and advancement. Even of this qualification

the masters are generally deficient. Here are instances, of which there are numberless others:—

“In the large national school at *Llanfair Talhaiarn*, Montgomeryshire, the master was formerly a farmer. He has never received any kind of preparation for his present employment. He spoke English (which is the only language professed to be taught in the school) very incorrectly; *e. g.* ‘Where *was* (God appeared to Abraham?’ ‘What God *said* to him?’ ‘Did God *made* the world?’ He could with difficulty understand what was spoken to him in English, and was unable to detect the mistakes committed by his scholars. Five could repeat a portion of the Church Catechism; but they knew it by rote only, and did not understand the meaning.

“In a large free-school at *Holt*, county of Denbigh, the master speaks English with a broad Cheshire dialect, and very ungrammatically. He said he ‘went and *teached*’ some ‘byes,’ (boys.) He prefaced a question as to whether I had not met with many ‘ignorant school-masters,’ by saying ‘*me* being an interested party.’ And while I was examining a class, he directed the children to ‘stand *backer*.’ He used no book in hearing the reading lesson; and when he thought a blunder was committed, he corrected it by committing another.”

Mr. Lingen discovers an industrious individual in Carmarthen-shire, who—

“Had been in the habit of keeping turnpike-gates and school together. He had never severed these somewhat anomalous vocations except about two years before my visit, when he had attempted to establish a school only in the government-built room at Carn. The success, however, of the experiment, had not encouraged him to continue or repeat it, and he expressed himself determined in future never to trust to a school alone for his livelihood, but always to *back it up with a gate*.”

Mr. Lingen remarks that—

“In the present day-schools, the teachers are often most inadequately acquainted with English themselves, and employ Welsh for all colloquial or explanatory purposes (if any). No specific attempt is made to teach English. The children are left to pick it up as they best can, in their progress from the alphabet to the Bible. The teacher asks them to spell the English words, and to give the Welsh equivalents for each *severally*, but not *sentence for sentence*. Hence, children are constantly found, who can read whole chapters with comparative fluency, and give the Welsh for single words, yet have not the remotest idea of what they have been reading about.”

The want of funds appears to be the great cause of this very mischievous inefficiency of the teachers. Mr. Symons remarks, that—

“The low standard of requirement for the instruction given, and the capacity of a schoolmaster, determines his scale of payment; and

the scale of payment likewise affects the character of the instruction and the standard of teachers. They act and re-act on each other. The qualifications, with a very few exceptions, deemed necessary, are fairly enough remunerated by the wages of common labourers. The character of the instruction usually required demands faculties neither of mind or body for its discharge, and is paid for accordingly. It calls into operation neither strength, knowledge, skill, or training; and it is perfectly natural that the puddler at iron-works, or the journeyman tailor, or the gentleman's groom, should be four or five times better off. In their respective callings, some one at least of the faculties or requirements, which limit the supply of labour and raise the rate of wages, is essential: to a master in a Welsh school no one of them is requisite, and hence his poverty. And so it must continue until there is something more required of him, something more supplied, and likewise some fresh means of paying for it. No man of ability, with a prospect of ordinary success in life, will undergo an elaborate training for a calling which will scarcely supply him with bare necessities; those only who are bereft of better resources will start for so poor a goal. The best normal school that it were possible to institute, would die of inanition if established in Wales without some concomitant means of remunerating the abilities it called forth. A college for the cultivation of Arabic in Birmingham would scarcely be a more hopeless enterprise. Students might be rendered proficient in their studies, but, if no one paid them for their pains, the institution would probably share the fate of the fruitless faculties it evoked."

Mr. Symons adds, that—

"The notion that there is any necessity that a schoolmaster should learn his business, is quite in its infancy in Wales. The established belief for centuries has been, that it requires no training at all; and that any one who can read and write, if he be disabled from every other pursuit, can be a schoolmaster at pleasure. That this is a practical belief is further evinced by the almost total absence of any schoolmaster who has not been brought up to another and dissimilar calling, which he followed, in most cases, up to the time that he became a schoolmaster."

Hardly any trained masters exist, even of those who have had a smattering of instruction at schools called "Normal." The proportion of the whole number was only 9·2 per cent. in the North; 9·8 in the Midland; and 12·5 in the South, district.

Mr. Lingen and Mr. Symons visited the only Normal school in Wales, established at Brecon, which appears to be in its infancy, and aiming moreover at high achievements without making good the groundwork. Mr. Lingen reports on the Newport school for Mrs. Bevan's locomotive masters, as still more inefficient. There seems, in fact, to be no adequate local means (even in embryo) of raising the standard of the schoolmaster—the

first element in, and step to, all educational progress. Popular ignorance and bad teachers act and re-act. The great barrier to improvement in the teachers appears to exist in the low estimate by the people of what ought to be taught; and this low estimate is perpetuated by the absence of any sufficient example of better instruction. Good Normal schools, and a supply of first-rate masters, appear to stand in the threshold of all progress in Welsh education. This can alone be achieved by means of foreign aid. The Welsh people neither can nor will help themselves, for the reasons above stated.

Some good schoolmasters have been discovered, and due praise is awarded to their individual merits in the huge appendices to these reports, where an elaborate report of the inspection of nearly every school is given. These cases occur far oftener in Mr. Johnson's district of North Wales than in any other. The general result, however, is, that the standard of schoolmasters is deplorably low. Their chief qualifications appear to consist in teaching writing in North Wales, and spelling in the Midland district.

But if it be the function of a schoolmaster to make the scholars understand what they learn, there are very few who either fulfil it or are aware that it is a part of their duty. The children are consequently found in all parts of the principality undergoing a mere mechanical process, which ends in imparting a knowledge, more or less imperfect, of reading and writing, and sometimes of arithmetic, without one iota of mental instruction, or exercise of the understanding. Divested of this, education cannot produce any of the moral fruits expected from it: and, as far as they are concerned, there is no hope of them from the present schools of the principality. The Commissioners are unanimous on this very important feature in their inquiry.

III. THE INSTRUCTION GIVEN, AND ATTAINMENTS OF THE SCHOLARS.—Mr. Johnson, speaking of the inefficient mode in which the English language is taught, says,—

“A fatal delusion has misled the promoters of schools in North Wales. They have supposed, that if children make use of the Bible as a handbook to learn reading from the alphabet upwards, and if catechisms be carefully committed to memory, the narratives and doctrines therein contained must be impressed on their understanding and affections. The catechisms and religious formularies, which were intended to direct and assist the teacher in explaining Scripture, and in imparting religious instruction, to supply the defects of extempore explanation, and to secure the scholars from the inculcation of false doctrine, have had the effect of suspending all intelligent exertion;

have degraded the office of the teacher, and reduced the scholars to a state of hopeless ignorance, not only of the peculiar doctrines of respective denominations, but of the first principles and truths of Christianity."

The constant use of the Bible in the day schools, as far as religious instruction is concerned, appears to be a complete mockery: it is used as a reading-book simply because it is cheap.

"I have been present (says Mr. Johnson) when the patrons and promoters of schools have awarded their commendation to the scholars who could repeat in English, with the greatest fluency, the questions and answers (indiscriminately) of the Church Catechism, or recite so many pages of a hymn-book, without either pausing for the stops, or taking breath at the conclusion of a hymn: while, at the same time, it was obvious, from the inability of the teacher, as well as of his scholars, to answer the plainest question in English, that no particle of intelligence could possibly accompany the recitation."

The absurd imposition, so often practised, of foisting the catechism and parrot-repetitions upon the credulity of churchmen as a test of sound religious instruction, is thoroughly exposed in these reports.

"The foregoing tables (says Mr. Johnson) exhibit a marked disparity between the attainments of scholars in knowledge of catechisms and other religious formularies on the one hand, and in knowledge of the outlines of Scripture history and of the first fruits of Christianity on the other. It appears that scholars who are perfect in the former subject, are nearly three times as numerous as those who possess a competent knowledge of Scripture history; that in the two counties in which the scholars are most perfect in catechisms, the same scholars are least proficient in knowledge of Scripture; and that in the three counties in which the knowledge of Scripture was the highest, that of catechisms was the lowest. Ignorance of the first outlines of Scripture history, and of the truths of Christianity, was frequently found to be compatible with accurate repetition of the Church Catechism, and even of the Thirty-nine Articles."

Mr. Symons explains how parrot exhibitions are got up at examinations, and the delusion they create.

"The matter is managed thus:—The children in the first class, having read in no other book, are generally able to read a chapter with tolerable ease, the same one being very frequently read over fifty times, as the dirty condition of the Bible at that chapter often bore testimony. If any questions are put, they are put in the manner I have described; so that the child reads the answer in the verse before him. In some cases, where visits and exhibitions are more frequent, the master gets up a set of questions for such occasions; the children being carefully 'cranmed' with the answers. Three or four of the cleverest ones are selected for this purpose; and, having answered

questions which it would puzzle a theologian to reply to off-hand, the visitor retires with a full conviction of the perfection of the religious instruction.* In the majority of schools the gloss is less artificial; but in most of them there are one or two show-scholars who answer for the rest.

“In Church schools the catechism assists the delusion. That it is almost universally among the subjects of *instruction* in Church day schools, is very true; that it is *learned* in them, equally untrue. With the exception of the few superior schools already referred to, the Church Catechism is put exclusively into the *mouths*, and never into the *minds*, of the children. I found that they generally repeated it correctly, and often fluently; but at least in five cases out of six, not a single child, or at most one or two children, had a vestige of a notion what it meant. My questions were not on the abstruser points, but on the most essential of the answers in the catechism; chiefly on the sponsorial promises, the articles of belief, and the duties to God and our neighbours. Children would frequently prove wholly unable to answer the same question, if put in another and still simpler form, which they answered instantly by rote when it was put in the words of the catechism. The articles of the Christian faith, pomps and vanity, the lusts of the flesh, the communion of saints, the resurrection of the body, and the Catholic Church, are terms which usually convey not the slightest idea to their minds. In fact, the catechism is a mere chaos of words to them—a Shibboleth, which they are taught to utter without knowing that it is meant to be understood.”

Mr. Lingen met with similar experience in the South.

“Out of eighty-eight children in the upper classes of schools that were better than the average, only six wrote correctly a few words of dictation; forty-two either made no attempt, or wrote mere gibberish; the rest preserved more or less glimmering of the sense, with more or less of bad spelling.

“I rarely or never found the Catechism taught to any purpose. The children connected the answers with the questions simply by the association of words, not of sense. Hence, the slightest variation in the form of the question puzzled them; and, if the mere mechanical memory failed, the proper answer of one question would be given in reply to another.

Appendix, p. 464:—

“When I asked, ‘Can you tell me what the word sacrament means?’ *not one* replied. I was *simultaneously* answered when I asked, ‘What meanest thou by this word sacrament?’”

“To be of the slightest use to the children of the labouring classes, especially in Wales, where there is the double language to contend

* This deception is extended to other subjects where examinations in public take place, and totally false impressions are thus craftily produced in favour of the master. This imposture requires exposure.

against, any formulary whatever must, throughout every clause of it, be pulled to pieces, reconstructed, paraphrased, and turned in every possible way, by oral teaching. Else, it is to them mere stereotyped nonsense. No explanatory book, no printed subdivision of questions and answers, supplies the place of this living commentary."

Mr. Symons and Mr. Lingen both relate instances in which schoolmasters assured them that if they taught the children to understand what they read in the Bible (and usually their only reading-book) the parents would be displeased. The following are a very few of the samples given of the sort of answers elicited generally under the stimulus of a promise of pence for correct answers.

In a Church school in Denbighshire—

"In the Catechism and Ritual of the Church of England they have been taught apparently with considerable pains. Three repeated several of the Thirty-nine Articles, one as far as the Tenth Article, with accuracy, and four recited the Church Catechism fluently; but when questioned irregularly, all but one mis-placed every answer."

In the Church school at Newmarket, county of Flint:—

"The Church Catechism is taught with considerable perseverance; 17 were able to repeat considerable portions, the reluctance of Dissenting parents having been overcome by the promise of a reward for the best repetition. It is learned, however, by rote, and forms the only branch of religious instruction imparted in the school, the Bible being not even read; consequently, the ignorance of the children was startling. Scholars, who could repeat the Church Catechism perfectly, *believed that their 'ghostly enemy' was Jesus Christ; and that there were three, nine, and fifteen Gods.* The master states that the clergyman assists to give religious instruction, and visits the school once a quarter."

In a Church school in Montgomeryshire the scholars

"Thought that the Book of Genesis was written by Exodus, and the Book of Exodus by Genesis; and believed that Prince Albert was Queen of England: yet nearly all these children were well conversant with English, which is spoken by nearly half the inhabitants, and 11 could repeat parts of the Church Catechism correctly."

In a Church school in the township of Nerquis, Mold—

"Failing to obtain any answer upon the chapter of the Bible which they had attempted to read, I asked a few general questions, *e. g.*, 'Who was the mother of our Saviour?' A boy, fourteen years old, replied, 'The Queen of England.' Others said, 'Adam;' and others, 'Eve.' No one present could tell me the name of the Queen of England; yet all these pupils understand English, and can speak English tolerably well."

At Bryngwn, Radnorshire, is an adventure day school (English exclusively spoken and understood):—

“Five girls and four boys read the 2nd Psalm to the master without making any stops, and so that the sense was often unintelligible, without any correction from the master, who said he had not yet begun to ask them questions. Finding that five of the children had been to the Sunday school kept by the publican, I examined them first on Scripture, pence being promised beforehand and given for every correct answer. Who wrote the Psalms? No one knew. Who wrote the Bible?—Moses. What was he? No one knew; one had heard tell of him. Who was Christ? Five repeatedly declared they did not know, and had never heard of him—the rest answered—only one knew he was crucified, but none could tell how they were to be saved.”

At the national school, Merthyr, Mr. Lingen

“Heard the 2nd class (7 boys) read St. Matthew ix. indifferently. Could not tell what death Christ died; one answered *Bethlehem*; another, *palsy—hung him—nailed him on the cross*—they nailed at the same time with him *certain of the Scribes*. It was evident that the children did not understand a syllable of what I was saying, and they were looking in the verses read for answers to my questions, being used to hear no other questions put to them than the words of each verse read in an interrogative form; and in this way *certain of the Scribes* was picked at random from v. 3.”

At the Coginan Lead and Silver Mines, Cardiganshire, Mr. Symons gives the following:—

“What were the Apostles to do? Pause. A penny offered to any one who would tell. Second girl—To write. What were they called who were to write the Gospels? Silence. Who did write the Gospels?—Christ, Sir. Where was Jesus Christ born?—In Bethlehem. Where is that?—In Judea. Where is Judea?—In Bethlehem. Is it in Wales?—No, Sir; in England. Where did Christ die?—In Calvary. Where is that?—In Bethlehem. Where is Bethlehem?—In Europe. Will Christ come again? First boy—No. Second boy—Yes. What will he come for?—To burn the world. The mission of the Prophets was explained by one girl only; and they were said by another to be Moses and John; and this was corrected by a sharp boy, who said they told of John, he thought, but what John he did not know. The geographical examination was utterly hopeless. Judea was in this country; Scotland joined to Wales; Ireland was a town, and one thought it was a country; France a parish; and there were two quarters only of the globe.”

In a school at Llansamlet, Glamorganshire, Mr. Lingen says—

“I heard them (12 boys) read St. John ii. John the Baptist lived in Bethlehem of Judea; *in Jordan (sic)*; in six waterpots of stone (*sic*). This answer arose from an effort of the boy who made it to find by reference to the chapter some verse which should explain what was asked. The

early part of the chapter is about Christ's turning the water into wine ; the boy, not understanding a syllable of it, had lit upon the foregoing words, and gave them in answer to my question, hap-hazard."

In several experiments made by the Commissioners it was satisfactorily ascertained that in the great majority of instances the children do not understand the meaning even of ordinary words. Ideas or knowledge are conveyed to their minds only accidentally, or in rare instances by the few teachers who really teach. The ignorance of the whole mass of the people, even on the commonest subjects of secular information, is certainly singular. Their whole knowledge is comprised in a sort of spurious theology, and their only intellectual exercise consists of polemics, to which they appear to be so exclusively partial that no Welsh periodicals can live (though the experiment has been tried) but those which deal in religious and sectarian controversy. To sum up the general result of the inquiry into the attainments of the children in Welsh schools we cannot do better than quote Mr. Lingen's report:—

"I have no hesitation in saying that a child might pass through the generality of these schools without learning either the limits, capabilities, general history, or language of that empire in which he is born a citizen, and this is the kind of knowledge which I consider to be the province of geography, English history, English grammar, and English etymology in elementary schools. The ideas of the children remain as helplessly local as they might have done a thousand years ago. All that they learn now they might have learnt then. There is absolutely nothing in their education to correspond with any part of all that which has since happened and is happening in the world. I do not imagine that it is possible adequately to conceive the narrowness which circumscribes their view, or the confusion which renders unmeaning to them every word that expresses a relation more extensive than their daily sphere. They cannot, on leaving school, read with intelligence the most ordinary work upon subjects of common information. What share in those notions which constitute our national existence can a lad have who calls the capital of England *Tredegar*; who, being pressed to name another town in England besides London, names *Europe* (Appendix, p. 334), or *America* (p. 283); who says that William the Conqueror defeated the English at the Battle of Waterloo (p. 239), and reigned next before Queen Victoria (p. 283); that Napoleon was a Russian (p. 352), or an American, Scotchman, Spaniard (p. 395)? What compass has a person for the direction of his energies to the most profitable account who does not know to what English port the packets sailed from Cardiff, when all the produce of his neighbourhood is shipped? What hold has society upon the sense of interest, sympathies, or reason of such people?"

What, indeed! *

IV. THE DESCRIPTIONS OF SCHOOLS, THEIR INCOME, AND THE TENURE AND CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOL HOUSES.—

The great bulk of the day schools are private adventure schools, disconnected with any sect or party. The next largest division are Church schools, more or less superintended by the clergyman, the children being in some cases compelled to attend the Church and Church Sunday school and in others not. There appears to be more liberality in this respect in the north than in the other districts. The smallest class of schools are those belonging to particular denominations, and to the British and Foreign School Society. In the following table will be seen the relative proportion which the two great classes bear to the whole :—

	Centesimal proportion to the whole number of	
	Church Schools.	Private Adventure School .
North Wales.....	46.5	37.4
Midland	42.9	51.1
Southern	29.4	51.8

As a proof of the uncertain tenure and ephemeral nature of schools in Wales, we may state, that of the whole number, 67.3 per cent. in North Wales; 71.0 per cent. in Midland Wales; 87.1 per cent. in the Southern district; and 81.1 per cent. in Monmouthshire; are held in rooms or buildings of which the occupiers are tenants at will.

North Wales contains by far the largest number of schools, decently housed and furnished with the common apparatus of schools; but such are rare exceptions elsewhere, and in like proportion are *systems* of teaching. By far the commonest method is that which prevails in all dame schools, with some few Welsh eccentricities, which nowise enhance the value of the instruction. The children generally all learn their lessons according to the darkest usage, viz.—aloud and together, creating a Babel of tongues utterly destructive of all mental attention.

The school houses and apparatus of the schools seem to be wretched in the extreme almost throughout the Midland district, and to a great extent in the Southern. They are generally cold, comfortless places, often built for other uses, without galleries or black boards, proper desks, or other necessary apparatus. The almost total absence of necessary outbuildings to the schools, and the dirty habits in consequence, appear to have astonished the Commissioners. In the Midland and Southern districts the church-yards in some places supply the deficiency! Here is a description, by Mr. Lingen, of one of the worst class, but not by any means an uncommon one in Carmarthenshire :—

“This school is held in a ruinous hovel of the most squalid and miserable character; the floor is of bare earth, full of deep holes; the

windows are all broken; a tattered partition of lath and plaster divides it into two unequal portions; in the larger were a few wretched benches, and a small desk for the master in one corner; in the lesser was an old door, with the hasp still upon it, laid crossways upon two benches, about half a yard high, to serve for a writing desk! Such of the scholars as write retire in pairs to this part of the room, and kneel on the ground while they write. On the floor was a heap of loose coal, and a litter of straw, paper, and all kinds of rubbish. The Vicar's son informed me that he had seen 80 children in this hut. In summer the heat of it is said to be suffocating, and no wonder."

Mr. Symons says—

"Nothing can exceed the primitive disregard of all comfort, and of all the ordinary aids and implements of education, in a large majority of these schools. In many of them the floor is paved like a stable, and massive benches are notched and cut in every direction. In some there is a wide open chimney in the fashion of an Irish hut; and in several the thatched roof is far from water-tight. Until the winter was far advanced, although the weather was most severely cold and damp, fires were very rarely found in these desolate places in Cardiganshire. There are upon the whole a larger proportion of decent school rooms in Brecknockshire than in other counties. In the north, however, and in the greater part of Radnorshire, schools are held, if at all, usually at the end of the nave of the church, partitioned off for the purpose."

Here is a specimen. The scene is a wild parish in Brecknockshire:—

"The church is a small barn-like building, with large holes in the roof, and evincing every symptom of neglect and discomfort. The day school is held in it. At the end opposite to the chancel, in an open space, at the side of one of the pews in the aisle, we found a large peat fire piled up on the floor, without any sort of grate, and the smoke finding its way, after filling the church, out of the holes in the roof. Twenty boys and girls were crowded round this peat fire, each reading his or her lesson aloud out of dilapidated primers or dog's-eared Testaments; all except two were reading English. The master sat among them with his hat on, which he kept on during the whole time that I remained in the school. Five only could read the Testament, which they did very indifferently, mispronouncing the words perpetually. The master said he never questioned them, it was no use to try. I did, however, try with ten of the best scholars in the school. Three thought Christ never came into the world; the rest knew who he was. Four did not know whether he was coming again, and two thought when he came again it would be to save sinners. Three knew about his death, and one only answered questions as to the means of salvation. None knew who the Apostles were; and the only answers given to 'Who was St. Paul?' were 'Jesus Christ,' and 'A writer.'

Some similar schools occur in North Wales; but there are there apparently many more tolerably good school houses than in the other districts. As regards the school furniture, books and apparatus, only 22.1 per cent. out of the whole number were found sufficient. In the Midland district, out of the total number of 240 schools there were no less than 86 held in private houses, and 47 in outbuildings not erected as schools, and 71 only in school rooms built for the purpose; the rest were in churches or chapels.

The income of schools, and the sources whence it is derived, tell a tale most discreditable to the wealthier classes. In the first place, the total sum expended on education is shockingly insufficient. It appears, that in the Northern district, this annual average income from all sources is £29 13s. 6d. per school; in the Midland, about £25; in the Southern, £22 13s. 1d.; and in Monmouthshire, £28 15s. 3d. There are a few rich and several small endowments included in this amount, in the administration of which, by the way, gross breaches of trust appear to exist. But the main fact is, that the great bulk of the whole sum expended in educating the poor comes from the pockets of the poor themselves! Wretchedly poor as they are (in some places wages being 7s. per week for an adult farm labourer), were it not for their own efforts there would be no schools at all, except in a few rare and isolated instances, either in Midland or in South Wales. Things are not quite so bad in the North. There the poor pay, in the shape of school-pence, &c. £6,997 out of the whole sum of £15,342. But in Midland Wales, out of £5,682, the school-pence amount to no less than £3,145; and Mr. Symons says—

“Taking the school-pence to represent the efforts of the poor, and the subscriptions and collections to measure the liberality of the rich, it appears that for every £43 subscribed by the latter the former contribute £100; and that apart from endowments the poor mainly supply themselves with the scanty education they possess. They in fact contribute more than appears on the face of the figures; for many who are too poor to afford money payments pay in kind, and eke out the subsistence of the schoolmaster with morsels of food and fuel. The evidence numbered 5, 8, 10, 15, 22, 30, and 38 confirms my statement, that any effective liberality in aid of education from the wealthier classes is perfectly hopeless.”

The amount expended in schools in South Wales is £15,224, and Mr. Lingen says—

“The school-pence constitute about three-fifths of the entire sum, *i. e.*, if each poor man's child is educated at an average cost of 12s. per annum, the parents themselves contribute more than 7s. of this sum.

Now, if 7s. be spread over all the weeks of the year, it averages more than $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per week; but, in fact, it is raised upon periods of attendance much shorter than all the year round, and, therefore, the rate per week is proportionably greater. Indeed, for reading, writing, and arithmetic, in the common private adventure schools, the charge is commonly 3d. or 4d. Such a sum is very considerable in a country where little money circulates, and where the labourer, feeding at his employer's house, receives good part of his wages in kind, and not more than 8d. per day in cash. On such terms he cannot send his children regularly to school."

Mr. Symons and Mr. Lingen mention a system on the part of the iron-masters of Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire to levy a per centage on the wages of their workpeople for schools, a portion only of which, says the former, is probably expended on its object, and none of it is accounted for to the workpeople, who, being Dissenters, often thus contribute per force to a Church school.

The neglect of the mental and moral necessities of the poor (and, in many cases, the physical destitution they are allowed to dwell in unheeded) by those who too often profit by their labour without the slightest concern for their welfare, call forth from Mr. Symons some strong passages of reprobation, amply supported by the evidence of witnesses—magistrates, clergymen and Dissenters—who dwell in the districts (chiefly mining ones) where these features prevail, and to which we shall again advert.

V. THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS.—The Sunday schools of Wales appear to partake of the character of theological debates as well as means of Scriptural instruction. The Commissioners unite in praising them. They seem to form the oasis in the barren region of Welsh education.

"A congregation meets in its chapel. It elects those whom it considers to be its most worthy members, intellectually and religiously, to act as 'teachers' to the rest, and one or more to 'superintend' the whole. Bible classes, Testament classes, and classes of such as cannot yet read, are formed. They meet once, generally from two to four P.M., sometimes in the morning also, on each Sunday. The superintendent, or one of the teachers, begins the school by prayer; they then sing; then follows the class instruction, the Bible and Testament classes reading and discussing the Scriptures, the others learning to read; school is closed in the same way as it began. Sections of the same congregation, where distance or other causes render it difficult for them to assemble in the chapel, establish similar schools elsewhere. These are called Branches. The constitution throughout is purely democratic, presenting an office and some sort of title to almost every man who is able and willing to take an active part in its administra-

tion, without much reference to his social position during the other six days of the week. My returns show 11,000 voluntary teachers, with an allowance of about seven scholars to each. Whatever may be the accuracy of the numbers, I believe this relative proportion to be not far wrong. The position of teacher is coveted as a distinction, and is multiplied accordingly. It is not unfrequently the first prize to which the most proficient pupils in the parochial schools look. For them it is a step towards the office of preacher and minister.

* * * * *

“ Thus, there is everything about such institutions which can recommend them to the popular taste. They gratify that gregarious sociability which animates the Welsh towards each other. They present the charms of office to those who, on all other occasions, are subject; and of distinction to those who have no other chance of distinguishing themselves. The topics current in them are those of the most general interest; and are treated in a mode partly didactic, partly polemical, partly rhetorical, the most universally appreciated. Finally, every man, woman, and child feels comfortably at home in them. It is all among neighbours and equals. Whatever ignorance is shown there, whatever mistakes are made, whatever strange speculations are started, there are no superiors to smile and open their eyes. Common habits of thought pervade all. They are intelligible or excusable to one another. Hence, every one that has got anything to say is under no restraint from saying it. Whatever such Sunday schools may be as places of instruction, they are real fields of mental activity. The Welsh working man rouses himself for them. Sunday is to him more than a day of bodily rest and devotion. It is his best chance, all the week through, of showing himself in his own character. He marks his sense of it by a suit of clothes regarded with a feeling hardly less Sabbatical than the day itself. I do not remember to have seen an adult in rags in a single Sunday school throughout the poorest districts. They always seemed to me better dressed on Sundays than the same classes in England.”

Mr. Johnson also commends them upon the whole, in North Wales, but in qualified terms. He says:—

“ The Sunday schools, as the main instrument of civilization in North Wales, have determined the character of the language, literature, and general intelligence of the inhabitants. The language cultivated in the Sunday schools is Welsh; the subjects of instruction are exclusively religious; consequently the religious vocabulary of the Welsh language has been enlarged, strengthened, and rendered capable of expressing every shade of idea, and the great mass of the poorer classes have been trained from their childhood to its use. On the other hand, the Sunday schools, being religious instruments, have never professed a wider range. They have enriched the theological vocabulary, and made the peasantry expert in handling that branch

of the Welsh language, but its resources in every other branch remain obsolete and meagre, and even of these the people are left in ignorance."

Mr. Symons, who met with these schools in perfection in Cardiganshire, after pointing out the defects of Church Sunday schools which, with a few exceptions, proceed on the old humdrum parrot plan, speaks thus of their relative features:—

"As regards the method pursued in Church Sunday schools, little need be said: it has no distinctive feature. This is, in my humble judgment, their chief defect: the ordinary routine of hymn, reading verse by verse for a length of time, generally without illustration, comment, or question by the teacher, and the repetition of collect and catechism, comprise the sum of the instruction attempted. There is nothing to awaken the faculties, arouse the interest, soften the feelings, and reach the hearts of the children. Simultaneous exhortation exists, I believe, scarcely anywhere in Church Sunday schools. They want life. The whole system is spiritless and monotonous, and repulsive instead of attractive to children. The good Sunday schools belonging to the Church, where the Church is alive and energetic, do vast good; but even the best are capable of improvement in energy, animation and method.

"The Dissenting Sunday schools are decidedly more effective for the purposes of religious instruction than those of the Church. They have defects of mental and spiritual exercise, but their system is far superior where it is effectively administered. These schools are of a character wholly distinctive from that of Church Sunday schools: they are intended less for the instruction of children in elementary religious education, than designed as a familiar means of spiritual improvement for the congregation at large; hence the large number of adults who attend them. It is a pleasing sight to see a chapel thronged with the poorer classes, each pew containing from five to ten persons, consisting either of male or female adults, or children, and in each pew a teacher, selected for the superiority of his zeal and knowledge, reading with the rest, and endeavouring in most cases with his utmost ability to explain the Scriptures to his little flock, who, in all good schools, are questioned to the best of his powers as to the meaning of all difficult passages. When it is considered that, with scarcely an exception, the thousands who throng these schools belong exclusively to the working classes, and that numbers in every chapel are surrendering the best part of their only day of rest to the office of teaching and improving their still humbler neighbours; and when I remember that in many places these working people, in their Sunday schools and chapels, have alone kept religion alive, and have afforded the only effective means of making known the Gospel,—I must bear cordial testimony to the services which these humble congregations have rendered to the community. At the same time, the defects in

the Dissenting schools are very obvious. In many there is far too little mental exercise, and in such cases the school degenerates into a mere seminary for learning to read and sing. This defect is always proportioned to the greater or less degree of ability in the teacher. The system is not in fault; it is owing in great measure to want of competent information in the teachers—and this is especially the case with female teachers—and a good deal to the comparative neglect of these schools by the Dissenting ministers, whom I scarcely ever saw in them, and who, it may be supposed, would be most competent to direct and stimulate the teachers. This office is wholly left in most cases to the superintendent, who does not always perform this function effectively, especially in the personal visiting of each class, and in the exhortation which ought to be given invariably at the conclusion of the school. This excellent method of keeping alive attention and giving oral instruction is imperfectly practised in most of the Dissenting Sunday schools, and almost wholly unpractised, to the best of my knowledge, in Church Sunday schools.

“ In some of the Dissenting Sunday schools questioning leads to discussion, and discussion not unfrequently to a profitless inquiry into abstruse points of polemics and diversities of creed which tend little to Christian improvement. I have heard very curious and recondite inquiries directed to solve even pre-Adamite mysteries in these schools. The Welsh are very prone to mystical and pseudo-metaphysical research, and especially in Cardigan-shire. The great doctrines and moral precepts of the Gospel are, I think, too little taught in Sunday schools. They are more prone to dive into abstract and fruitless questions upon minute incidents, as well as debateable doctrines,—as for example, who the angel was that appeared to Balaam,—than to illustrate and enforce moral duties or explain the parables. The essential means of salvation are usually better taught, but not always with sufficient simplicity.

“ This system is admirable. In all the best schools nothing is done to weary—everything to keep attention awake and to enliven the school: nothing is tediously prolonged. There is a continual diversity of mental occupation, varied by hymns; and vocal music is exceedingly well taught and practised in some few schools.”

The statistics of these schools present, in a very striking manner, the relative force of the different sects in Wales. They measure it accurately: for nearly every Dissenter and Churchman deems the Sunday school an essential branch of his religious worship. And, as among the former, adults attend as well as children, the following table forms a very interesting index to the state of creeds among this polemical people.

SUNDAY SCHOOL SUMMARY.

	Number of Schools.	Total of all Ages.	Centesimal Proportion of Scholars of each Class to the Total Population of the same Sex and Ages in each County.						Proportion of all Ages and Sexes to the whole Population.
			Under 15 Years of Age.			Above 15 Years of Age.			
			Males.	Fem.	Total	Males.	Fem.	Total.	
NORTH WALES.									
Church of England ..	124	11,891	6·2	6·7	6·5	1·05	·92	·99	3·0
Baptists	73	5,693	2·1	2·0	2·0	1·3	·9	1·09	1·4
Calvinistic Methodists	545	64,341	19·3	19·4	19·4	16·0	12·6	14·3	16·24
Independents	232	18,510	6·3	6·1	6·4	4·2	2·82	3·7	4·67
Wesleyan Methodists..	183	15,460	5·7	5·2	5·1	3·61	2·43	3·0	3·9
Other denominations .	4	359	·2	·2	·2	·01	·03	·03	·09
Grand Total	1,161	116,254	39·8	39·6	39·9	26·2	19·7	23·1	29·3
BRECKNOCKSHIRE.									
Church of England ..	40	2,409	9·6	11·4	10·5	1·1	1·0	1·0	1·4
Baptists	30	2,132	6·6	5·6	6·1	3·3	1·9	2·6	3·8
Calvinistic Methodists	45	3,742	8·9	8·2	8·6	6·7	4·7	5·7	6·7
Independents	51	4,080	11·2	10·0	10·6	7·0	4·0	5·5	7·3
Wesleyan Methodists..	10	523	2·0	1·6	1·8	0·6	0·3	0·5	0·9
Other denominations .	5	768	2·4	2·2	2·3	1·2	0·6	0·9	1·4
Totals	181	13,654	40·7	39·0	39·9	19·9	12·5	16·2	21·5
CARDIGANSHIRE.									
Church of England ..	55	4,074	9·2	8·5	8·9	5·2	3·4	4·2	5·9
Baptists	18	2,025	2·9	3·1	3·0	3·1	2·5	2·9	3·0
Calvinistic Methodists	70	13,776	19·1	20·7	19·9	20·4	19·9	20·1	20·0
Independents	44	5,183	6·5	6·9	6·7	10·0	7·7	8·7	8·0
Wesleyan Methodists..	19	1,773	3·0	2·9	2·9	3·0	1·9	2·4	2·6
Other denominations .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	206	27,131	40·7	42·1	41·4	42·0	35·4	38·3	39·5
RADNORSHIRE.									
Church of England ..	25	1,146	11·7	11·8	11·7	0·3	0·2	0·2	4·5
Baptists	9	302	2·4	2·0	2·2	0·7	0·5	0·6	1·2
Calvinistic Methodists	7	299	2·0	2·3	2·2	0·8	0·4	0·6	1·2
Independents	6	304	2·3	2·4	2·3	0·4	0·6	0·5	1·2
Wesleyan Methodists..	4	167	1·4	1·6	1·5	0·2	0·1	0·2	0·7
Other denominations .	2	91	0·9	1·0	1·0	..	..	..	0·3
Totals	53	2,309	20·7	21·1	20·9	2·4	1·8	2·1	9·1
For the 3 Counties ..	440	43,094	37·2	38·0	37·6	26·1	21·8	23·8	28·8
SOUTH WALES.									
Church of England ..	193	13,148	7·6	8·1	7·9	1·1	·9	1·0	3·6
Calvinistic Methodists	214	19,045	7·6	7·3	·5	4·72	3·2	3·9	5·2
Independents	268	27,391	11·4	10·2	10·8	6·45	4·6	5·5	7·5
Baptists	171	14,186	6·3	5·8	6·0	2·9	2·1	2·5	3·9
Wesleyans	50	4,036	2·3	2·3	2·3	·43	·4	·4	1·1
Other denominations .	17	1,589	1·1	·9	1·0	·1	..	·1	·4
Total	913	79,392	36·3	34·6	35·5	15·7	11·2	13·4	21·7

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

MINING DISTRICT.	No. of Schools.	Total of all Ages.	Centesimal Proportion of Scholars under 15 Years to the whole number of same Sex and denomination.			Proportion of all Ages and Sexes to the whole Population.
			Male.	Female.	Total.	
Church of England	30	3,193	83·6	78·6	81·2	3·7
Baptists	40	4,396	68·0	67·2	67·6	5·1
Calvinistic Methodists	15	2,292	42·6	54·9	49·6	2·7
Independents.....	34	3,745	61·0	69·8	65·0	4·4
Wesleyans	24	3,304	72·3	79·3	75·5	3·8
Other denominations.....	7	600	79·5	89·7	84·5	·7
Total	150	17,530	67·3	71·6	69·2	20·4

VI. GENERAL, MORAL, AND MENTAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—The reports unite in representing the morals of the Welsh people as extremely low. The want of chastity among the women is very prevalent, and almost universally admitted. Want of veracity is everywhere found, as well as want of honesty: but these immoralities do not grow into crimes, from which the people seem remarkably free. Mr. Lingen and Mr. Symons thus sum up the result of the evidence and their observations on the general character of the Welsh, both as regards morals and mind. As regards the want of chastity, Mr. Lingen says he was informed that,

“Immorality exists between the sexes to a considerable extent, chiefly among farm servants. The main cause is perhaps the imperfect arrangements in the older farm-houses, which leave the sexes too much together, and this even at night.

“The superintendent of police in Glamorganshire, to whom, by the kindness of the Marquis of Bute, I was introduced, strongly confirmed this statement in a conversation which I had with him, saying that ‘he had known servants of different sexes put to sleep in the same room.’ But it is not merely among inmates of the same farm-house that evil arises. There are several other causes producing similar effects.

“The system of bundling, or, at any rate, something analogous to it, prevails extensively. The unmarried men-servants in the farms range the country at night, and it is a known and tolerated practice that they are admitted by the women-servants at the houses to which they come. I heard the most revolting anecdotes of the gross and almost bestial indelicacy with which sexual intercourse takes place on these occasions.

“The great number of nightly prayer-meetings and Pwncu schools lead to bad results; they are places at which lovers agree to meet, and from which they return together at late hours. At these schools young

persons of both sexes are congregated together in great numbers and in close contact*

“Such are some of the circumstances under which the early life of a Welsh peasant-girl is passed. So far from wondering at what is said of them, viz., that they are almost universally unchaste, the wonder would be if they were otherwise. Their offences, however, arise rather from the absence of all checks than from the deliberate infringement of them, and betoken therefore much less depravity than the same conduct in persons more favourably situated.”

John Johnes, Esq., in his evidences states,

“In cases where marriage would be out of the question, from the superior rank of the man, the women would not generally listen to proposals of an immoral kind. The first breach of chastity with a woman in the lower class is almost always under a promise of marriage.

“Prostitution and conjugal infidelity are nearly unknown among them, and it would appear that household duties of a material nature (whereof several are naturally picked up in the common routine of agricultural employment) are not altogether neglected.”

On the alleged want of chastity, Mr. Symons, after citing very conclusive evidence from several deponents, guardedly says,

“If this be so, it is sufficient to account for all other immoralities, for each generation will derive its moral tone in a great degree from the influences imparted by the mothers who reared them. Where these influences are corrupted at their very source, it is vain to expect virtues in the offspring. The want of chastity results frequently from the practice of ‘bundling,’ or courtship on beds, during the night—a practice still widely prevailing. It is also said to be much increased by night prayer-meetings, and the intercourse which ensues in returning home. These are not the only causes of this vice. It results also from the revolting habit of herding married and unmarried people of both sexes, often unconnected by relationship, in the same sleeping-rooms, and often in adjoining beds without partition or curtain. Natural modesty is utterly suppressed by this vile practice, and the instinctive delicacy alike in men and women is destroyed in its very germ. These practices obtain in the classes immediately above as well as among the labouring people. . . .

“The Welsh are peculiarly exempt from the guilt of great crimes. There are few districts in Europe where murders, burglaries, personal violence, rapes, forgeries, or any felonies on a large scale, are so rare. On the other hand, there are, perhaps, few countries where the standard of minor morals is lower. Petty thefts, lying, cozening, every species of chicanery, drunkenness (where the means exist), and idleness prevail to a great extent among the least educated part of the community, who scarcely regard them in the light of sins.”

Mr. Symons attributes the paucity of great crimes

“Partly to the extreme shrewdness and caution of the people, but much more to a natural benevolence and warmth of heart, which powerfully deters them from acts of malice and all deliberate injury to others.”

Mr. Lingen elsewhere thus characterises the minds and morals of the people:—

“Poetical and enthusiastic warmth of religious feeling, careful attendance upon religious services, zealous interest in religious knowledge, the comparative absence of crime, are found side by side with the most unreasoning prejudices or impulses; an utter want of method in thinking and acting; and (what is far worse) with a wide-spread disregard of temperance, whenever there are the means of excess, of chastity, of veracity, and of fair dealing.”

Mr. Symons, as well as Mr. Lingen, describes the homes and cottages of the people as wretchedly bad, and akin to Irish hovels. Brick chimneys are very unusual in these cottages; those which exist are usually in the shape of large cones, the top being of basket-work. In very few cottages, is there more than one room, which serves the purposes of living and sleeping. A large dresser and shelves usually form the partition between the two; and where there are separate beds for the family, a curtain or low board is (if it exist) the only division, with no regular partition. And this state of things very generally prevails, even where there is some little attention paid to cleanliness; but the cottages and beds are frequently filthy.

The following is a graphic instance; the scene a small town in Cardiganshire:—

“Dung-heaps abound in the lanes and streets. There seemed seldom to be more than one room for living and sleeping in; generally in a state of indescribable disorder, and dirty to an excess. The pigs and poultry form a usual part of the family. In walking down a lane which forms one of the principal entrances to the town, I saw a huge sow go up to a door (the lower half of which was shut), and put her fore-paws on the top of it and begin shaking it: a woman with a child in her arms rushed across the road from the other side of the way, and immediately opened the door, and the animal walked into the house grunting as if she was offended at the delay, the woman following and closing the door behind her. Even the church-yard gives evidence of the absence of necessary out-buildings in the town, and several of the tombstones were covered with half-washed linen hanging to dry. This church and church-yard stand on a rocky eminence in the centre of the town, forming therefore a very conspicuous object in the place.”

Each of the Commissioners attests the extreme shrewdness and natural quickness of apprehension which seem to be the

peculiar and almost universal characteristics of the Welsh people; whilst for solid acquirements, and the achievements which require persevering labour, they seem to have no sort of faculty.

Mr. Johnson says,

“The intelligence of the poorer classes in North Wales corresponds with the means afforded for education. Far superior to the same class of Englishmen in being able to read the Bible in their own language, supplied with a variety of religious and poetical literature, and skilled in discussing with eloquence and subtilty abstruse points of polemic theology, they remain inferior in every branch of practical knowledge and skill. Their schools, literature, and religious pursuits may have cultivated talents for preaching and poetry, but for every other calling they are incapacitated. For secular subjects they have neither literature nor a language.”

The influence of this is felt in the morals of the people.

“Nor are these imperfect results of civilization confined to the intellectual state of the inhabitants: they are seen also in the social and moral condition of the poorer classes in every county in North Wales. Here also the means employed have been inadequate to meet the evils to be remedied. The main instruments of civilization have been exclusively religious, and the forms of religion which have alone succeeded in reaching the great mass of the inhabitants have been the spontaneous production of the poorer classes. The chief promoters of religion and civilization being themselves drawn from the poorer classes, are naturally unconscious of social defects to which they are habituated, and if their standard of civilization were higher, would be too poor themselves to assist their poorer neighbours.”

The Monmouthshire mining district appears to be the seat of the chief moral disease with which the whole of the South Wales mineral country is more or less infected, presenting the joint evil of a depraved and disaffected working class, and callous employers. Mr. Symons says,

“Evil in every shape is rampant in this district; demoralization is everywhere dominant, and all good influences are comparatively powerless. They drink to the most brutal excess, especially on occasions which I will endeavour presently to describe, which are designed for the purpose. They have little regard to modesty or to truth, and even the young children in the streets, who can scarcely articulate, give utterance to imprecations. The bodies and habits of the people are almost as dirty as the towns and houses of the swartly region in which they swarm. The whole district, with the exception of Newport, teems with grime, and all the slatternly accompaniments of animal power and moral disorder, with scarcely a ray of mental or spiritual intelligence. The people are savage in their manner, and mimic the repulsive rudeness of those in authority over them. The whole district and population partake of the iron character of its produce;

everything centres in and ministers to the idolatry of profit; physical strength is the object of esteem, and gain their chief god. There are, of course, even in this black domain, some individual exceptions, but the general picture can only be drawn with truth in the colours I am constrained to use.

“The masters are looked upon generally as the natural enemies of the men; the intimate relation between capital and labour, and the identical interest which links their fate, are neither understood nor believed; both classes imagine that they are necessarily antagonist.

“The spirit which engendered and fed the onslaught on Newport is by no means defunct. It is however entirely restrained at this time, by the belief that the subsequent fall in wages was caused entirely by the outbreak. But the restraint arises from a money motive; it is no moral restraint; it is no lasting restraint; it is one, moreover, which some fresh state of circumstances may any day convert into impassioned impulse and a fresh appeal to force: for physical means are the only ones these people are taught to use or to appreciate. They are the chief resources used against them by their employers, and are naturally the first they resort to for the purpose of retaliation. Moral influences are well-nigh unknown. Something is done indeed for schooling the children in the elements or mechanics of instruction; but I have failed to find *adequate* efforts made by any of the employers of labour in this district to moralize or improve the hearts and habits of their workpeople: and the large majority utterly neglect any such duty. To employ a clergyman at a very insufficient salary, and to place him single-handed among a population so thoroughly unprepared for the approaches of civilization and spiritual culture, is almost wholly ineffective. I know of few other means taken to reform them, but I met with more than one to keep them debased. I will give an instance:—A respectable inhabitant of one of the mining parishes told me that one or two benevolent ladies exerted themselves to establish a provident society for the purpose of encouraging the men to rescue something from the spirit and beer-house, and lay it by for the day of want or sickness. They applied to the proprietor of large mines in the place, who employed a number of these men, for his contribution and patronage. ‘Indeed,’ he said, ‘I cannot give you either, for if I did I should be arming the men against myself, and enabling them to strike for wages. I want them to spend their earnings and not to hoard them.’ This was an unusual case of candour, but by no means unusual policy. I mentioned it to a neighbouring magistrate, who told me he firmly believed it; and I heard from others, in whom I can place confidence, that the desire to deprive the men of the means of striking for wages and to subjugate them to their employers, is said to animate their conduct, and it appears to be even more at the root of the truck system than the immediate gain which springs from it.

“After considerable inquiry, and much conversation on the subject, I am persuaded that the same motive in effect protects the spirit-shops. In one part of my district alone, I was informed that there are above

80 private houses where spirit is sold without a license! The public-houses swarm; and it is not easy to ascribe the extent to which these outrageous temptations to drink are allowed to multiply with impunity to any other cause than a wilful connivance on the part of those who are morally bound to check them."

The physical condition was equally bad:

"The necessary outbuildings in most cases do not exist at all. An immense rent, in comparison to the accommodation, is paid to the Company or master for these miserable places. Heaps of rubbish lie about in the streets and before the doors of the houses. There is neither drainage, nor even lights, in the streets, although coal is close at hand. Tram-roads intersect and run along the streets of these places, which contain above 30,000 inhabitants. Nevertheless these places are little worse than others, and, in some respects, superior to Brynmawr, which I described in my last Report. In many cases the Iron Companies have merely a lease of the estate, and have no other interest than that of making the most they can out of it. In some places I heard of beds being so scarce that they were perpetually occupied, one gang or set of men turning in as the others turned out: they work every eight hours consecutively, and the beds had never time to cool. I need hardly say that fever ensued, and the practice was then forbidden by the employers.

"I could dilate considerably on this state of things were it pertinent to the object of my mission to do so. I have felt it right to say what I have said, because I cannot but feel that the external circumstances of a community operate on their morals, and that both affect their minds and form serious impediments to education. They who constantly witness scenes of dirt and disorder, and who are exposed to the debasing agencies of a low physical condition, are almost out of the reach of moral influences. Nevertheless these influences I feel assured might produce ample fruit. In spite of the rough and repulsive exterior these benighted people exhibit, I have had reason to know that Mr. Hughes of Llanhilleth is fully borne out in his mention of the kindheartedness and benevolence they possess: they are, moreover, by no means deficient in natural ability. I regard their degraded condition as entirely the fault of their employers, who give them far less tendance and care than they bestow on their cattle, and who, with few exceptions, use and regard them as so much brute force, instrumental to wealth, but as nowise involving claims on human sympathy. I am aware that I have used strong language on this subject, but I am more than fortified by strong facts, and I am not therefore to be deterred by fear of ill-will from the duty I humbly believe to be incumbent upon me.

"I found in all my inquiries the grossest ignorance prevailing among the people; and by no means confined to any particular sect or age. I examined numbers of children, and took every opportunity of conversing with adults among the working classes. The most startling proofs were afforded of absence of all knowledge, even of the

most ordinary matters, out of the sphere of their own narrow experience, and unconnected with their own concerns. On religious subjects I found them generally better informed, where they knew anything, than on any other subjects. Men who had no conception whether York was in England or Ireland, or how many days there were in a year, would argue on the necessity of adult baptism and the question of regeneration; but, usually, I found them quite ignorant and divested of any desire for knowledge."

The Welsh language (which prevails everywhere except in Radnorshire, in the largest towns, and to the South high-road to Carmarthen) is represented by all the Commissioners as the great barrier to the progress of every kind of improvement, and to the advances which civilization is making through increased facilities of communication and intercourse in every other part of the kingdom.

Mr. Lingen thus describes the ramified effect of this evil. First as regards the progress of education—all the books being in the English language:—

"It would be impossible to exaggerate the difficulties which this diversity between the language in which the school-books are written, and the mother-tongue of the children, presents. In proportion as the teacher adheres to English, he does not get beyond the child's ears; in proportion as he employs Welsh, he appears to be superseding the most important part of the child's instruction. How and where to draw the line; how to convey the principles of knowledge through the only medium in which the child can apprehend them, yet to leave them impressed upon its mind in other terms, and under other forms; how to employ the old tongue as a scaffolding, yet to leave, if possible, no trace of it in the finished building, but to have it, if not lost, at least stowed away—all this presupposes a teacher so thoroughly master of the subjects which he is going to teach, and also of two languages most dissimilar in genius and idiom, that he can indifferently represent his matter with equal clearness in one as in the other. No teachers less gifted could deal effectually with the existing state of things."

* * * * *

"Through no other medium than a common language can ideas become common. It is impossible to open formal sluice-gates for them from one language into another. Their circulation requires a network of pores too minute for analysis, too numerous for special provision. Without this net-work, the ideas come into an alien atmosphere in which they are lifeless. Direct education finds no place, when indirect education is excluded by the popular language, as it were by a wall of brass. Nor can an old and cherished language be *taught down* in schools; for so long as the children are familiar with none other, they must be educated to a considerable extent through the medium of it, even though to supersede it be the most important part

of their education. Still less, out of school, can the language of lessons make head against the language of life."

The evil is palpable, and the barrier it opposes to the acquirement of gain and advancement in life, is rapidly inspiring a desire to acquire a knowledge of the English language.

The very force of circumstances is compelling a change.

"Schools are every day standing less alone in this contest. Along the chief lines of road, from the border counties, from the influx of English, or English-speaking labourers, into the iron and coal fields, in short from every point of contact with modern activity, the English tongue keeps spreading, in some places rapidly, but sensibly in all. Railroads, and the fuller development of the great mineral beds, are on the eve of multiplying these points of contact. Hence the encouragement vigorously to press forward the cause of popular education in its most advanced form. Schools are not called upon to impart in a foreign, or engraft upon the ancient, tongue, a factitious education conceived under another set of circumstances (in either of which cases the task would be as hopeless as the end unprofitable), but to convey in a language, which is already in process of becoming the mother-tongue of the country, such instruction as may put the people on a level with that position which is offered to them by the course of events. If such instruction contrasts in any points with the tendency of old ideas, such contrast will have its reflex and its justification in the visible change of surrounding circumstances."

How very slowly the mother-tongue of the heart will yield her throne, may be gathered from the remarks which follow; in all of which Mr. Lingen's colleagues appear to concur.

"On the manifold evils inseparable from an ignorance of English I found but one opinion expressed on all hands. They are too palpable, and too universally admitted, to need particularizing. *Yet, if interest pleads for English, affection leans to Welsh. The one is regarded as a new friend to be acquired for profit's sake; the other as an old one to be cherished for himself, and especially not to be deserted in his decline.* Probably you could not find in the most purely Welsh parts a single parent, in whatever class, who would not have his child taught English in school; yet every characteristic development of the social life into which that same child is born—preaching—prayer-meetings—Sunday-schools—clubs—biddings—funerals—the denominational magazine (his only press), all these exhibit themselves to him in Welsh as their natural exponent, partly, it may be, from necessity, but, in some degree also, from choice. 'In the Cymreigyddion (benefit societies) it is a rule that no English shall be spoken.' (Appendix, Carmarthenshire, p. 285, Evidence of the Rev. D. A. Williams.) It is true that the necessities of the world more and more force English upon the Welshman; but, whether he can speak no English, or whether he speaks it imperfectly, he finds it alike painful to be reminded

of his utter, or to struggle against his partial, inability of expression. His feelings are impetuous; his imagination vivid; his ideas (on such topics as he entertains) succeed each other rapidly. Hence he is naturally voluble, often eloquent. He possesses a mastery over his own language far beyond that which the Englishman of the same degree possesses over his. A certain power of elocution (*viz.*, to pray 'doniol,' as it is called, *i.e.*, in a gifted manner), is so universal in his class, that to be without it is a sort of stigma. Hence, in speaking English, he has at once to forego the conscious power of displaying certain talents whereon he piques himself, and to exhibit himself under that peculiar form of inability which most offends his self-esteem. From all those favourite scenes of his life therefore, which can still be transacted without English, he somewhat eagerly banishes it as an irksome imposition.

"The Welsh language thus maintained in its ground, and the peculiar moral atmosphere which, under the shadow of it, surrounds the population, appear to be so far correlative conditions, that all attempts to employ the former as the vehicle of other conceptions than those which accord with the latter seem doomed to failure."

Perjury in courts of justice appears to be very common. This is attested by several witnesses; and the Welsh language, enabling a dishonest witness to gain time by requiring an interpretation, gives great facility for this vice.

It is a good feature that the people themselves desire to cultivate the English language. This feeling is fully evidenced by the fact, that even in the Midland districts but one day-school was found where the Welsh language was taught. In all the others English was exclusively taught; and Mr. Symons relates an instance where he found a cow-shed converted into a school, and a poor crippled man teaching English, who did not understand it himself, to a score of the poorest children in a remote village of Cardiganshire—a curious instance of the spontaneous efforts of the people themselves to acquire "the language of business."

The main results of the inquiry are amply attested by the evidence of the numerous Welshmen of all classes who were examined. This renders contradiction useless, and leaves to those who feel, not unnaturally, vexed at the disclosures made, but one rational course, *viz.*—to profit by them as a stimulus to improvement.

S. J.

ART. IV.—1. *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane.* By John Conolly, M.D., F.R.C.P.L., and Physician to the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell. With Plans. London: John Churchill, Princes Street, Soho. 1847.

2. *A Letter to Robert Greene Bradley, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Visiting Justices to the Lancaster Lunatic Asylum, on the Condition of the Insane Poor in the County of Lancaster, not resident in Asylums.* By Samuel Gaskell, F.R.C.S. Lancaster: printed by W. Newton, Cheapside. 1847.

OUR object is to call attention to the recent movement in favour of that large and unfortunate class of human beings, known as imbeciles and idiots; and to diffuse a knowledge of the measures successfully practised on the Continent, for the improvement of their condition. We need not stop to inquire whether this movement originated in England or in France: it is sufficient for our purpose to know that it has been practically and most satisfactorily demonstrated, that no member of the great human family, however low in the scale of intelligence he may be placed by reason of deficient mental organization, is any longer to be considered incapable of improvement, either mentally or morally.

It is a melancholy fact, that in most civilized lands idiots have been too long looked upon as “beings devoid of understanding and heart,” and as such “shunned with loathing and aversion—shut out from all social relations—regarded as mere animals denied the holy fire of intelligence, and exposed to physical treatment worse than the lowest of the brute creation;” but in other regions, in those for example, where the precepts of Mahomet are received as the rule of faith, “those on whom nature has forgot to smile,” are treated with a much greater degree of kindness than in many whose inhabitants “profess and call themselves Christians.” It must however be observed, that popular sympathy is enlisted in their favour in districts where the number of idiots is largest in proportion to that of the general population; and, as in Scotland and Ireland, so among the peasantry of some parts of the Continent, the fact of a person being an *innocent* almost certainly insures for him the kind treatment of his neighbours.

In England, upon nearly every other mental or bodily ill has due attention been bestowed. The deaf, the dumb, the blind, have their appropriate institutions and asylums, where they are successfully treated according to their several necessities, and are thus enabled to assume a certain position in society. But with the more unfortunate members of the human family, whose cause

we are now advocating, the case is very different. With the single exception, we believe, of an establishment at Bath, opened during the past year, by a few charitable ladies, the idiotic and imbecile portion of the community have hitherto had no asylum devoted to their reception and education; and the utmost that appears to have been done by way of ameliorating their circumstances, to adopt the words of Dr. Conolly in reference to incurable insane patients, is, that since "they are reduced to the condition of children, they are now treated as children, fed as children, kept clean like children, put into bed like children; they are only not punished like children; but are guarded by night and by day from danger, violence, or neglect, until their poor remains of life can be husbanded no longer."

This neglect may perhaps be traced to three principal causes.

1. The comparatively unobtrusive character of this form of mental disease, so different from many of the modes in which decided insanity manifests itself, and which, from their violence, imperatively demand the prompt interposition of the most active and energetic measures. 2. Ignorance of the number of these helpless creatures, existing uncared for and unknown, except by parties more immediately connected with them by ties of relationship or otherwise. And, 3. An idea that by no system of tuition could these hapless beings be rescued from their apparently irremediable condition. And this latter idea may probably have led to the little notice bestowed upon the idiotic and imbecile, even by those who have been the most active in their endeavours to secure the proper treatment of those cases of mental alienation for which our lunatic asylums are provided.

The praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Gaskell to obtain something like an approximation to the comparative numbers of the insane and the mentally deficient, in the county of Lancaster, have elicited some most unexpected results. This gentleman, desirous of gaining information as to "the proportion which the idiotic and imbecile bear to the whole number who are returned as lunatics needing hospital accommodation," addressed a letter to the medical officer of each poor-law union in the county of Lancaster, amounting in number to 139, requesting to be informed, "how many of the pauper insane under his charge are persons who have been attacked with insanity, and how many are congenital idiots?" The following is the gross result of replies from 133 unions.

Attacked with insanity	185
Mentally deficient from birth	503
	<hr/>
	688
	<hr/>

Of these 503, congenitally affected, there are, idiots ...	198
Imbeciles	305
	503

“As respects this result,” says Mr. Gaskell, “I think it right to state, that although from the first I imagined a large majority of the idiotic and imbecile class would be discovered, yet the amount here stated far exceeds any anticipations I had formed. It is worthy of remark, also, that this number, large as it is, does not in all probability represent this body of persons in its full magnitude. For when we take into consideration the circumstance that the whole of the idiotic are less likely to come under the observation of medical officers, than those attacked with insanity, it is probable that some of the former class may be omitted in these returns.”—p. 5.

Mr. Gaskell subsequently takes the number of idiotic and imbecile persons in the county of Lancaster at 550, which is probably near the truth, and asks, “What ought now to be done with them?” This question is one of the highest importance, especially when entertained in reference to the whole number of imbeciles in this country; for, although we have at present no means of ascertaining with precision the total number of persons thus afflicted in the United Kingdom, the number must necessarily be large, if we may take the county of Lancaster as our guide in the calculation. The question is, we think, well answered in the interesting details of the mode of treatment adopted in the Salpêtrière and Bicêtre Asylums in Paris, originally published by Dr. Conolly in the pages of the ‘British and Foreign Medical Review,’ and reprinted in the appendix to the volume whose title stands at the head of this paper; and more fully in a letter from Paris to Mr. S. G. Howe, of Boston, Massachusetts, dated February 1, 1847, hereafter to be referred to.

Dr. Conolly thus describes his visit to the Bicêtre:—

“The first part of the Bicêtre to which I was conducted was a school exclusively established for the improvement of the idiotic and of the epileptic, and nothing more extraordinary can well be imagined. No fewer than forty of these patients were assembled in a moderate-sized school-room, receiving various lessons and performing various evolutions under the direction of a very able schoolmaster, M. Seguin, himself a pupil of the celebrated Itard, and endowed with that enthusiasm respecting his occupation before which difficulties vanish. His pupils had been all taught to sing to music, and the little band of violins and other instruments by which they were accompanied, was formed of the old almsmen of the hospital. But all the *idiotic* part of this remarkable class also sung without any musical accompaniment, and kept excellent time and tune. They sung several compositions, and among

others a very pretty song, written for them by M. Battelle, and sung by them on entering the class-room. Both the epileptic and idiotic were taught to write, and their copy-books would have done credit to any writing school for young persons. Numerous exercises were gone through, of a kind of military character, with perfect correctness and precision. The youngest of the class was a little idiot boy of five years old, and it was interesting to see him following the rest, and imitating their actions, holding out his right arm, left arm, both arms, marching to the right and left at the word of command, and to the sound of a drum beaten with all the lively skill of a French drummer by another idiot, who was gratified by wearing a demi-military uniform. All these exercises were gone through by a collection of beings offering the smallest degree of intellectual promise, and usually left, in all asylums, in total indolence and apathy."—p. 158.

Dr. Conolly's testimony as to the greatly improved condition of these poor creatures, induced by this wisely framed and kindly administered system of moral and educational training, is fully confirmed by Mr. George Sumner, a gentleman residing in Paris, who, in a letter to Dr. Howe, of Boston, Massachusetts, gives some exceedingly interesting details as to the method of education pursued at the Bicêtre. Dr. Howe was a member of the Commission appointed in 1846, "To inquire into the condition of the idiots of the commonwealth [of Massachusetts], to ascertain their number, and whether anything can be done for their relief;" and the letter was elicited from Mr. Sumner by inquiries made in pursuance of a request that the Commission would procure evidence of what steps were being taken in Europe to improve the moral and mental condition of idiots. Mr. Sumner says:—

"During the past six months I have watched, with eager interest, the progress which many young idiots have made, in Paris, under the direction of M. Seguin, and at Bicêtre under that of Messrs. Voisin and Vallée, and have seen, with no less gratification than astonishment, nearly one hundred fellow-beings who, but a short time since, were shut out from all communion with mankind, who were objects of loathing and disgust,—many of whom rejected every article of clothing,—others of whom, unable to stand erect, crouched themselves in corners and gave signs of life only by piteous howls,—others, in whom the faculty of speech had never been developed,—and many, whose voracious and indiscriminate gluttony satisfied itself with whatever they could lay hands upon, with the garbage thrown to swine, or with their own excrements;—these unfortunate beings—the rejected of humanity, I have seen properly clad, standing erect, walking, speaking, eating in an orderly manner at a common table, working quietly as carpenters and farmers; gaining, by their own labour, the means of existence; storing their awakened intelligence by reading one to another; exercising towards their teachers and among themselves the generous

feelings of man's nature, and singing in unison songs of thanksgiving."

We naturally ask, How have these results been effected? To Dr. Conolly we are indebted for the following details of the rise and progress of the mode of instruction so successfully practised in France, in the case of persons with imperfect intellectual organization. These details we give *in extenso*, believing that they cannot be too widely known, in connexion with a more minute account of the peculiar mode of instruction pursued at the Bicêtre, which will form a valuable pendant to Dr. Conolly's description of the happy effects resulting from the adoption of the system.

"To M. Voisin, one of the physicians of the Bicêtre, the honour seems chiefly, if not wholly due, of having attracted attention to the various characters of idiots, and their various capacities, with a view to cultivating, with precise views, even the fragmentary faculties existing in them. His work, entitled 'De l'Idiotie chez les Enfants,' abounds with remarks calculated to rescue the most infirm minds from neglect, and to encourage culture in cases before given up to despair. Fourteen years' experience has confirmed the soundness of his opinions; and they have had the sanction of MM. Ferrus, Falret, and Leuret, physicians of the highest distinction in the department of mental disorders. M. Ferrus, who is the President of the Academy of Medicine, and Inspector-General of the Lunatic Asylums of France, was, indeed, the first to occupy himself, so long ago as in 1828, with the condition of idiots at the Bicêtre, of which hospital he was the chief physician. He organized a school for them, caused them to be taught habits of order and industry, and to be instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, and gymnastic exercises. M. Voisin's first publication on the subject appeared in 1830. The efforts of M. Falret, at the Salpêtrière, for the instruction of the insane, already spoken of, began in 1831, by the establishment of a school in that establishment for idiotic females. Nine years later, MM. Voisin and Leuret, as physicians to the Bicêtre, organized a system of instruction and education on a greater scale. These benevolent and successful efforts deserve to be remembered, as they no doubt prepared the way for the systematic attempt since made at the Bicêtre, where M. Seguin is enabled to apply to practice principles of tuition long recognized as regards the deaf and dumb, but only beginning to be acknowledged as respects those unfortunate beings whose mental faculties are congenitally imperfect in all the various degrees classed under the term idiocy. In this application the master has to educate the muscular system and the sensorial apparatus, as well as the intellectual faculties, or rather the intellectual faculties through them, as a preliminary: doing, in fact, for them by art, by instruction, by rousing imitation, what nature does for healthier infant organizations. The healthy infant is placed in a world calculated to exercise its senses, and to evoke and perfect all its muscular powers, and, to a certain extent, its

intellectual faculties. The imperfect or idiotic infant is in the same world, but its senses are, to a great extent, closed to these natural influences, and its powers of muscular motion are incomplete; its intellectual faculties are not evoked by any means whatever. The attention is vague, the memory feeble, the imagination futile, comparison is most limited, judgment most imperfect, and all the affections, sentiments, and moral qualities are disordered or perverted. The interesting question is, to what extent can careful and skilful instruction make up for these natural deficiencies; and, as already done for the deaf, the dumb, and the blind, reclaim for these unfinished creatures the powers and privileges of life. The exertions of future philanthropists will answer this question. Improvement must not be looked for beyond what is strictly relative to the imperfect individual in each case; but it would seem to be true of idiots, as of the insane in general, that there is no case incapable of some amendment; that every case may be improved, or cured, up to a certain point,—a principle of great general importance in reference to treatment.”—p. 159.

The method adopted at the Bicêtre which has produced such pleasing results, is fully detailed in Mr. Sumner's letter to Mr. Howe, before referred to; this also we gladly give in full, in the hope that it may awaken attention and eventually lead to the adoption of similar educational measures in our own country.

“ Let us take a young idiot, in whom scarce any of the senses appear developed; who is abandoned to the lowest passions, and who is unable to walk or to execute voluntary movements. He is brought to Bicêtre, and placed at once in the class of those boys who are executing the moving power. Here, with about 20 others, who have already learned to act somewhat in unison, he is made, at first by holding and guiding his arms and feet, and afterwards by the excitement of imitation, to follow the movements of his companions. These, at the order of the teacher, go through with various steps and movements of the head, arms, and feet, which, at the same time that they give wholesome exercise to the animal part of the system, develop the first personal sentiment, that of rest and immobility. After this, the class is made, at the word of command, to designate various parts of the body. On the 20th of January, the number of this class was 18; some of whom had been several months under treatment; others of whom had been but just attached to it. The teacher, 1st, indicated, with his hand, a part of the body,—as head, arm, hand, face, hair, eyes, and named it aloud; the children repeated the movement and touched the part. 2nd. The teacher designated, with the voice, a part which the idiot touched. 3rd. He designated a part by gesture, and the pupils named it aloud. There are many, of course, who are slow to do this, but the love of imitation, and the care of teachers, produce, in time, the necessary regularity of movement; the organ of speech has yet, however, to be developed in others.

“ A complete series of gymnastic exercises, adapted to the various

necessities which the physiological examination has established for each case, is now followed up; the result of which is, to create an equilibrium between the muscular and the over-excited nervous system, to fatigue the idiot sufficiently to procure him a sound and refreshing sleep, and to develop his general intelligence. At the same time, the hygienic treatment, adapted to his peculiar case, is applied. He is exposed to the light of the sun, to fresh air—is made to go through frequent ablutions, and is warmly clad. In most cases a tonic diet is adopted, and he is placed at table where the monitors, by dint of industry and example, teach him to eat as do those around him.

“ The next step is to educate the senses, beginning with that of feeling; and beginning with this, inasmuch as it is the sense by which the idiot acquires most readily a knowledge of external objects, long before his eye is accustomed to fix their image, or his ear to listen to sounds. Smell and taste are next cultivated; the former by presenting to the pupil various odours, which at first make no impression whatever, rose and assafoetida being received with equal favor. By degrees, and as the harmony of the functions is restored, and the intellectual activity developed, this sense is awakened, and lends again its aid to awaken others. The sense of taste is roused in the same manner, by placing in the mouth various substances, alternately, sapid and acid, bitter and sweet.

“ The power of speech, so imperfect in all, is the most difficult to develop; but a method, improving upon that which Pereira practised, in 1760, and which has been since successfully followed up in Germany, has been adopted at Bicêtre, and also in the private practice of Seguin, with great success. This is, however, the part of idiot education that proceeds the slowest, and which, more than any other, except, perhaps, the moral treatment, requires the greatest attention, patience, and intelligence on the part of the teacher.

“ The sight is next cultivated; and here, as indeed in every part of this miracle of instruction, great difficulties were at first encountered. The eyes of the idiot are often perfectly formed, but he sees nothing—they fix no object. The organ he possesses—but it is passive and dormant. The senses of smell and taste have been developed by direct action upon them; that of touch, by putting the hand in contact with different bodies; the stagnant eye of the idiot cannot, however, be moved by the hand of another. The method employed is due to the ingenuity of Seguin. He placed the child in a chamber, which was suddenly darkened, so as to excite his attention,—after which, a small opening in a shutter let in a single ray of light, before which various objects, agreeable to the pupil, arranged upon slides, like those of a magic lantern, were successively passed. The light, and its direction, having once attracted his attention, was then, by a change of the opening in the shutter, moved up and down, to the right and left, followed, in most cases, by his heretofore motionless eyeballs. This is succeeded by exercises of gymnastics, which require the attention of

the eye to avoid, not a dangerous bruise, but a disagreeable thump; games of balls and battledores are also used to excite this sense. Another means employed, is to place yourself before the idiot, fix his eye by a firm look, varying this look according to various sentiments; pursuing, for hours even, his moving but unimpressed orbit; chasing it constantly, until finally it stops, fixes itself, and *begins to see*. After efforts of this kind, which require a patience and a superiority of will that few men possess, the first reward comes to the teacher himself, for his identity is recognised by other means than the touch, and he catches the first beam of intelligence that radiates from the heretofore benighted countenance.

“As a consequence of this development of sight, certain *notions*—not ideas—are taught the child; these are those of form, colour, dimension, configuration, &c., &c. Form is taught by means of various objects,—by solid blocks, such as cubes, hexaedrons, &c., and by sheets of pasteboard, cut in squares and other geometrical figures. The pupils soon distinguish and name the different varieties of triangles—isosceles, scalene, equilateral, and right-angled, and distinguish the square from the parallelogram, lozenge, and trapezium. There are now, at Bicêtre, some in whom the sense of feeling is more acute than that of seeing, and who can distinguish and name these different forms by the touch, without being able to do so by the eye. For giving the notion of colour, one, among various means, which is the most simple, appears to me at the same time the most useful, inasmuch as it excites the reflective faculty. Two large sheets of pasteboard have drawn upon each of them a star,—on one, in simple lines, on the other, with its rays painted with prismatic colors. Small pieces of pasteboard, corresponding in color and form to these rays, are given to the pupil, who is taught to observe the similarity between the rays which he holds and those of the colored star, and then to cover the original rays of this star by the similar rays which are in his hands. After this, by the example of his teacher, and by the exercise of his reflective power, he compares, with his moveable rays, upon the uncolored pasteboard, the colored star.

“To teach these distinctions of colour and form, the same patience and will are necessary as in all other parts of this most interesting system of instruction. During the autumn of 1845, I watched with interest, at Nantes, the first essays made by the distinguished oculist, Dr. Guépin, to educate the sight of a young man from whose eyes he had, a short time before, removed cataracts, but who enjoyed all his faculties but that of sight. The labour in this case, to develop *one* faculty, was indeed great, although aided by all the other faculties. Imagine what that labour must be, in the case of the idiot, where this mutual assistance is wanting.”

* * * * *

“The number of pupils in the school has varied, for some time past, from 80 to 100. At 5 o'clock they rise, and pass half an hour in washing, combing, and dressing; the monitors, pupils more advanced,

aiding those whose instruction is but recently commenced. They then pass into the hall of classes, and range themselves in a double line—no easy task for the beginners—when they sing a simple morning prayer, repeated to them by the teacher. After this, they make their first breakfast of a simple slice of bread. The class for the education of the senses now begins, and fills up the time till $8\frac{1}{4}$, A.M. In the 1st or highest division, several occupy themselves with face and landscape drawing; and others, less advanced, with geometrical drawing upon the black board. The 3rd division, divided into sections, is of those who are exercising the senses of smell, taste, sight, and observing colour and form by the method I have before described. The sense of hearing is exercised, among other means, by the pupils' learning to distinguish and name, while blindfolded, the natural sounds as produced by the cords of a bass-viol. Meanwhile, the youngest class of 18 or 20 is going through its elementary gymnastics of the moving power.

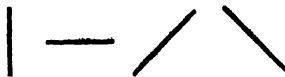
"From $8\frac{1}{4}$ to 9, A.M., is taken up by the study of *numeration* and *arithmetic*. Here the whole school is divided into frequently changing groups, according to the various capacities developed. The lowest of all is ranged in line, and taught to count aloud up to 30; a series of sticks, balls, or other material objects, being given them at the time. This helps to ameliorate their speech, and to stimulate to imitation those who have not that faculty. Another group is set to climb upon ladders, counting the number of rounds as they go up,—and thus the muscular system and knowledge of numeration are simultaneously developed. A higher group is of those who count up to 50 with counters, and who, by means of them, get an idea of unity, plurality, subtraction, addition, and equality. A higher group still has learned to count up to 100, and another group is learning, by means of moveable figures taken from a case, the combinations of numbers. Higher still are boys working upon their slates, or going through calculations upon the black board, with a facility and precision that any pupil of Warren Colburn might envy.

"From 9 to $9\frac{3}{4}$. Breakfast, of soup and a plate of meat. The pupils are here seated at table, and eat with fork and spoon—the more adroit aiding those less so.

" $9\frac{3}{4}$ to $10\frac{1}{2}$. Recreation in open air,—running, playing ball, driving hoop, or cultivating a small plot of ground, the hire of which, for three months, each one may gain by a certain number of tickets of good conduct.

" $10\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{1}{2}$. Reading class, in which all take part, divided, however, into various groups, as before.

" $11\frac{1}{2}$ to 12. Writing class. Here the lowest group is taught only to trace on the black board, with a ruler, these lines:—



"The next group is taught to make upon the board the rudimental

curvilinear characters, making three in each line. After this, they write on slates, and, when farther advanced, the monitor being ready to guide their hands, they write in ruled books. The highest class rules its own books, and writes alternately a page of large and fine hand.

12 to 12½. Gymnastics.

12½ to 1. Music.

1 to 4¾. Manual labour. In this all take part; some as shoe-makers, some as carpenters, or rather cabinet-makers, and some as tillers of the ground. One of the best exercises for the body, *inasmuch as it compels the idiot to walk and balance himself unaided*, is that of wheeling a barrow, charged with a weight proportionate to his strength. The most stupid may be soon taught this. Others, more intelligent, wield spade and pickaxe most energetically and profitably; but nowhere does their awakened intelligence appear more satisfactorily than in the workshop of a cabinet-maker. When one of them has sawed through a plank, or nailed together two pieces of wood, or made a box, his smile of satisfaction,—the consequence of ‘something attempted, something done,’—the real result of which he can estimate,—is beautiful to see. Nor is their work, by any means, to be despised. With one cabinet-maker as teacher and monitor, they performed, last year, all the work necessary for their school-room and dormitories, as well as for a good part of the great establishment of Bicêtre. At shoemaking they show intelligence; but this is too sedentary an occupation for them. Some, however, who have quitted the school, work at it; but the greater number of them become farmers and gardeners.

“After this manual labour they dine, and after dinner play till 6¼, P. M.

“From 6¼ to 7. Grammar class; the lowest group is taught to articulate syllables,—the highest, as much as in any grammar school.

“From 7 to 8¼ is passed in reading to one another, or in conversations and explanations with the teacher, upon things which may excite the reflective power; two evenings in the week this hour is devoted to a concert and a dance.

“After this comes the evening prayer, sung by all; and then, fatigued, but happy, they retire to rest.

“Such is a day at the school of Bicêtre. Every Thursday morning the teacher takes them to walk in the country, and then inculcates elementary notions of botany, designating by their names, and impressing by smell, taste and sight, the qualities of different flowers and useful vegetables which they see. At the same time he explains, by locality, the first elements of geography. On Saturday evening there is a distribution of tickets of good conduct, three of which, I have before observed, pay the rent of a garden, and one of which may buy off, for another, with the consent of the teacher, the punishment adjudged for certain slight acts of negligence. You will see at once the effect which this must have upon the generous sentiments of the pupils. The sentiment of possession is developed—the rights of pro-

perty taught; but its duties and its true pleasures are, at the same time, impressed.

“These tickets of good conduct are given also to those who are designated, *by the pupils themselves*, as having done some kind and generous action,—as having been seen to run to the aid of one who had stumbled at play,—who had divided among his companions the *bon-bons* he may have received from a visitor, or who had helped, in any way, one weaker than himself. Thus they are constantly on the look-out for good actions in one another; but they are most positively forbidden to repeat the negligences or unkind conduct which they may observe. The *surveillance* of the monitors is sufficient to detect these; and even were it not, M. Vallée prefers that they should go unpunished, rather than that they should serve to cherish the grovelling sentiments of envy and malice which lurk in the breast of the informer and the scandal-monger.”—Letter, p. 11.

Since the above remarks were written, the first number of a new quarterly ‘Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology,’ has been published,* under the able editorship of Dr. Forbes Winslow. Among the excellent and very interesting articles in this number, are two more particularly connected with the subject before us; namely, “Notes on the Parisian Lunatic Asylums,” by Henry Hunt Stubbs, M.D., of St. John’s, Newfoundland; and “The Idiots of the Bicêtre,” by Dr. Sigmond. The author of the former paper corroborates all that has been stated by Dr. Conolly and others as to the wonderful effects of educational training upon even the worst cases of idiotcy. He was present at a re-union of eighty-four boys, idiots and epileptics, in the Bicêtre, and describes them as going through “their various exercises with considerable skill and great propriety;” and gives the following affecting and appropriate song sung by the children.

“Transformons le monde où nous sommes,
Reveillons nos sens endormis,
C’est le travail qui fait les hommes,
Travaillons, travaillons, amis.

La fleur a sa beauté première,
L’oiseau rend des sons différents,
Et le bon Dieu dans sa lumière
Sourit aux petits comme aux grands.

Chacun a son lot d’héritage,
Chacun a des dons définis,
Sommes nous exclus du partage ?
Enfans que Dieu n’a pas benis !

* By Churchill, Princes Street, Soho.

Non ! puisqu'ici l'on recommence,
Tous nos organes imparfaits,
Et qu'on féconde la sémence,
Des biens que le ciel nous a fait."

Dr. Stubb particularly alludes to two idiots, whom at first sight he judged incapable of improvement, from their peculiarly repulsive appearance.

"Nothing," he says, "could exceed the vacuity of their countenances, with large protruding lustreless eyes, and tongues lolling out of their mouths, nor the wretched appearance of their bodies, with paralytic arms and legs. I was therefore not a little surprised to see these two scarcely human objects brought in their chairs to a small table upon which dominoes were placed, with which they played a game; and it became evident that all was not lost to the mind even for them—they became interested and excited, and a hideous joy was expressed by the winner."

He also mentions Charles Emile, an idiot of the worst class, whose name is met with in every report on the educational proceedings at the Bicêtre, and whose case, judging from the description recorded of him on his admission, might well have been deemed hopeless. This poor fellow he found in the workshops,

"Using a jack plane with tolerable steadiness, grinning and smiling, quite pleased to be doing something; it may be, to be thought capable of doing anything. . . . He had learned something correctly, he knew it to be correct, and took pleasure in having learned it—no mean advancement from the former idiotic state, horrible to contemplate, of this individual, who is described as a voracious, cruel, filthy animal, with the worst of brutal propensities."

Dr. Sigmond, in the second paper to which we have alluded, gives a *résumé* of M. Brierre de Beaumont's description of the scenes witnessed by him when he paid a visit to the school of idiots. This gentleman's description of what he observed there fully confirms previous accounts, and need not detain us longer than to mention, that the doubts previously entertained by him as to the *bond fide* nature of the exhibitions, were completely dispelled by the results of his minute inquiries into the mode of teaching, and the progress made by the idiot pupils under the superintendence of MM. Vallée and Mallon.

After citing the above conclusive testimony it will be quite unnecessary to adduce further evidence as to the capabilities of the idiotic and imbecile portion of the human family, but we will conclude this part of the subject with another quotation from Mr. Sumner's letter to Mr. Howe, in which the evidence on this head is concisely summed up.

“ The fact, I have said, is now clearly established, that idiots may be educated; *that the reflective power exists within them, and may be awakened by a proper system of instruction*; that they may be raised from the filth in which they grovel to the attitude of men; that they may be taught different arts which will enable them to gain an honest livelihood; and that, although their intelligence may never, perhaps, be developed to such a point as to render them the authors of those generous ideas and great deeds which leave a stamp upon an age, yet, still, they may attain a respectable mediocrity, and surpass, in mental power, the common peasant of many European states.”

There is however one defect in the French system, which must be briefly alluded to. The schools for the education of idiots are conducted in the same buildings as contain patients suffering under various degrees and stages of insanity. This should not be; each of these classes of mental malady should have an asylum especially devoted to the reception of patients labouring under it: and if anything can reconcile us to the long-continued neglect of the hapless imbecile, it is the knowledge that the case of patients characterised by mental deficiencies not admissible into institutions devoted to the care and treatment of the insane, having at length attracted attention, active measures have been taken to secure for them the benefits of an asylum expressly devoted to their peculiar case, instead of placing them under the same roof as the insane, which would probably have been the case had any active measures been taken for the improvement of the condition of the idiot, before the necessity of separating the two classes of mental infirmity was fully recognised.

And this brings us to the most agreeable part of our task—that of announcing that in England too the claims of the poor *innocent* are at length admitted, and that public sympathy for the mentally deficient is no longer to be exhausted in barren and fruitless pity for his unprotected condition. After years of neglect, ridicule, and ill treatment, with no attempt to ameliorate his condition, a society has at length sprung up in the metropolis, the proper object of whose care is declared to be “the *idiot*, without regard to sex or place;” and its design, “not merely to take the idiot under its care, but especially, by the skilful and earnest application of the best means in his education, to prepare him, as far as possible, for the duties and enjoyments of life.” This Association originated in July last with a few benevolent individuals, who formed themselves into a provisional committee with the view of carrying out the object they had at heart. After various preliminary steps, including a visit to the continent for the purpose of ascertaining more precisely what had, there been accomplished in the way of education; a meeting was held

at the London Tavern, on the 27th of October last, with the Lord Mayor, Sir George Carroll, in the chair; when the first resolution passed was to the effect that "it is most desirable that an asylum be provided for the care and education of the idiot; and that it be forthwith begun." At this meeting men of influence and wealth, of different shades of political opinion, and belonging to various religious denominations, were assembled together in harmony; it was one of those rare occasions on which so many discordant elements could mingle without a conflict, and which when they do occur, ever raise a wish that they were more frequent. The claims of the poor idiot were warmly and eloquently advocated by the various speakers; all the resolutions were unanimously adopted; a regular staff of officers was formed, a board of directors established, and all the usual machinery put in motion in order to carry out the objects of the Association: besides which, the sinews of war, in the shape of subscriptions and donations, seem to have been supplied with a liberality equal to the need; and everything apparently promises a successful career to this labour of love. Indeed, so promising are the prospects of the Association, even at this early stage of their proceedings, that they have already elected eleven or twelve children with deficient mental organization, as the first recipients of those educational measures which are, we trust, destined to result in a rich harvest of the purest pleasure to the promoters of the institution, and of benefit to the objects of their bounty.

Having now, as we hope, demonstrated the fact that the idiot is capable of profiting by education, a fact which would seem to have been previously doubted; as well as shown the necessity for the adoption of some measures, if only as a matter of humanity, for the amelioration of the condition of thousands of our fellows labouring under mental deficiencies; we gladly adopt the language of a powerful appeal promulgated on behalf of the infant "Asylum for Idiots," the object of which institution is "to educate the idiot, especially in the earlier periods of life."

"It proposes to do this by the strenuous application of the most skilful means, appropriate to the object before us, and worthy of the country in which we dwell. It proposes that the benefit of the first efforts shall supply relief chiefly to the *middle* and *poorer classes*; and, at the same time, become a model and a motive for improvement in our pauper institutions. It will be, in the fullest sense, an effort of charity. It will help those who cannot help themselves, and it will proffer assistance to those who would otherwise be called to bear a burden that is intolerable.

"Those who make this appeal do it with confidence—the confidence of those who have before challenged public benevolence, and not in

vain. Can it be in vain now? It is for the poor, poor idiot they plead—for the idiot, the lowest of all the objects of Christian sympathy—for the idiot, most needing charity, and for whom charity has done nothing. We ask that he may be elevated from existence into life—from animal being to manhood—from vacancy and unconsciousness to reason and reflection. We ask that his soul may be disimprisoned; that he may look forth from the body with meaning and intelligence on a world full of expression; that he may, as a fellow, discourse with his fellows; that he may cease to be a burden on society, and become a blessing; that he may be qualified to know his maker, and look beyond our present imperfect modes of being to perfected life in a glorious and everlasting future.”

We take leave of the subject, bidding this nobly conceived institution “God speed!” and with the expression of a hope that, ere long, similar establishments will spring up in other parts of the kingdom, so as to meet the necessities of the numerous cases qualified by their peculiar deficiencies for admission into them.

L. G.

ART. V.—*Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains.* By George F. Ruxton, Esq. London: Murray. 1848.

A MONGST the race of our English potentates, the most avaricious and short-sighted was the mean and small-souled Henry VII., whose puddle blood seems to have passed to his descendant Elizabeth, the ready grasper at profits made at other people’s cost, and not over-nice as to the honesty of the acquisition; witness her dealings with Drake, on his return with the plunder of the Spanish colonies, after refusing to sanction or embark capital on the first prospectus of his expedition. Cristoval Colon, or Colonna, or Columbus, laid his propositions for the discovery of the New World before Henry VII. of England, who considering him “wild and visionary,” refused to speculate with the contents of his money-bags in fitting him out. The result was, that the “man-minded” Isabella of Arragon, influencing her weaker vessel of a husband, gave to Colon a Spanish commission, and the most magnificent portions of the New World came to be possessed by a people without genius for other government than the absolute. Had Colon sailed with an English commission, there would not have been the need of a stronger nation now invading Mexico, to plant therein the seeds of law and order by the process of conquest; nor would the ‘Westminster Review’ have needed an article to show that the war waged by the United States against Mexico is a war of

regeneration for Mexico, waged at the cost of blood and treasure, to which latter even the drab-coloured men of Pennsylvania have to contribute.

The original conquest of Mexico by Cortes resolves itself into his skilful usance of the incessant internal wars and struggles of the Mexican tribes. Had those tribes been united, his entrance would not have been permitted. It is the universal history of all conquest by minorities over majorities. A civilised minority is a stronger power than an uncivilised majority, and inasmuch as the majority are permanently bettered in position by such conquests, the yoke is submitted to. But when unlimited power begets oppression, reaction commences, and the invaders are usually ousted. For it is the law of humanity that civilization, meaning thereby the increasing happiness of mankind, should be ever on the move, faster or slower, and all retrograde powers must be cast out, just as the healthy physical body sloughs off disorders and heals wounds, or dies. A Mexican potentate ruled by force over turbulent tribes who welcomed the stranger to help them to remove the yoke. By Mexican arms and Spanish *prestige* Montezuma fell, and Guatimozin followed him. We hear much of Spanish cruelties to the Indian races, but we doubt if they were so cruel as the Indian races to each other. The King of Spain retained the dominant power by virtue of the annual migration of a very few Spaniards to Mexico. Some amalgamated with the Indian races, and a new Mestizo race grew up. After the lapse of centuries the new race discovered that Spanish government was a disadvantage to them, and that Spanish power was little more than a *prestige*. They mustered up courage, expelled the King of Spain's commanders, together with his name, and elected then their *criollo*, native born, Yturvide, as an emperor over them. But Yturvide had no *prestige*, and many of his equals thought they ought to have been emperor instead of him. The result was, that after a short time his imperial crown was taken from him, and he was banished from Mexico with a promise of an annual pension while he staid away, and sudden death if he returned. The salary was however not punctually paid, and he did return. Scarcely had he landed, when the death promise was kept. He was captured and shot by a military commission, and a good deal of anarchy reigned in his stead. The Mexicans relapsed into the condition they were in before the landing of Cortes—province against province—tribe against tribe. The King of Spain grew hopeful thereat, and despatched a general and a small army to reconquer the country. But, as if to show that every rule has an exception, the Mexicans actually united, and vanquished the invaders, under the command of

Santa Anna, who may be esteemed as a fine sample of a Mexican patriot, *i. e.*, a despotic ruler, governing by means of an army of half savages. The Spaniards driven off, Santa Anna, minus one leg, reigned *de facto*, so far as his arms extended, till another dispute arose with a stronger people—not Spaniards—but of the Anglo-Saxon race—whom the vain military coxcomb expected to extinguish by the mere act of marching his numerous savage troops against them.

So many imputations have been cast upon the Americans with regard to the Mexican war, that it is important to show the processes by which it began—processes perfectly analogous to those which have extended the English empire in India and Africa, and will extend it also in China; *i. e.*, the mere force of impact between the civilized and the uncivilized, in which the latter always succumb when not sufficiently numerous and powerful to destroy the civilized.

Texas and its annexation are commonly spoken of as an iniquity analogous to the partition of Poland, as though Mexico had been a well-peopled country forcibly torn asunder; but the facts are widely different. Texas is no integral part of Mexico, but an outlying province which, under the King of Spain, served as a huge cattle-breeding farm, subject to the incursions of the Red Indians—the Apache and the Cumanche tribes. They were kept under by the patrolling of several regiments of dragoons called *Campeadores del Campo*; and thus only did Texas continue an appanage of Mexico. When the revolution broke out, the dragoons were withdrawn, and the Indian hunted over a cattle-stocked desert. In this condition a certain Colonel Austin, a hunter of the Western States of the American Union, visited Mexico, and proposed to the government that in consideration of a grant of land he would plant five hundred rifles, and men to wield them, together with wives and families, in Texas, and would thus take order to drive out and keep out the Indians. The bargain was made and the work was done by the fighting contractor. Volunteers in greater numbers flocked to the successful colonel and colonist, and a prosperous trade grew up with the Northern and Western States across the border. The semi-barbarous government of Mexico grew jealous, and prohibited the trade, declaring that all Texan commerce must come by sea, and be duly taxed by the custom-house. The hunting, rifle-bearing colonists demurred to this, and disregarded the government edict, so that their trade became a process of smuggling. Indignant at the nonchalance of these American citizens, the government summoned Colonel Austin to Mexico to answer for his conduct. On his compliance, he was taken into custody, and cast

into prison. Long he remained there, but at length made his escape and returned to his stronghold on his ceded territory. The rifle-armed colonists, strong in the belief of their own might, declared Texas independent of Mexico, and prepared to do battle in behalf of free trade.

The barbarian power accepted their challenge, and Santa Anna at the head of as many thousand Mexicans as the Tejanos were hundreds in number, marched to attack them. One small body, hemmed in a fort and nearly starved, surrendered on the usual terms of safety to person. They were massacred to a man, by the orders of the faithless savage in gilt pantaloons and epaulets, with a Spanish name and a cork leg. Roused by the treachery, the ardour of their remaining comrades was redoubled. The hundreds defeated the thousands, and captured Santa Anna. They did not murder him, but as the price of his freedom stipulated for the recognition of the independence of Texas; he agreed to it, and was set ashore in the United States. He returned to Mexico, and as a matter of course repudiated his agreement. At a subsequent period another expedition was sent against Texas; it failed, and the result was that the independence of Texas was acknowledged by foreign powers, England amongst the number. Being independent, the citizens of Texas prayed to be admitted into the northern union. The Americans accepted them, and thus Texas was annexed. Nor was there in all this any thing contrary to international law. The colonists bought land from Mexico—fulfilled the terms of payment—became Mexican citizens—disputed an oppressive fiscal regulation—rose in rebellion—established their independence—obtained its recognition by neutrals—and joined themselves to another state. All this was as legally right as morally just. We cannot see what right any nation in the world has to prevent wild lands from being colonised; still less can we conceive that barbarians gold-embroidered should be permitted to form an obstacle to civilization. It is after all moral force that must hold the rule; and when supported by physical power, to make order grow out of disorder, it would be a lamentable thing indeed; for the world were it to be thwarted.

Many years have passed since we advocated these principles in the 'Foreign Quarterly,' in a review of a work on the United States, by Achille Murat, son of him of the White Plume and the Red Hand, who finally fell a victim to his belief that the mass of mankind was made to be the tools of individual men. When we wrote, 'Texas was only preparing for independence; the result was anticipated, and has since become a fact.'

The Mexican barbarians could not or would not take warning by the fall of Texas, but tempted fate by quarrelling with a

powerful nation, whose out-posts are ever sure to be peopled with the least scrupulous of their citizens, men too happy to find a legitimate cause for quarrel. Too cowardly to defend their country, too covetous to unite amongst themselves, and too bombastic to acknowledge themselves overmatched, the Mexicans skirmished and ran away, bit by bit, before the American hunters, designated as an army; till one fine morning, the conquerors found themselves in the capital, and obliged to ransack their brains to improvise a government, partly military, to reduce the country to order—take possession of the revenues—encourage the mines, and exterminate the few guerillas. They meant only to conquer a respectful deportment on the part of the Mexicans, and they found to their surprise that they had conquered a country-entire. At any time the invaders would have been glad to have made peace, but absolutely there never was union enough amongst the Mexicans to constitute a government with whom to treat. Could a doubt be entertained as to the question of the Mexicans being a mere rabble and not a nation, the volumes of Mr. Ruxton would at once decide it.

When we perused the first volume, which has no name to it, we were tempted to exclaim *Aut Ford aut diabolus*, so like is the style to that writer's 'Hand Book of Spain,' *Cosas de Espana*—Spanish matters—being merely changed into *Cosas de Mejico*—matters of Mexico. Ere we finish our quotations, we doubt not to convince our readers that all we have written previously is true gospel in national criticism.

Mr. Ruxton, provided apparently with a British government passport, judging by his mysterious influence on officials, landed at Vera Cruz at the commencement of the American war with Mexico, visited the capital, and travelled northward through Queretaro (where the Mexicans have vainly attempted to get up a Congress), Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua (pronounced Chee Wah Wah), Santa Fé, Red river, Arkansas, so on home to England, by way of New York. A more "respectable man," in the Spanish sense of the word, *i.e.* "a taller fellow of his hands," never crossed a horse. Captain Marryatt's shrewdness and writing power, with tact of observation united to all the qualities and endurance of a western hunter, could scarcely be combined with refined gentleness, but he would be an admirable travelling companion notwithstanding. We could sleep surely in the red man's wilderness, with his true rifle, clear brain, and iron constitution to help us. Nothing escapes him, and nothing seems to daunt him, and he is proof against humbug of all kinds. Yet should we have been better pleased with him had he avoided kicking the unfortunate *lepero*.

The following description of Santa Anna we would swear to in any court in Christendom. He has just returned to Mexico after one of his banishments. The description of the democratic tinman—one of the best samples of Spanish America—is also excellent.

“Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna is a hale-looking man between fifty and sixty, with an Old Bailey countenance and a very well built wooden leg. The Senora, a pretty girl of seventeen, pouted at the cool reception, for not one “viva” was heard; and her mother, a fat, vulgar old dame, was rather unceremoniously congéed from the procession, which she took in high dudgeon. The General was dressed in full uniform, and looked anything but pleased at the absence of everything like applause, which he doubtless expected would have greeted him. His countenance completely betrays his character: indeed, I never saw a physiognomy in which the evil passions, which he notoriously possesses, were more strongly marked. Oily duplicity, treachery, avarice, and sensuality are depicted in every feature, and his well-known character bears out the truth of the impress his vices have stamped upon his face. In person he is portly, and not devoid of a certain well-bred bearing which wins for him golden opinions from the surface-seeing fair sex, to whom he ever pays the most courtly attention.

● “If half the anecdotes are true which I have heard narrated by his most intimate friends, any office or appointment in his gift can always be obtained on application of a female interceder; and on such an occasion he first saw his present wife, then a girl of fifteen, whom her mother brought to the amorous President, to win the bestowal upon her of a pension for former services, and Santa Anna became so enamoured of the artless beauty, that he soon after signified his gracious intention of honouring her with his august hand, after a vain attempt to secure the young lady in a less legitimate manner, which the politic mamma, however, took care to frustrate.

“Aug. 17.—We had an *émeute* amongst the Vera-Cruzanos. As I was passing through the great plaza, a large crowd was assembled before the Casa de Ayuntamiento, or town-hall. Accosting a negro, who, leaning against a pillar, was calmly smoking his paper cigar, a quiet spectator of the affair, I inquired the cause of the riotous proceeding. ‘No es mucho, caballero; un pronunciamiento, no mas,’ he answered—nothing, sir, nothing, only a revolution. On further inquiry, however, I learned that the cause of the mob assembling before the ayuntamiento was, that the people of Vera Cruz willed that one of that body should, as their representative, proceed to the palace to lay before Santa Anna a statement of certain grievances which they required should be removed. Not one of that body relished the idea of bearding the lion in his den, although supposed at this moment to be on his good behaviour, but one Sousa, a native of Vera Cruz, and by trade a tinman, stepped forth from the crowd and declared himself ready to speak on the part of the people.

“ They had previously clamoured for Santa Anna to show himself in the balcony of the palace, but he had excused himself on the plea of being unable to stand on account of his bad leg, and said he was ready at any time to receive and confer with one of their body. Sousa, the volunteer, at once proceeded to the palace, and without ceremony entered the General’s room, where Santa Anna was sitting surrounded by a large staff of general officers, priests, &c. Advancing boldly to his chair, he exclaimed, ‘ Mi General, for more than twenty years you have endeavoured to ruin our country. Twice have you been exiled for your misdeeds: beware that this time you think of us, and not of yourself only !’

“ At this bold language Santa Anna’s friends expressed their displeasure by hissing and stamping on the floor; but Sousa, turning to them with a look of contempt, continued: ‘ These, General, are your enemies and ours; *y mas, son traidores*—and more than this, they are traitors. They seek alone to attain their ends, and care not whether they sacrifice you and their country. They will be the first to turn against you. ‘ *Para nosotros, Vera-Cruzanos qui somos*—for us, who are of Vera Cruz—what we require is this: remove the soldiers; we do not want to be ruled by armed savages. Give us arms, and we will defend our town and our houses, but we want no soldiers.’

“ Santa Anna, taken aback, remained silent.

“ ‘ Answer me, General,’ cried out the sturdy tinman: ‘ I represent the people of Vera Cruz, who brought you back, and will be answered.’

“ ‘ To-morrow,’ meekly replied the dreaded tyrant, ‘ I will give orders that the troops be removed, and you shall be supplied with one thousand stand of arms.’ ‘ *Está bueno, mi General*’—it is well, General—answered Sousa, and returned to the mob, who, on learning the result of the conference, filled the air with vivas.

“ ‘ *Valgame en Dois!*’ exclaimed my friend the negro; ‘ *que hombre tan osado es este!*’—what pluck this man must have to open his lips to the Presidente!”

Here follows a description of the heroic patriots who were to destroy the Yankee invaders.

“ Just before sunset we overtook the rear-guard of the valiant Eleventh, which that day had marched from Vera Cruz en route to the seat of war, for the purpose, as one of the officers informed me, ‘ *dar un galope à los Norte Americanos*’—to strike a blow at the North Americans.

“ The marching costume of these heroes, I thought was peculiarly well adapted to the climate and season—a shako on the head, whilst coat, shirt, and pantaloons hung suspended in a bundle from the end of the firelock carried over the shoulder, and their cueros required no other covering than the coatings of mud with which they were caked from head to foot, singing, however, merrily as they marched.”

Mexican innkeeping is unique, not merely to Mexico, but to Spanish America generally.

“ Mine host and his family had separate accommodations for themselves of course; and into this part of the mansion Castillo managed to introduce himself and me, and to procure some supper. The *chambermaid*—who, unlocking the door of the room apportioned to us, told us to beware of the *mala gente* (the bad people) who were about—was a dried-up old man, with a long grizzled beard and matted hair, which fell, guiltless of comb or brush, on his shoulders. He was perfectly horrified at our uncomplimentary remarks concerning the cleanliness of the apartment, about the floor of which troops of fleas were carabolling, while flat odoriferous bugs were sticking in patches to the walls. My request for some water, for the purpose of washing almost knocked him down with the heinousness of the demand; but when he had brought a little earthenware saucer, holding about a tablespoonful, and I asked for a towel, he stared at me open-mouthed without answering, and then burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter. ‘Ay que hombre, Ave Maria. Purissima, que loco es este!’—Oh, what a man, what a madman is this! ‘Servilleta, pañuela, toalla, que demonio quiere?’—towel, napkin, handkerchief—what the devil does he want?—repeating the different terms I used to explain that I wanted a towel.

“ ‘Ha, ha, ha! es medio-tonto, es medio tonto.’—a half-witted fellow, I see. ‘Que demonio! quiere agua, quiere toalla!’—what the devil! he wants water, towels, everything.’ ‘Adios!’”

Can any collection of men be called a nation or a people who permit the following things on the highroad leading from their principal seaport to their capital?

“ On inquiry as to the modes of travelling from Jalapa to the city of Mexico, I found that the journey in the diligencia to the capital was to be preferred to any other at this season, on account of the rains; although by the former there was almost a certainty of being robbed or attacked. So much a matter of course is this disagreeable proceeding, that the Mexicans invariably calculate a certain sum for the expenses of the road, including the usual fee for *los caballeros del camino*. All baggage is sent by the *arrieros* or muleteers, by which means it is ensured from all danger, although a long time on the road. The usual charge is twelve dollars a *carga*, or mule-load of 200 lbs., from Vera Cruz to the capital, being from ten to twenty days on the road. The Mexicans never dream of resisting the robbers, and a coach-load of nine is often stopped and plundered by one man. The *ladrones*, however, often catch a Tartar if a party of foreigners should happen to be in the coach; and but the other day, two Englishmen, one an officer of the Guards, the other a resident in Zacatecas, being in a coach which was stopped by nine robbers near Puebla, on being ordered to alight and *boca-bajo*—throw themselves on their noses—replied to the request by shooting a couple of them, and, quietly resuming their seats, proceeded on their journey.

“ During my stay two English naval officers arrived in the diligencia

from Mexico. As they stepped out, bristling with arms, the Mexican bystanders ejaculated, 'Valgame Dios! What men these English are!' 'Esos son hombres!'—These *are* men! The last week the coach was robbed three times, and a poor Gachupin, mistaken for an Englishman, was nearly killed, the robbers having vowed vengeance against the pale faces for the slaughter of their two comrades at Puebla; and a few months before, two robbers crawled upon the coach during the night, and, putting a pistol through the leathern panels, shot an unfortunate passenger in the head, who, they had been informed, carried arms, and was determined to resist. There is not a travelling Mexican who cannot narrate to you his experiences on 'the road;' and scarcely a foreigner in the country, more particularly English and Americans, who has not come to blows with the ladrones at some period or other of his life.

"Such being the satisfactory state of affairs, before starting on this dangerous expedition, and particularly as I carried all my baggage with me (being too old a soldier ever to part with that), assisted by mine host Don Juan, I had a minute inspection of arms and ammunition, all of which were put in perfect order. One fine morning, therefore, I took my seat in the diligencia, with a formidable battery of a double-barrel rifle, a ditto carbine, two brace of pistols, and a blunderbuss. Blank were the faces of my four fellow-passengers when I entered thus equipped. They protested, they besought—every one's life would be sacrificed were one of the party to resist. 'Senores,' I said, 'here are arms for you all: better for you to fight than to be killed like a rat.' No, they washed their hands of it—would have nothing to do with gun or pistol. 'Vaya: no es el costumbre'—it is not the custom, they said.

"However, we reached Puebla safe and sound, and drove into the yard of the Fonda de las Diligencias, where the coach and its contents were minutely inspected by a robber-spy, who, after he had counted the passengers and their arms, immediately mounted his horse and galloped away. This is done every day, and in the teeth of the authorities, who wink at the cool proceeding.

"In a country where justice is not to be had—where injustice is to be bought—where the law exists but in name, and is despicable and powerless, it is not to be wondered at that such outrages are quietly submitted to by a demoralized people, who prefer any other means of procuring a living than by honest work; and who are ready to resort to the most violent means to gratify their insatiable passion for gambling, which is at the bottom of this national evil. It is a positive fact that men of all ranks and stations scruple not to resort to the road to relieve their temporary embarrassments, the result of gambling; and numerous instances might be brought forward where such parties have been detected, and in some cases executed for thus offending against the laws. One I may mention—that of Colonel Yanes, aide-de-camp to Santa Anna, who was garrotted for the robbery and murder of the Swiss consul in Mexico a few years since."

The following might be a pure bit of Lazarillo de Tormes or Quevedo.

“Those philosophical strangers who wish to see ‘life in Mexico’ must be careful what they are about, and keep their eyes skinned, as they say in Missouri. Here there are no detective police from which to select a guide for the back slums—no Sergeant Shackel to initiate one into the mysteries of St. Giles’s and the Seven Dials. One must depend upon his own nerve and bowie-knife, his presence of mind and Colt’s revolver: but, armed even with all these precautions, it is a dangerous experiment, and much better to be left alone. Provided, however, that one speaks the language tolerably well, is judicious in the distribution of his dollars, and steers clear of committing any act of gallantry by which he may provoke the jealousy and *cuchillo* of the susceptible Mejicano, the expedition may be undertaken without much danger, and a satisfactory moral drawn therefrom.

“One night, equipped from head to foot ‘*à paisano*,’ and accompanied by one José Maria Canales, a worthy rascal, who in every capacity, from a colonel of dragoons to a horse-boy, had perambulated the republic from Yucatan to the valley of Taos, and had inhabited apartments in the palace of the viceroys as well as in the *Acordada*, and nearly every intermediate grade of habitation, I sallied out for the very purpose of perpetrating such an expedition as I have attempted to dissuade others from undertaking.

“Our first visit was to the classic neighbourhood of the *Acordada*, a prison which contains as unique a collection of malefactors as the most civilized cities of Europe could produce. On the same principle as that professed by the philosopher, who, during a naval battle, put his head into a hole through which a cannon-shot had just passed, as the most secure place in the ship, so do the rogues and rascals, the pickpockets, murderers, burglars, highwaymen, coiners, *et hoc genus omne*, choose to reside under the very nose of the gallows.

“My companion, who was perfectly at home in this locality, recommended that we should first visit a celebrated pulqueria, where he would introduce me to a caballero—a gentleman—who knew everything that was going on, and would inform us what amusements were on foot on that particular night. Arrived at the pulque-shop, we found it a small filthy den, crowded with men and women of the lowest class, swilling the popular liquor, and talking unintelligible slang. My *cicerone* led me through the crowd, directly up to a man who, with his head through a species of sack without sleeves, and *sans chemise*, was serving out the pulque to his numerous customers. I was introduced as ‘*un forastero, un caballero Yngles*’—a stranger—an English gentleman, his particular friend. Mine host politely offered his hand, assured me that his house and all in it was mine from that hour, poured us out two large green tumblers of pulque, and requested us to be seated.

“It was soon known that a foreigner was in the room. In spite of my dress and common *sarape*, I was soon singled out. Cries of

'Estrangero, Tejano, Yanqu , burro,' saluted me; I was a 'Texan, a Yankee, and consequently burro—a jackass. The crowd surrounded me, women pushed through the throng, *à ver el burro*—to look at the jackass; and threats of summary chastisement and ejection were muttered. Seeing that affairs began to look cloudy, I rose, and, placing my hand on my heart, assured the caballeros y las senoritas that they laboured under a slight error: that, although my face was white, I was no Texan, neither was I Yankee or a jackass, but 'Yngles, muy amigo a la republica'—an Englishman, having the welfare of the republic much at heart; and that my affection for them, and hatred of their enemies, was something too excessive to express: that to prove this, my only hope was that they would do me the kindness to discuss at their leisure half an arroba of pulque, which I begged then and there to pay for, and present to them in token of my sincere friendship.

"The tables were instantly turned: I was saluted with cries of 'Viva el Yngles! Que mueren los Yanqu s! Vivan nosotros y pulque!'—Hurrah for the Englishman! Death to the Yankees! Long live ourselves and pulque! The dirty wretches thronged round to shake my hand, and semi-drunken poblanas lavished their embraces on 'el gu ero.' I must here explain that, in Mexico, people with fair hair and complexions are called gu ero, gu ra; and, from the caprice of human nature, the gu ero is always a favourite of the fair sex: the same as, in our country, the olive-coloured foreigners with black hair and beards are thought 'such loves' by our fair countrywomen. The gu ero, however, shares this favouritism with the genuine unadulterated negro, who is also greatly admired by the Mejjicans.

"After leaving the pulqueria, we visited, without suspicion, the dens where these people congregate for the night—filthy cellars, where men, women, and children were sleeping, rolled in sarapes, or in groups, playing at cards, furiously smoking, quarrelling, and fighting. In one we were attracted to the corner of a room, whence issued the low sobs of a woman, and, drawing near the spot as well as the almost total darkness would admit, I saw a man, pale and ghastly, stretched on a sarape, with the blood streaming from a wound in the right breast, which a half-naked woman was trying in vain to quench.

"He had just been stabbed by a lepero with whom he had been playing at cards and quarrelled, and who was coolly sitting within a yard of the wounded man, continuing his game with another, the knife lying before him covered with blood.

"The wound was evidently mortal; but no one present paid the slightest attention to the dying man, excepting the woman, who, true to her nature, was endeavouring to relieve him.

"After seeing everything horrible in this region of crime, we took an opposite direction, and, crossing the city, entered the suburb called the *Barrio de Santa Anna*.

"This quarter is inhabited by a more respectable class of villains.

The *ladrones à caballo*—knights of the road—make this their rendezvous, and bring here the mules and horses they have stolen. It is also much frequented by the *arrieros*, a class of men who may be trusted with untold gold in the way of trade, but who are, when not 'en atajo' (unemployed), as unscrupulous as their neighbours. They are a merry set and the best of companions on the road; make a great deal of money, but, from their devotion to pulque and the fair sex, are always poor, 'Gastar dinero como arriero'—to spend money like an arriero—is a common saying.

In a meson much frequented by these men we found a fandango of the first order in progress. An *atajo* having arrived from Durango, the *arrieros* belonging to it were celebrating their safe arrival by entertaining their friends with a *bayle*; and into this my friend, who was 'one of them,' introduced me as an *amigo particular*—a particular friend.

The entertainment was *al-fresco*, no room in the meson being large enough to hold the company; consequently the dancing took place in the corral, and under the portales, where sat the musicians, three guitars and a tambourine, and where also was good store of pulque and *mezcal*.

The women, in their dress and appearance, reminded me of the *manolas* of Madrid. Some wore very picturesque dresses, and all had massive ornaments of gold and silver. The majority, however, had on the usual *poblana enagua*, a red or yellow kind of petticoat, fringed or embroidered, over the simple *chemisette*, which, loose and unconfined, except at their waists, displayed most prodigally their charms. Stockings are never worn by this class, but they are invariably very particular in their *chaussure*, a well-fitting shoe, showing off their small well-formed feet and ankles.

The men were all dressed in elaborate Mexican finery, and in the costumes of the different provinces of which they were natives.

The dances resembled, in a slight degree, the *fandango* and *arabe* of Spain, but were more clumsy, and the pantomimic action less energetic and striking. Some of the dances were descriptive of the different trades and professions. *El Zapatero*, the shoemaker; *el Sastrecito* the little tailor; *el Espadero*, the swordsman, &c., were amongst those in the greatest demand; the guitar-players keeping time and accompanying themselves with their voices in descriptive songs.

The fandango had progressed very peacefully, and good humour had prevailed until the last hour, when, just as the dancers were winding up the evening by renewed exertions in the concluding dance, the musicians, inspired by pulque, were twanging with vigour their relaxed catgut, and a general chorus was being roared out by the romping votaries of Terpsichore, above the din and clamour a piercing shriek was heard from the corner of the corral, where was congregated a knot of men and women, who chose to devote them-

selves to the rosy god for the remainder of the evening, rather than the exertions of the dance. The ball was abruptly brought to a conclusion, every one hastening to the quarter whence the shriek proceeded.

“Two men with drawn knives in their hands were struggling in the arms of several women, who strove to prevent their encounter—one of the women having received an ugly wound in the attempt, which had caused the shriek of pain which had alarmed the dancers.

“‘Que es eso?’—What is this?—asked a tall powerful *Durangueno*, elbowing his way through the crowd. ‘Que quieren esos gallos?’—What do those gamecocks want? ‘*A’ pelear?*’—‘To fight, eh?’ ‘Vamos, a ver los toros?’—Come, let us see the fun!—he shouted. In an instant a ring was formed; men and women standing at a respectable distance, out of reach of the knives. Two men held the combatants, who, with sarapes rolled round their arms, passion darting out of their fiery eyes, looked like two bulldogs ready for the fray.

“At a signal they were loosed at each other, and, with a shout, rushed on with uplifted knives. It was short work with them, for at the first blow the tendons of the right arm of one of them were severed, and his weapon fell to the ground; and as his antagonist was about to plunge his knife into the body of his disarmed foe, the bystanders rushed in and prevented it, at the same moment that the *patrulla* (the patrol) entered the corral with bayonets drawn, and *saue-qui-peut* was the word; a visit to the *Acordada* being the certain penalty of being concerned in a brawl where knives have been used, if taken by the guard. For myself, with a couple of soldiers at my heels, I flew out of the gate, and never stopped until I found myself safe under the sheets, just as daybreak was tinging the top of the cathedral.”

The opinion of Mr. Ruxton as to the Mexican character is thoroughly corroborated by all their historical acts. But we do not see the *sequitur* the author insists on of the remedy being found in a monarchy. We rather incline to the amalgamation with the American Union.

“The Mexicans, as a people, rank decidedly low in the scale of humanity. They are deficient in moral as well as physical organization: by the latter I do not mean to assert that they are wanting in corporeal qualities, although certainly inferior to most races in bodily strength; but there is a deficiency in that respect which is invariably found attendant upon a low state of moral or intellectual organization. They are treacherous, cunning, indolent, and without energy, and cowardly by nature. Inherent, instinctive cowardice is rarely met with in any race of men, yet I affirm that in this instance it certainly exists, and is most conspicuous; they possess at the same time that amount of brutish indifference to death which can be turned to good account

in soldiers, and I believe, if properly led, that the Mexicans would on this account behave tolerably well in the field, but no more than tolerably.

“It is a matter of little astonishment to me that the country is in the state it is. It can never progress or become civilized until its present population is supplanted by a more energetic one. The present would-be republican form of government is not adapted to such a population as exists in Mexico, as is plainly evident in the effects of the constantly recurring revolutions. Until a people can appreciate the great principles of civil and religious liberty, the advantages of free institutions are thrown away upon them. A long minority has to be passed through before this can be effected; and in this instance, before the requisite fitness can be attained, the country will probably have passed from the hands of its present owners to a more able and energetic race. On the subject of government I will not touch: I maintain that the Mexicans are incapable of *self-government*, and will always be so until regenerated. The separation from Spain has been the ruin of the country, which, by-the-by, is quite ready to revert to its former owners; and the prevailing feeling over the whole country inclines to the re-establishment of a monarchical system. The miserable anarchy which has existed since its separation, has sufficiently and bitterly proved to the people the inadequacy of the present one; and the wonder is, that, with the large aristocratic party which so greatly preponderates in Mexico (the army and the church), this much-to-be-desired event has not been brought about.

“The cause of the *two hundred and thirty-seven* revolutions which, since the declaration of its independence, have that number of times turned the country upside down, has been individual ambition and lust of power. The intellectual power is in the hands of a few, and by this minority all the revolutions are effected. The army once gained over (which, by the aid of bribes and the priesthood, is an easy matter), the wished-for consummation is at once brought about. It thus happens that, instead of a free republican form of government, the country is ruled by a most perfect military despotism.

“The population is divided into but two classes—the high and the low: there is no intermediate rank to connect the two extremes, and consequently the hiatus between them is deep and strongly marked. The relation subsisting between the peasantry and the wealthy haciendados, or landowners, is a species of serfdom, little better than slavery itself. Money, in advance of wages, is generally lent to the peon or labourer, who is by law bound to serve the lender, if required, until such time as the debt is repaid; and as care is taken that this shall never happen, the debtor remains a bondsman to the day of his death.

“Law or justice hardly exists in name even, and the ignorant peasantry, under the priestly thralldom which holds them in physical as well as moral bondage, have neither the energy nor courage to stand up for the amelioration of their condition, or the enjoyment of that

liberty, which it is the theoretical boast of republican governments their system so largely deals in, but which, in reality, is a practical falsehood and delusion."

The propensity of horses and mules, especially the latter, to mistake each other's tails for hay, when hungry, has more than once caused us mortification in the endangerment of our four-footed beauties; and we sympathise heartily with the traveller.

"One event occurred in Mapimi which annoyed me excessively. The night of my arrival, my animals, I fear, were rather scantily supplied with corn; and, to revenge the slight, the mules ate the tail of my beautiful Panchito to the very dock—a tail which I had tied, and combed, and tended with the greatest care and affection. In the morning I hardly recognised the animal; his once ornamental appendage looked as if it had been gnawed by rats, and his whole appearance was disfigured. I got a pair of shears, and clipped and cut, but only made matters worse, and was fain to desist after an hour's attempt. The tails of the mules were at the end of my journey picked like a bone, for, whenever their supper was poor, they immediately fell to work on each other's tails."

We commend to the attention of those who sympathise with Mexicans against their invaders, the following passage, requesting them to expound to us which are the civilized men and which the savages.

"For the purpose of carrying on a war against the daring savages, a species of company was formed by the Chihualuenos, with a capital raised by subscription. This company, under the auspices of the government, offered a bounty of 50 dollars a scalp, as an inducement to people to undertake a war of extermination against the Apaches. One Don Santiago Kirker, an Irishman, long resident in Mexico, and for many years a trapper and Indian trader in the far west, whose exploits in Indian killing would fill a volume, was placed at the head of a band of some hundred and fifty men, including several Shawanec and Delaware Indians, and sent 'en campana' against the Apaches. The fruits of the campaign were the trophies I saw dangling in front of the cathedral.

"In the month of August, the Apaches being then 'en paz' with the state, entered, unarmed, the village of Galeana, for the purpose of trading. This band, which consisted of a hundred and seventy, including women and children, was under the command of a celebrated chief, and had no doubt committed many atrocities on the Mexicans; but at this time they had signified their desire for peace to the government of Chihuahua, and were now trading in good faith, and under protection of the faith of treaty. News of their arrival having been sent to Kirker, he immediately forwarded several kegs of spirits, with which they were to be regaled, and detained in the village until he could arrive with his band. On a certain day, about ten

in the morning, the Indians being at the time drinking, dancing, and amusing themselves, and *unarmed*, Kirker sent forward a messenger to say that at such an hour he would be there.

“The Mexicans, when they saw him approach with his party, suddenly seized their arms and set upon the unfortunate Indians, who, without even their knives, attempted no resistance, but, throwing themselves on the ground when they saw Kirker’s men surrounding them, submitted to their fate. The infuriated Mexicans spared neither age nor sex; with fiendish shouts they massacred their unresisting victims, glutting their long pent-up revenge of many years of persecution. One woman, big with child, rushed into the church, clasping the altar and crying for mercy for herself and unborn babe. She was followed, and fell pierced with a dozen lances; and tifen (it is almost impossible to conceive such an atrocity, but I had it from an eye-witness on the spot not two months after the tragedy) the child was torn alive from the yet palpitating body of its mother, first plunged into the holy water to be baptised, and immediately its brains were dashed out against a wall.

“A hundred and sixty men, women, and children, were slaughtered, and, with the scalps carried on poles, Kirker’s party entered Chiluhua—in procession, headed by the governor and priests, with bands of music escorting them in triumph to the town.”

Then follows another picture of Mexican troops.

“This escort—save the mark!—consisted of two or three dragoons of the regiment of Vera Cruz, which had been several years in Santa Fé, but had run away with the Governor on the approach of the Americans, and were now stationed at Chihuahua. Their horses—wretched, half-starved animals—were borrowed for the occasion; and the men, refusing to march without some provision for the road, were advanced their ‘suelto’ by a patriotic merchant of the town, who gave each a handful of copper coins, which they carefully tied up in the corners of their sarapes. Their dress was original and uniform (in rags). One had on a dirty broad-brimmed straw hat, another a handkerchief tied round his head. One had a portion of a jacket, another was in his shirt-sleeves, with overalls, open to the winds, reaching a little below the knees. All were bootless and unspurred. One had a rusty sword and lance, another a gun without a hammer, the third a bow and arrows. Although the nights were piercingly cold, they had but one wretched, tattered sarape of the commonest kind between them, and no rations of any description.

“These were regulars of the regiment of Vera Cruz. I may as well here mention that, two or three months after, Colonel Doniphan, with 900 volunteers, marched through the state of Chihuahua, defeating on one occasion 3,000 Mexicans with great slaughter, and taking the city itself, without losing *one man* in the campaign.

“At Sacramento the Mexicans entrenched themselves behind formidable breastworks, having ten or twelve pieces of artillery in battery, and numbering at least 3,000. Will it be believed that these

miserable creatures were driven from their position, and slaughtered like sheep, by 900 raw backwoodsmen, who did not lose *one single man* in the encounter?"

A specimen of the peddling Yankee in New Mexico.

"We encamped on a bleak bluff, without timber or grass, which overlooked the stream. Late in the evening we heard the creaking of a waggon's wheels, and the wo-ha of the driver, as he urged his oxen up the sandy bluff. A waggon drawn by six yoke of oxen soon made its appearance, under the charge of a tall raw-boned Yankee. As soon as he had unyoked his cattle, he approached our fire, and, seating himself almost in the blaze, stretching his long legs at the same time into the ashes, he broke out with, 'Cuss such a darned country, I say! Wall, strangers, an ugly camp this, I swar; and what my cattle ull do I don't know, for they have not eat since we put out of Santa Fé, and are darned near giv out, that's a fact; and thar's nothin' here for 'em to eat, surely. Wall, they must just hold on till to-morrow, for I have only got a pint of corn apiece for 'em to-night anyhow, so there's no two ways about that. Strangers, I guess now you'll have a skillet among ye; if yer a mind to trade, I'll just have it right off; anyhow, I'll just borrow it to-night to bake my bread, and, if yer wish to trade, name yer price. Cuss sich a darned country, say I! Jist look at them oxen, wull ye!—they've nigh upon two hundred miles to go; for I'm bound to catch up the sogers afore they reach the Pass, and there's not a go in 'em.'

"'Well,' I ventured to put in, feeling for the poor beasts, which were still yoked and standing in the river completely done up, 'would it not be as well for you to feed them at once and let them rest?'

"'Wall, I guess if you'll some of you lend me a hand, I'll fix 'em right off; tho', darn em! they've giv me a pretty darned lot of trouble, they have, darn em! but the critturs will have to eat, I b'lieve.'

"I willingly lent him the aid he required, and also added to their rations some corn which my animals, already full, were turning up their noses at, and which the oxen greedily devoured. This done, he returned to the fire and baked his cake, fried his bacon, and made his coffee, his tongue all the while keeping up an incessant clack. This man was by himself, having a journey of two hundred miles before him, and twelve oxen and his waggon to look after: but dollars, dollars, dollars, was all he thought of. Everything he saw lying about he instantly seized, wondered what it cost, what it was worth, offered to trade for it or anything else by which he might turn a penny, never waiting for an answer, and rattling on, eating, drinking, and talking without intermission; and at last, gathering himself up, said, 'Wall, I guess I'll turn into my waggon now, and some of you will, may be, give a look round at the cattle every now and then, and I'll thank you:' and saying this, with a hop, step, and a jump, was inside his waggon and snoring in a couple of minutes."

Another specimen of the qualities of the New Mexicans. *

“No state of society can be more wretched or degrading than the social and moral condition of the inhabitants of New Mexico: but in this remote settlement, anything I had formerly imagined to be the *ne plus ultra* of misery, fell far short of the reality:—such is the degradation of the people of the Rio Colorado. Growing a bare sufficiency for their own support, they hold the little land they cultivate, and their wretched hovels, on sufferance from the barbarous Yutas, who actually tolerate their presence in their country for the sole purpose of having at their command a stock of grain and a herd of mules and horses, which they make no scruple of helping themselves to, whenever they require a remount or a supply of farinaceous food. Moreover, when a war expedition against a hostile tribe has failed, and no scalps have been secured to ensure the returning warriors a welcome to their village, the Rio Colorado is a kind of game-preserve, where the Yutas have a certainty of filling their bag if their other covers draw blank. Here they can always depend upon procuring a few brace of Mexican scalps, when such trophies are required for a war-dance or other festivity, without danger to themselves, and merely for the trouble of fetching them.

“Thus, half the year, the settlers fear to leave their houses, and their corn and grain often remain uncut, the Indians being near; thus the valiant Mexicans refuse to leave the shelter of their burrows even to secure their only food. At these times their sufferings are extreme, being reduced to the verge of starvation; and the old Canadian hunter told me that he and his son entirely supported the people on several occasions by the produce of their rifles, while the maize was lying rotting in the fields. There are sufficient men in the settlement to exterminate the Yutas, were they not entirely devoid of courage; but, as it is, they allow themselves to be bullied and ill-treated with the most perfect impunity.

“Against the same Indians a party of a dozen Shawnee and Delaware trappers waged a long and most destructive war, until at last the Yutas were fain to beg for peace, after losing many of their most famous warriors and chiefs. The cowardly Mexicans, however, have seldom summoned courage to strike a blow in their own defence, and are so thoroughly despised by their savage enemies, that they never scruple to attack them, however large the party, or in spite of the greatest disparity in numbers between them.”

Our readers will scarcely rise from the perusal of Mr. Ruxton's book without the conviction that the most fortunate “Conquest of Mexico” will be that of the United States' army; that the greatest misfortune that can happen to her would be the withdrawal of the power which holds in check the incessant quarrels of hostile tribes. Whether it can be made to *pay* the United States for their trouble and outlay, is another affair; but certainly the Mexicans and the world at large will benefit by a process

which will destroy anarchy, and establish settled government. We think it likely that the shrewd Yankees, though they have outlaid much capital in the war, will contrive to make the country pay future expenses of occupation. Sure we are that all British merchants and miners will rejoice at the change of rulers. One only possible evil do we discern—the revival of slavery; but even that we should not regret, if it were the means of removing the slave population from the States of the Union.

Mr. Ruxton is a citizen of the world; and the Geographical Society possesses in him a capital traveller. We are puzzled at times to make out whether he is English or American or Spanish; indeed, he seems to have “been born all over the world.” Nothing comes amiss to him, and he has a most happy aptitude for assimilating to the people he visits. It is not often that one meets with a hand equally practised with the long rifle, “bowie-knife and Colt’s revolver,” and at the same time so apt at the pen; and, with all this, an iron constitution to withstand heat, cold, hunger and thirst. He seems perfectly free from prejudice, and the sole fault we find with him is a hardness of nature which talks lightly of human cruelties, and not always taking pains to put the slang of blood-shedding in Indian war into inverted commas. “Some hair,” “top-knots,” “love-locks,” and other epithets of the brutal scalping race, are set down by Mr. Ruxton as though they were in accordance with his own habitual practice. We can scarcely imagine the anecdote to be true, that Sir William Drummond Stewart offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the scalp of an Indian who had stolen his horse, and that a mountain trapper took the scalp and received the reward accordingly. If it be true, it shows by what processes a civilized man may be converted into a murderous savage.

Since the foregoing was written, the news has arrived that peace has been made between the United States and Mexico, in consideration of the cession of a large slice of the latter to the former, and fifteen million dollars to be paid in exchange. This is another ‘Cosa de Mejico,’ and something new under the sun—a people of Spanish blood acknowledging themselves conquered. How the dollars, the *pesos fuertes*, are to be divided, how many will go to the actual negociators, how many to Santa Anna, and how many to the public chest, is a ‘Cosa de Mejico’ of little importance. Nor is the whole matter yet certain. The treaty, although ratified by the United States, leaves yet three months after the ratification for the American army to remain in Mexico, and still longer if the season be sickly. It will be odd to us if in the meantime the Mexicans do not furnish sufficient reason for breaking off the treaty and leaving Jonathan in possession of the

whole instead of this slice, and with a repudiation of the dollar payment, save a small instalment to Santa Anna of the cork leg, *cum suis*. Heaven help the Mexicans if the Americans do retire! They will fall to upon each other's throats with fresh zest, all the decent people will retire to the American territory, and after a year or two of spectacle to the world, the Americans will again march in by common consent, and the boundary of the Union will ultimately be the Isthmus of Panama, with a railway for all nations between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

G. A. H.

ART. VI.—*Organisation du Travail*. Par Louis Blanc. Paris.

THE work of Louis Blanc, on the Organization of Industry, first appeared in 1839, since which, events have made the author one of the secretaries of a French Republic; and the somewhat crude speculations of a writer, whose views for the improvement of the working classes had previously attracted but little attention, have now suddenly become of public importance.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the nomination to office of Louis Blanc is to be considered as a pledge for the adoption of the whole of his opinions on the part of the new government;—opinions, many of which are not shared by M. de Lamartine, and other members of the new provisional executive; and to which, as far as they are understood, the vast body of the middle classes (who must, after all, influence the elections) are strongly opposed. The appointment may have been expedient, as that of a man of known benevolent aspirations, and therefore satisfactory to the multitude: and perhaps it was judicious also, as regarded in another light; for in the case of all well-intentioned but impracticable schemes, the best mode of demonstrating their inapplicability to existing circumstances, is that of setting the projector himself to digest the means of carrying them into execution. Louis Blanc, in the midst of the insuperable difficulties of his task, will soon be the first to undeceive,—has perhaps already undeceived, those whom Louis Blanc has misled, including himself, by delusive hopes. But let us give some account of his work.

“How frightfully impressed with materialism,” writes the author, “was the motto on the flag of the Lyonnese insurgents—*‘Vivre en travaillant, ou mourir en combattant,’*—aye, and who acted up to it—fought and fell!” And as a remedy—rather playing

with the words, he tells us all human destiny is summed up in them, "life and work," that the latter should be no less guaranteed by the legislator than the former.

Labour then is to be organized in such a way as to ensure not only subsistence and comfort—but even self-respect to all. "No longer let us behold a man enslaved to watch over a wheel turning round—a child transformed by his family into a mere supplement of wages—a mother armed against the fruit of her womb by the mere inability to maintain it—a young girl reduced by the lack of bread to sell the soft name of love."

Christianity, according to this author, in anathematizing the works of the flesh, only introduced a necessary reaction against the grossness of Paganism—against a long and brutal triumph of force over intelligence, of sensuality over mind. But then, in the catholic spirituality, as preached in France, he discovers a source of oppression as copious as that of pagan materialism—the one as tyrannical in his view as the other. As the latter had elevated debauchery and sensuality to the rank of divinities, so, on the other hand, had catholicism canonized torture: each degrading the body; the one by the excesses of pleasure, the other by the extremes of pain. But the christian precept of self-denial, argues M. Louis Blanc, is imposed by necessity on the lower orders, is neglected by those in easy circumstances. And then follow exaggerated representations of the luxury of the higher classes—"from the midst of which happy world, those gilt boudoirs, where its philosophy works itself, we are adjured not to appeal to the materialism of interests by the class which professes no other religion than that of pleasure."

Such an anomaly the author can no longer endure—he threatens France with fresh revolutions in addition to the results of the reform banquets. The book is a curious type of the ideas now current among a peculiar class of political economists in that country. It was denounced by M. de Lamartine as

"One which seeks to appropriate to itself the ownership and direction of all industry and enterprise—to suppress the free-will of every one who buys, calls, owns, or uses anything—it seeks to create instead an arbitrary maximum in the fixing of the wages, in the distribution of the produce—to substitute the state in the place of the dispossessed citizen."

To this exposition of his views, M. Louis Blanc vehemently demurs. The state, he insists, shall be the supreme protector of property; but he owns his object is to undermine competition, to withdraw industry from the *laissez-faire* system (of which, like Thos. Carlyle, he has a surpassing distrust). Where land, money, credit, intelligence, have all been appropriated, what else,

he asks, remains to the individuals who compose the mass, which have none of these resources to develop, or even to exist upon? Yet it is when society is thus sternly divided—on one side an immense force, on the other an equal weakness—that competition is let loose among its members—“the competition which pits the rich man against the poor, the clever speculator against the simple workman, the client of the easy banker against the serf of the usurer, the athlete, equipped from head to foot, against the unarmed combatant, the nimble runner against the paralytic.”

Right, says M. Blanc, is the mirage which has dazzled people since 1789. This “right is an unreal metaphysical sort of protection, which has replaced the real actual protection which was man’s due.” True, but this protection was an essential part and quality of a paternal and feudal system of polity which was overthrown by the revolution—one absolutism replacing another. No matter, we cannot enjoy the advantages of both without accepting the inconveniences of either. Freedom, with all her charms, was chosen, and Frenchmen cannot now renounce the terms on which such an acquisition was obtained, or complain with consistency of the rent they have annually to pay for its maintenance.

The book, though abounding in rare and impassioned eloquence, overflows with transparent sophistries. It indicates no practicable remedy for the evils it denounces, it points out no source by which they can be avoided (except a modified St. Simonism, or Fourierism). The primal sentence on man, that by the sweat of his brow he should earn his food, will remain in force notwithstanding M. Blanc’s appeals from its injustice, and his attempts to hold up the wealthy as objects of jealousy, to those whose lot it is to labour with their hands. Nevertheless there is in his essay much that is worthy of the attention of the philosopher; and without accepting his conclusions, we may consider with advantage many of his premises and contrasts.

Like all the reasoners of his school he is full of inconsistencies. After holding up the rich to envy, he expatiates on their unhappiness in the next sentence.

“Survey the existence of that rich man—it is full of bitterness.—Why, then? Has he not health—youth? Does he not think he has friends? No—he has exhausted his pleasures, and there is his misery—an impotence of satiety—that is the poverty of the rich;—in fact, it is poverty minus the hope. Among those whom we call happy how many are there who actually fight duels merely to procure themselves an emotion. How many bear the fatigues and perils of the chase in order to escape from the burden of repose—How many, a prey to mere nerves, linger out an existence in the bosom of apparent

happiness? Some casting away life as a bitter fruit—others like a sucked orange! But what an extent of social evil does this enormous moral disorder reveal! What a lesson is this inequality of the means of enjoyment ending in an equality of suffering! What a warning for pride, selfishness, and every other kind of tyranny!"

The root of these evils, M. Louis Blanc contends, is to be traced to unlimited competition. The *bourgeoisie*, the middle classes, have established their monarchy upon this tyrannical competition—and we are to see them perish by its very abuse. That is, a man with £100,000 capital will ruin by underselling him who has but half this amount, and will be ruined in turn himself by some pitiless Hebrew—nay, the victor is forced to pursue his conquest to the very extremities of the globe in order to find unknown consumers. It will soon, we are told, be like a game of chance, which, like all games of chance, will end by the knavery of the one and the suicide of the other.

Hence, says M. Louis Blanc—

1. Competition means extermination of the people.
2. It becomes, also, for the middle classes, an increasing cause of impoverishment and ruin.

In order to solve this problem, he gravely asks, Is the poor man a member of society, or an enemy? For he can sow no land, gather no fruit, neither fish, nor trap fowl or beast—may not even beg for his living—for in France there are, as here, laws against mendicity and vagabondage. Therefore he urges the doctrine—assure the poor of work—find them employment.

Our own old Poor Law tried this and failed: our newer one is hard pressed on that score—had it had fair play—been less unfairly used as a party cry by those who loved the principle which they dared not profess, and hated only the rival with whose adherence to it they thought they could poison the ear of a constituency—it would still have been subject to great periodical difficulties. All institutions must, which undertake to supersede the necessity for prudence on the part of the multitude—and to ensure for one, and that the largest and the lowest class in the community, a certainty of comfort without the forethought that is imposed upon every other class above it. Whenever men multiply faster than do the demands of private enterprise for the work of their hands; when to the uncertainties of climate and the murrain of seasons, is superadded the caprice of manufacturing contingencies; it is assuredly a severe trial for such, or indeed for any system of poor laws.

The attempt to provide for the destitution of certain ages or classes, M. Blanc shows has not prevented the increase of the evil against which the precaution was taken. In 1784, the num-

ber of foundlings deposited in the *tours*, or boxes open for their reception, was 40,000—in 1820, it had increased to 102,103—in 1831, to 122,981—reaching, in 1845, the number of 130,000. Again, in the fourteen most decidedly manufacturing departments of France—in those very departments where there are the greatest facilities for the employment of children, unencumbered by factory legislation, as in this country, the proportion of infanticides is in the astonishing ratio of 41, to 121 in the 73 other departments.

Then in regard to the other vice of the operatives—drunkenness:—

“It is because the reality of life is too hard that he escapes from it into the land of dreams—that gross cup which for his sake we wish to shiver to pieces in his hands, what makes him love it is that it contains the hours of oblivion. How many are there of those who in order to bear existence require to lose half their consciousness of it!”

All this time the expenses are running on,—*centimes additionnels* (direct taxes, voted by a *conseil général du département*, an elective body, assembling like our courts of Quarter Sessions, periodically) are rapidly rising, as did our old poor rates. However, M. Louis Blanc will still maintain the *tours* for the foundlings, still permit the additional centimes to increase; but only by way of vengeance against the rate-payers, until he has forced them into his views of the “organization of labour.” This, he allows, mere factory laws will fail of accomplishing, where in protecting the child you outrage the father, condemning the one to be poor, that the other may be idle. Then what are we to do? “The Spartans killed their useless slaves—Galerius had all the Roman beggars drowned”—between these two varied kinds of equitable punishment he ironically permits us to choose.

Certainly, whether from premature labour, early indulgence, want of food, or all these combined, the French race appears in some danger of physical degeneration. Think of 8,980 out of every 10,000 men, balloted by the conscription in the ten most manufacturing districts, being rejected as unfit, from infirmity or size, to bear arms—while, in the agricultural districts, out of the same number, 4,029 were dismissed—but even this latter is a striking fact—that two-fifths of her best population should be so much below par on attaining their prime as to be unable to comply with the very moderate physical requirements laid down by the law of the conscription.

It has been a question whether that agglomeration of capitals and association of partners (which the author views with

aversion as leading to the servile subjugation of the labouring class),—whether this is not counterbalanced by the opposite process supposed to be now going on in the splitting up of the territorial surface into fractional portions by sale and succession.* But M. Blanc, in whom we should have expected to find a promoter and advocate of such a partition, appears, on the contrary, to anticipate no increase of independence or wealth from its maintenance.

“It will bring back,” he says, “unless we take care, the system of large estates again. When you have the *petite* culture you replace the plough by the spade, the machine by manual labour, science by force . . . without machines there can be no progress—without capital no cattle—no manure . . . the little properties must then be absorbed.” Nay, every little freeholder is obliged to labour, too, for others. “Master at home for two days a week, he is the neighbour’s serf the rest. The more he adds to his land the poorer he is, the more firmly is his servitude riveted upon him. When he buys a bit of land he borrows to pay for it, and slaves to discharge the interest, just as Michelet describes in his ‘People.’”

With a debt on their land of which the interest amounts to more than three-fourths of our own national debt, he exclaims against—

“A few financiers, masters of the manufacturing industry, seated by the side of a few mortgagees who are the real owners of the land; they are the true lords of the times in which the middle classes are hastening to ruin.”

And since it is to England that this frightful contagion is owing, he does us the honour of a cursory examination by way of verifying what he has advanced.

In England, then, labour and capital, those two natural antagonists (yet each unable to dispense with the other for a day) are to be reconciled—but how? Our political economists, he says, contend that a constantly increasing demand, abroad rather than at home, will take off a never-ending supply, high profits accruing will admit of and ensure high wages. So far from limiting ourselves to our island, we built ships, sailed in quest of raw materials, carrying the continent by boarding—so that every nation on the face of the globe might become our customers. Our shopkeepers have effected the conquest of the earth for their ignoble purposes—we are, on the high seas, and between nation and nation, what the Jew-boy, with his itinerant basket of knives and

* See upon this question the article in another place, entitled “Primogeniture and Peasant Proprietors.” It is denied by M. Passy that there is any increase of “morcellement,” as affecting small estates.—Ed.

oranges, is at the crossing of a street; only we do business on a larger scale! We sell to all America the produce of all Europe, and to all Europe the produce of the Indies,—hawkers whose license M. Blanc is anxious to see revoked, since we have found in gold a counterpoise to the power of the sword—that sword which, like the Brenn of the Gauls of old, that people are so fond of casting into the scale in which the fate of nations is weighed.

M. Blanc is no doubt a bitter and sarcastic opponent. Where he has detected an injustice or conceived a prejudice, his strictures are impartially bestowed on all; no matter whether the object of his attack be a countryman or a stranger, from the ex-king of the French down to the emancipated Jew, he is equally implacable. But we may learn truth even from an unfriendly portrait; and we may at least contemplate ourselves with some profit, though in a glass which has not been silvered by our self-complacent vanity. He tells us that the economical result of that competition which is so much invoked, has in itself a radical defect that must in the end render it fatal to England and the world; because all has been founded on the hypothesis that demand was to be created,—but by demand is meant customers who can afford to pay.

Some day or other, it is certainly possible, this system may break down. When every market is glutted by England, with an impossibility of further disposal of her goods, the ruin of her manufactures, the destruction of her credit, and the misery of her operative population may be the consequence. Mr. Mawe, in his 'Travels in Brazil,' long ago showed the folly and ignorance which led us to send cargoes of skates to a country where ice is unknown and exertion unpalatable, while in one week Manchester dispatched to Rio more of a particular commodity than had been consumed there for twenty years before! A deep and irremediable defect, in the opinion of Louis Blanc, pervades this system, giving rise to two desperate results—germs of ruin for us, which are equally active both in the industry and the idleness of other nations—their industry, because that raises a competition which we cannot always overcome—their idleness, because it robs us of consumers whom we cannot afford to lose. So that if *la France bourgeoise* wishes to enact the same part, she must grapple with England for the naval supremacy, for there, he considers, after all, lies the gist of competition for great nations; but then he knows full well the supremacy would not be resigned without a struggle, and one of which even Gallic vanity doubts the successful issue. France and England, viewed in this light, are two antagonists, each insisting on exercising an

external influence, since mere domestic occupation suffices for the acquisitiveness and the ambition of neither; each requires to be respected abroad, England for her pride of wealth, France for her vanity of opinion—the one wishing to enrol new tributaries to her commercial system, the other fresh converts to her ideas, manners, and language. The one sordidly useful—the other mischievously active; but though the purposes of the rivalry may be different, its effect interposes an obstacle, almost an antipathy, to a permanent alliance,—Rome and Carthage, the one ever conquering, the other trading—but the merchant at last succumbing to the warrior.

The policy in these later times has been to relax all *Jurandes*, or guilds of trades, apprenticeships,—to withdraw restrictions upon the employment of journeymen in handicrafts—to abolish indeed the craft itself—to open trade, in short, permitting its free exercise to all. In France, this dates from 1789; with us,* it has been more gradual, having been finally put an end to in 1814; in Germany guilds are still extant, though throughout the different states of that country the respective governments are for the most part inclined to dissolve them. Established originally, or rather establishing themselves, for the mutual protection of their members, for the security of their persons and property, they gradually encroached upon those of others; their league became offensive as well as defensive, when they adopted banners, arms, and placed themselves under the protection of patron saints. Louis XIV. carried the abuse to its greatest height, and prepared the way for a revolution in that as well as in other departments of political society, by which France was eventually overtaken, and this vast universal monopoly was broken up. Man's infancy had been prolonged by his bondage, under the term apprenticeship. "Nevertheless," says M. Blanqui, "in spite of all these vicissitudes, the corporations established by St. Louis with a view to order, discipline and probity, have produced results worthy the attention of political economists and statesmen; they were in harmony with the political constitution of the times in which they originated."

Many writers, like Sismondi, have lamented their loss, and would re-establish them; which is impossible, since industry has emancipated herself from their rule. They had their advantages; if the commodities they produced were dearer, they were often better, and always more to be depended upon than at present. There is at present, with the open system, unlimited, pro-

* Our apprenticeships, however, except in some few guilds and corporations, only date from 5th Elizabeth; in France they date from Louis IX.

duce; but, on the other hand, there is no confidence in the quality of that produce on the part of the consumer; least of all is there any between the two classes that produce—the masters and the men.

So far M. Louis Blanc was right in pointing out the evils of disorganization; they have been tacitly recognized in this country and in others by the spontaneous and significant establishment of associations among the masters, of combinations and trades unions among the operatives; each feeling the hazardous nature of the calling in which he was embarked. In other respects there has been nothing to prevent an unlimited number of masters from engaging (whenever the commercial horizon appeared to open) a countless multitude of hands, and producing unheard of quantities of goods, subject to no responsibility for the disposal of the one or the maintenance of the other beyond the passing year, or even month. From such an enormous development of business the Arkwrights and Ashtons reaped, in a single lifetime, fortunes the envy and admiration of those who followed after; taking as it were by anticipation the profits of future generations, the returns due to a safer and slower progress: but not undeservedly, in so far as they were the discoverers of that combination of science and machinery which, rightly understood and applied, diminishes the severity of human toil.

The contemplation of what he considers the necessary consequences of pure unchecked competition in England, appears to have begotten in M. Blanc a complete conviction of the danger of its adoption in France. In this, with all his hostility to England, and his contempt for the pecuniary considerations by which he erroneously supposes and contends that her foreign policy is swayed, he is unwilling that France should oppose her by corresponding proceedings or attempts; advises no efforts of the kind; dissuades his countrymen from embarking in any such career, or from aiming at an object which he is satisfied carries within it the germ of its own dissolution. France, in short, is welcome to arm in defence of liberty of opinion, but not for an object so miserly as freedom of trade.

We have given, with every allowance for their exaggeration, national as well as dogmatical, the prevalent outline—the sharp etching of a sketch by no means flattering to our English self-complacency.

The remedies appear still more impracticable than the representation is incorrect; but admitting the violence of the language and the exaggeration of its colouring, it is not wholly misplaced. At any rate it may be profitable to us to consider the eventual

issue towards which our manufacturing tendencies are ultimately pointing.

"I was brought up by my respected parent," said an elderly merchant a few months ago, in speaking of the crisis in the city at the time, "to make myself master of the wants and requirements of other countries, in a mercantile point of view; to study to supply those wants steadily and reasonably, and to count upon a just and legitimate profit on my business so conducted. I now hear of a younger generation taking up £10,000 worth of goods on credit, dispatching them to the commission agent abroad with orders to sell them at any price, nay, at £2,000 below their cost price, providing that by the adventure a footing can be secured there, and the rival trader dislodged."

This is the Buonaparte system of attack over again: substitute the column of merchandize for that of grenadiers—force them *en masse* upon a given point, overbear all resistance on the part of the native—the legitimate occupiers, and the reckless contriver of the enterprize remains master of the field. Only in war it is more tolerable, destruction being the avowed object, than in commerce, which is an art of peace. In commerce, *coups-de-main* are effective enough where there happens to be an accumulated reserve of capital and resources at command that can be concentrated at once on a given quarter, so as to extinguish a rival, always on condition, too, that the victor be himself in turn exposed unaided and unpitied to a similar fate.

Peace is one of the greatest blessings a nation can enjoy; without it small progress can be made—little addition to the knowledge, comforts, and acquirements of mankind; its honourable and (only because honourable) lasting preservation should be the object of every statesman and every lover of his country. Tricking or underselling is an indifferent method of promoting this with countries with which we are for the first time brought into contact; it is the very worst course with nations where old wounds, exchanged in bitter conflict, require a healing salve, and where unredeemed pledges and expectations of other days yet remain to be fulfilled. What in fact is the end and object of that universal peace, as defined by the class of political economists just alluded to? It is that nothing is to interfere with the unmitigated exertion of the industrious masses; that men of all nations, having hitherto disregarded that loftier morality which Jesus Christ was commissioned to teach upon earth—not less divine in its origin than immortal in its duration; enjoining to do to others as we would wish those others to do to us,—that lesson which popes and emperors, kings and priests, as well as the people they ruled, have neglected to practise; which

has been so scandalously disregarded by all those to whom it was addressed, and who, while adopting the dogma, have trampled upon the precept; after neglecting the warnings of prophets and injunctions of a saviour, are to lend a docile ear to the whisperings of lucre, and to abstain out of love of gold, from that which a reverence for the Creator and the Messiah could not enforce.

Let us not, however, be led away by mere sounds to fancy that the rivalry of the peace-professing Quaker is one whit less formidable because he refuses to shed blood, than that of his Protestant or Catholic competitor who has no such scruples; or that the hours of work are shorter in a mill where the owner or paymaster may wear a broad-brimmed hat, than in factories undisturbed by these pretensions. In either, in both, the labour, so long as it is thought worth while to employ it at all, must be unrelenting. Nay, in spite of factory acts, short-time endeavours, ten-hours' bills, urged, some from philanthropic and mistaken, others from party and mischievous purposes, to this intense struggle for existence we must eventually come,—either the world must increase its population more gently—generation must succeed generation at a walk instead of a canter—three in a century, as formerly, in the biblical and classical times, instead of five, as we find in parts of the British empire at the present time: or else the alternative, nay, that which long ago was indicated by Hobbes, in his 'Leviathan,' wherein, after stating that "the impotent are to be provided for as far forth as the necessities of nature require, by the laws of the commonwealth. But for such as have strong bodies they are to be forced to work,"—"to gain them their sustenance in due season; and when all the world is overcharged with inhabitants, then the last remedy of all is war; which provideth for every man, by victory or death." Even the evils of war are overrated, that is, when we compare them to those that actually ensue from the incumbrance of an over-crowded manufacturing population, against which peace is no remedy. The worst that has ever yet happened, even in the most uncivilized times, to a vanquished people, has been death in the field and slavery for the survivors to the victor. But the slain in one, or indeed in many lost battles, bear an inconsiderable proportion to those carried off by the premature diseases, the untimely mortality, and occasional famine, which in most countries mark a town population. In the manner of the exit, too, there may be something more gratifying to the vanity of human nature;—it had far rather perish on the field, amidst the roar of cannon, in the sight of admiring friends, in the company and under the orders of the best and noblest of its kind in that land, and in the hope of living in the recollection of the survivors and

the records of posterity; than waste away by inanition in a hovel of a manufacturing suburb. On the other hand, the labour required of its captives in Siberia by the most barbarous power of modern times, is not so unremitting as the self-imposed toil of the hand-loom weavers in England and Switzerland, the two countries of Europe which have the longest enjoyed freedom.

We must not, however, lose sight of M. L. Blanc. He is against war; he will not draw the sword and pillage the universe in order to end in an all-absorbing poor-law. His mode of "confiscation (for it would be tantamount) would be different. Competition is to be used for the destruction of competition, in his method—Beelzebub against himself. The state is to borrow enormously—to found government factories ("*ateliers sociaux*")—a grand imitation of our workhouse manufactories here so often tried and as often abandoned. But with a strong, directorial, and not very scrupulous government, intent on putting down all individual capitalists and independent partnerships, bending all its energies upon the attainment of the object,—let us admit, for the sake of argument, that its realization might be possible, and that in the course of a few years the passion for equality and the force of those wielding power had effectually subjugated and ruined private enterprise, by the substitution of state-managed industry—with an universal national guard of operatives, each enrolled in some military *corps de métier*. There is no more difficulty, explains the author, in supplying men's wants throughout the country by means of these state resources, than there is in meeting their epistolary convenience by the institution of the general post-office. Have we not seen, he continues, in the last generation, the strong will of one man combining a million of others under his orders in arms, animating them with his spirit, making them keep time to his march, although it is true the object of that march was destruction? Can we not combine for edification equally well?

These fallacies are transparent: a post-office manufactures nothing, it is a mere commission agent (sometimes *pare* Colonel Maberley an indifferent one) for those who produce the epistolary merchandise: its own success or failure as a measure of despatch or revenue, is wholly independent of the theories in question. On the other hand, M. L. Blanc's allusion to the despotism of Buonaparte as an example worthy of imitation by the other democratic associations contemplated, falls strangely enough from a republican pen. Between the various conflicting factory interests which would thus claim its paternal attention, government is to preserve a species of balance, forcing down the lighter scale by the timely pressure of its own weight. France would thus come to

imitate the complexities of Mahommed Ali, and be embarrassed by the same conflicting considerations that at times beset the untutored mind of that shrewd manufacturer—if he produced and forced into his home market in Egypt too much calico, then his import duties fell off; if by a moderate tariff he encouraged his customs revenue, his home-made cottons remained on his hands unsold. But this is not all; the capitalist and manufacturer are not to be the only victims. Eventually the state or the commune is to be the sole owner of the soil. “*Nous fondons un état de choses où l’abolition de l’hérédité devient sinon nécessaire, du moins possible:*” and again, “*L’hérédité est une conviction sociale que les progrès de la société peuvent faire disparaître.*” For the present, aware of the universal condemnation with which such an intention would be received, he would content himself with the abolition of collateral successions, retaining those of direct descent. It is of no use to pretend that there exists any difference worth mentioning between this system and those of Fourier and St. Simon. They insisted on their associations being governed permanently from without—the factory was to be commanded by a minister of state, instead of being managed by owners or partners. M. Blanc thinks this would be necessary only at first starting, for a year of grace, after which an elective direction would conduct everything. But these distinctions are mere trifles in the view of the main objects avowed by both; the abolition of inheritances; the gradual absorption of private property; and the substitution of an universal joint-stock estate and income, to be managed by and shared out to all according to their exertions, capacities and morality. Power, influence, salary, promotion, preferment, are by theory in this country, and have long been so in France, the rewards of the most trustworthy—in practice, however, sad exceptions prevail. But in answer to these objections, of which it appears he has heard, he replies.

“Reform your society, abolish classes, interests, divergencies; show the popular assembly clearly that they have but one common object, and that all are interested in the general welfare, and will not matters then wear a different appearance? With knowledge put forcibly before their eyes, will they not understand their own interests, and choose out the best agents for promoting them?”

Such reasoning assumes that mental intelligence, culture and morality are equalized; that ambition and covetousness are henceforth annihilated. Yet we have seen better and wiser men by far than the average intellect and virtue of even educated masses are likely to produce, resort to oblique and unwise courses in order to obtain the distinction of leading their countrymen, although attended by all the responsibility of contingent failure and disgrace.

“*Dociles imitendis*

*Turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus, et Catilinam
Quocunque in populo videas, quocunque sub axe,
Sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec avunculus usquam.*”

And so in M. Blanc's Utopia matters would turn out, unless we could fancy all passions and understandings reduced to a mediocrity of instinct like that of ants, bees, or beavers. There is no denying that progress may continue at the same rate that it has heretofore advanced at. Each generation in this country, without doubt, and throughout Europe generally, is better fed, clothed, housed, and cared for, has higher notions of comfort, than that which went before; but the appetites that tempt us are not blunted, and the tendency to gratify them remains nearly equal. There never has yet been a community from which evil, and error, and consequent suffering, have been extirpated; and so long as human nature remains unchanged, notwithstanding the vivid demonstrations of M. L. Blanc, one may believe, without being a fatalist or a predestinarian, that large portions of mankind will satisfy the passions of the present hour, reckless of future discomfort and misfortune.

The remedies indicated are more pernicious even than the diseases they are intended to cure; but the description of the disorders themselves deserves attention, and whatever be M. Blanc's errors, he is at least unconnected with either of the extreme parties which have been arrayed against each other in the economical and financial discussions of the last three sessions in this country: he has no sympathy with either the ultra free-trader or the rabid protectionist; the former abstractedly, the latter relatively in the right—that is, in consequence of that artificial position of interests, the long silent growth of mistaken legislation.

It exists however in various degrees in most parts of Europe; it has survived the political revolutions, which, sweeping across them, overwhelmed whatever they found floating on the surface, but did not convulse equally those relations existing in depths far below their reach. The remarks made by such an observer, the gloomy convictions formed in his mind by the contemplation of one self-imposed but inevitable destiny from one headlong pursuit of material wealth, should be studied by statesmen, however much they may be despised by indolent landowners, or bustling manufacturers.

Not the least interesting portion of his work is the author's view of the position of the literary profession, in his strictures on which he is courageous and disinterested. The success of the trashy, immoral works of the present day in France (and they have their representatives on this side the channel), which acquire

for their writers an ignoble profit by pandering to the vicious senses that lurk in the bosom of society, excites his animadversion on a calling which has so scandalously prostituted its talent. Therefore he would do nothing to protect copyright or to give it the character of property—nay, he even thinks the profession should be discouraged. “*Est-il bon qu’il y ait dans la société beaucoup d’hommes faisant des livres pour s’enrichir, ou même pour vivre? J’affirme que non.*” Certainly there would be no harm in the disappearance of a large portion of similar produce from the literary market. A writer ought, he rightly contends, to fulfil his mission by raising himself above the prejudices of his fellow citizens; to risk their displeasure in order to be useful to them; so indeed should a member of parliament; but by following such a course the one would not be read nor the other elected. But the man of letters, if poor, must be read and applauded that his books may sell and himself derive an income from his labours. Nay, if he is rich, he is not always above these or other considerations, the flatteries of fashion, which indeed stamp the amount of his reward in money; in either case, the motive is strong enough to tempt all but the most independent minds to write for the amusement rather than the improvement of the reader. The latter does not choose to exchange his gold for a disagreeable monitor, on one who makes him ashamed of his presumption, ignorance, or selfishness. The attempt, then, to supply the demand of frivolous luxurious readers with publications of contemptible value, but readily perused by the average understandings for which they were strung together, led to the irruption of the mercantile spirit into literature. The trade became a lucrative one, and provided an easy livelihood, if not a luxurious position, for the numerous adventurers who betook themselves to it. No wonder, then, that there should have been the same disorders as in other branches of industry, violations of patent, purloinings of patterns, adoption of thoughts originated by superior intelligences, disguising them in unseemly clothing, as gipsies do their kidnapped children in order to make them pass for their own—a palming off of second-hand commodities worked up afresh to look like new. In France, as in England, fashionable tales and trifling periodicals save the indolent crowd from all trouble of thought and examination, flatter their readers with the belief that they belong to, and form part of, a literary age and people, and ensure a profit and a notoriety for those who concoct them. Yet, in spite of our pretensions to intellectual progress, the proportion of thinkers and inquirers is, when compared to the number of readers, probably as small as it was in more remote and modest periods. The learned labours of the historian and philosopher are as little selected in general as before; science,

statistics, jurisprudence, must give way to the melodrama or the romance, unless, indeed, they lead indirectly to the realizing of some personal advantage or profit by means of the knowledge they impart. The accomplished author of the 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians' could scarcely induce the most enterprising bibliophile of modern times to undertake the risk of publishing a work so far above the level of the attainments of the ordinary subscribers to the circulating library, so little appreciable by the members of genteel country book-clubs. Our reviews show unequivocal signs of a degenerate tendency. Every one resorts to some one or other of them, in order to be amused—to be saved the trouble of making up his mind on any of the greater questions that agitate the political, philosophical, or religious world; it is a condition of their sale that they are calculated, like Sir Robert Peel's arguments, for the level of the meanest capacity. This unfortunate mercantile tincture is more particularly visible of late in the two leading political quarterly publications. Their circulation is more extensive than formerly, their editors are probably more richly remunerated than they were thirty or forty years ago, when they were first started, but, in common with their kindred artists, the celebrated Monsieur Soyer, they have to cater for a less refined taste than heretofore.

M. Blanc has led us into a digression on this branch of handicraft—for it is little else. He has a misty notion that really deserving authors, "qui dans toutes les sphères de la pensée auraient le mieux mérité de la patrie," might be rewarded by that country from a fund set apart for that purpose. In paternal governments there are occasional instances of this; but in the order of things instituted in France on the 25th of February it would be extravagant to expect it; unless the public vitiated taste for the works of Dumas and Paul de Kock be inversely represented by the members of the new government, or the future representatives of the people.

The other error on the part of the provisional committee, has been the absolute sentence they have undertaken to pronounce on everything that has been organised or instituted since 1803. Everything is now prostrate, as it was on the eve of the empire. The growth of forty-four years has been felled at a single blow, and unhappily mankind in France has been more prone to learn the lessons of destruction, than the arts of constitution. The temporary depositories of power, thus dictatorial, have overstepped their legitimate functions. Their office was to administer, to do every thing of urgent necessity, to order the march of armies for the defence of the frontier, had it been attacked, to watch "*Ne quid detrimenti capiat republica,*" to convoke the representatives of the nation to be elected on a fresh

basis, but *not* to anticipate the final resolve of that assembly. It belonged to that assembly to determine whether the state should be in future administered by a single ruler; or if single, whether hereditary or elective, whether with a senate or second chamber, or without. But these points have already been hastily settled, without a day's deliberation, by a provisional government, imposed at the point of the bayonet, and consulting under its influence.

The principle of present equality, fascinating as it may be, has its inconveniences and inconsistencies. Military rank will always remain, with all the prestige that attends it, as long as France has an army; that is the most mischievous pre-eminence; while all those other social distinctions that might have neutralized it, without either impairing freedom, or corrupting civilized intercourse, have been swept away. However titles and precedence (other than those of mere official or military rank) may be at times abused and misplaced, it is doubtful after all whether their abolition in any country will not still leave a thirst for distinction unsatisfied, but whose existence may be an element of trouble for the state, if the state has been familiar with them, if they have been appreciated and sought after by those who lead the fashion and the opinions of the country. Nay, even the citizens of the model republic, where they have never been known, appear by no means insensible of their charms and influence when they cross the Atlantic, and become familiar with the historic associations of the old world. In England they are powerful motives, incentives, and rewards, even among our solid unimaginative Anglo-Saxon race,—how much more with the brilliant imagination, the active fancy of the Celtic race—the most dramatic of all Europe! Those actors in the great dramas that have been repeated on the French stage for half a century, have more than any other men been acutely alive to the accessories to be derived from personal decoration and scenic effect, and to whose natural vanity such slender consolation might have been harmlessly left, until the more matured expression of the national will should have pronounced a final judgment upon it.

. We insert as an appendix to the above, because relating to the same subject, the following letter from another contributor, whose opinions upon practical questions have often commanded attention in former numbers of this 'Review,' and whose sentiments in reference to the crisis that has arisen will be felt to be especially deserving consideration at the present moment; even where they may differ from those of our readers.—ED.

TO

M. ALBERT, 'OUVRIER;'

MEMBER OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF
FRANCE.

SIR,—The suddenness of events has raised you, as by a lightning stroke, from the position of a hand-worker to that of a head-worker. Side by side are you placéd with the poet-heart and philosophical intellects of France, with the *élite* of her sons, to work out the problem of a true republic—not to merge in private gains for the few, at the expense of the many. You, the representative of physical work, are placed in the position to show how the greatest amount of produce of all useful things—food, clothing, and others—is to be achieved with the smallest amount of drudgery for those human beings whose guidance you have in part undertaken. You are to aid in solving the problem how physical want may best be extinguished in France and plenty be obtained, so that the animal cravings of nature may never be set in opposition to the high and heroic emotions, which the great political change just achieved has so abundantly brought forth. A sound body for a sound mind to dwell in should be the condition of every man, woman, and child in France; and those universally sound bodies are attainable by human means through the exertion of human intellect. The condition of misery is not a necessity, but a result of disregarding the laws of human reason; of substituting prejudice for justice. Injustice is the common vice of the wealthy and powerful. Prejudice is the common error of the poor and uncultivated. It will be a disgrace to France if the prejudice of uncultivated men should remain amongst her working classes, after the injustice of the powerful has been swept away.

Believing that the interests of France and England are so knitted together that the more the one thrives, the more the other will prosper, I, a resident in England, a *chef* but not a *chevalier* of industry, claim to be heard by you in advocacy of the great principles which must tend to link the two countries more closely together; to make of them one country, whereof London will be the Northern, and Paris the Southern metropolis.

It is a commonly received notion in trade, that the more commodities one country can supply to another, and the less that country receives in return, the greater is the advantage of that country. This is contrary to common sense, since it must be clear that the more

commodities a country can receive and the less it gives out in return the richer—supposing the commodities useful—that country must become. If France were to possess a surplus of corn and wine, and oil, cattle, clothing, buildings, ships, carriages and railways, more than the whole people could consume or use, it is obvious that no physical misery need exist, as there would be more than enough for all. But the fact being otherwise, viz., that there is a deficiency in several things, it follows that some must go without. Were an equal division made, no one would have enough. But an unequal division is made, for the workers and the wealthy are helped first, and the non-workers, or poor, go without. It is so in England also.

The poor are accustomed to supply their wants by working. For this reason they have acquired the notion that work is synonymous with food. Any machine-process which diminishes the quantity of work, they imagine will diminish the quantity of their food. But this is a manifest fallacy. No one would grow less food, supposing shoes or other clothing grew upon trees, or were wholly produced by machinery; and the whole food grown would infallibly be divided amongst the whole members of the community, in equal, or unequal proportions, and the shoes and clothing would be supplied at cheaper rates. Therefore the people at large would be better off, and they would have as much food, and more shoes and clothing. And the same thing would take place were railways, and steam-vessels, shoes, clothing, and other articles, to spring up spontaneously. The amount of food must at all times regulate the number and the comfort of the population; and if it be desirable to increase the numbers of the population, means must be taken first to increase the amount of food, or misery will exist.

There are commodities which are produced in France with a less amount of labour and expense than in England; some also that England cannot produce at all. For example, wine and oil, and many varieties of fruits. And there are certain commodities which are produced in England with a less amount of labour and expense than in France; for instance, the varieties of metals and metallic constructions, and many articles of clothing. If therefore France, having sufficient scope for employment in the produce of commodities for sale which she can produce cheaply, chooses to employ her people in producing commodities which she cannot produce cheaply, she wastes her industry and inflicts needless drudgery on her people. And such also would be the case with England were she to pursue the same course. The result must be, that the people of both countries will possess a smaller total amount of food and commodities, and will have to endure a greater amount of drudgery, than if they were mutually to agree that each should exercise the industry for which they possess the greatest aptitude, for the benefit of both countries indiscriminately.

That the people of France and England do not generally possess the intellectual perception of this great truth, is manifest in various modes. In England, jealousies constantly occur between English and

Irish workmen on railways, and in Ireland English workmen are occasionally proscribed. In France, since the revolution, it is stated that upwards of two thousand English mechanics and workmen have been dismissed from railway and other employment to make way for Frenchmen, and English work-girls have been driven out at short notice from French cotton-mills to make way for the daughters of Frenchmen.

We trust that this example may in no way be imitated in England. We feel sure that no French man, woman, or child will be made to suffer here in retaliation for an injustice, of which the doers will feel ashamed at no distant period. To retaliate, would be to revive national animosities and undo the good work of thirty years of peace.

This ignorant jealousy of each other on the part of different nations has been commonly fostered by designing rulers for the purposes of oppression. When a nation takes for its distinctive characteristics the words Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and follows up the proclamation by driving foreign workmen forth from their land, it conveys the sense of hypocrisy. The uncultivated English workmen thus driven forth, will spread among their fellows a feeling of antipathy; and this action and re-action, if widely enough spread, might involve the two countries in war and inconceivable misery; were the two governments as ignorant and unjust as the French workmen have shown themselves.

It may be, that French workers will be as well fitted as the English for the employments from which the latter have been dismissed; but the results will scarcely be economical. Railways and cotton-mills were invented in England and imported into France, and work-people were imported with them, to teach the people of France new branches of industry. Now, the sound rule in all industrial or other operations is faith and justice. It is an injustice ever to dismiss a faithful servant from employment, save to replace him with one of greater intellect and capacity; and the employer who fails to recognise this law will infallibly suffer pecuniary loss in the long run. The injustice done to English workmen in this case, will indispose English capitalists to invest their money in French railways, and thus intercourse will be, to a certain extent, impeded.

At this moment, the most important measures for the welfare of industrial France would be, the abolition of passports, the abolition of the custom-house, and the introduction of a system of direct taxation on income, laid indiscriminately on rich and poor—landowner, employer, or workman—in one general per centage. There is a fallacy very prevalent amongst workmen that, by levying a tax on property only, the workmen or mechanics escape taxes. But the fact is, that the workmen do really pay all the taxes, whether based on property or otherwise. Land, houses, or factories cannot pay taxes unless they produce. They cannot produce unless they be occupied, and by workmen. Therefore it is the result of the workmen's labour that pays the taxes, as it is the workmen's labour that has built the houses

and factories, and reclaimed the land from the wilderness. In short, it is labour that gives value to the raw material of the world, and constitutes capital. The skill that directs the labour is an important element in the result, and so also is the economy that hoards it in the shape of profits, and prevents the reckless and improvident labourer from expending the whole of his earnings instead of accumulating capital.

Against this proposal of an abolished custom-house between England and France, there would be no objections made on the part of the English, who desire to have the corn, wine, oil, fruits, silks, and artistry of France as free and as cheap as possible. Nor would the producers of these commodities object to furnish them to a wealthy country like England. But heavy objections would be raised by French manufacturers of iron and cotton, and their fabrics, in machinery, tools, cloth, &c. If the manufacturers be the rulers of France without control, they will probably exercise the same despotism over the other citizens as was long used by the manufacturing States of the American Union over the planters and farmers. But we think we see an opening for the break-down of such a monopoly in the development of a new principle of industry analogous to that long since promulgated by Charles Fourier. You, M. Albert, must, we think, agree with us.

The Northern Railway has sustained considerable damage by popular violence during the late revolution. Since then, the Directors have announced their intention of working it on a new principle, giving to every agent and workman employed a share in the profits, after arranging for capital and interest.

Many of our English shareholders have taken it into their heads to imagine that this is a process of spoliation, depriving them of their property, and making their servants their partners by violence. How far the French Directors, who have sanctioned the plan, may be justified in acting without the confirmation of the English Directors; is a question; but in the principle itself there is certainly no originality belonging to this time, though there may be in its application to a railway. There have long been in France joint-stock societies or companies called "*sociétés en commandite*," wherein certain parties furnish the capital, and others the skill, and divide the profits. In England the same principle prevails, in the cases where managers, foremen, or head clerks are paid a per centage on business, in addition to a salary; and occasionally in theatrical companies, where profits depend wholly upon skill. Now, profit in a railway—unless it be a close monopoly—depends very materially on the skill with which it is worked; and probably one natural reason why our railways have been less profitable than expected, is the fact, that none of the managers or *employés* have any interest in them beyond their bare salaries; and therefore it is indifferent to them whether they are profitable, or barely pay. In short, they are only interested in working a line well enough to ensure their own salaries, and give a per centage to prevent its being abandoned. Men with bare salaries do not "work with a

will," and there is no business in which good will to work is more required than in railways. Skill, judgment, readiness in emergency, mechanical aptitude, sound calculation, can find ample scope herein, if only inducement be given for their exercise. With an income increasing "according to his capacity and works," every man is interested in progress; nor does such an arrangement necessarily interfere with the rights of capital—but the contrary. In short, all sound agency is paid by per centages, and not by fixed incomes. Any other principle is that only of trades unionists, who stand up for the right of the inferior workmen to be as well paid as the most skilled.

No better, no juster system than that proposed on the Northern Railway could be devised to insure industry and prevent waste or wanton destruction. Every individual employed will be acutely watching, to detect all sources of loss, and all capabilities for profits. No jobbing of the few, for individual benefit, can long exist under such a system. The shareholding workman, wishing to add an extra two or three hundred francs to his yearly dividend, will ask why he ought to pay £12 per ton for French rails while he can buy English for £8—why he should pay a higher price for inferior French locomotives than for superior English? Why he should not buy his carriage wheels and ironwork in England, in a better market than in France? Why he should not employ English workmen in preference to French, if practically superior? The agriculturist, anxious to obtain cheap transit, will also join the railway workman in his endeavours to obtain free trade. The railway interest must be emphatically the promoters of free trade, and, backed by agriculture, it is impossible for the short-sighted manufacturing interest to hold out against them. Under such a system, English capital would rapidly pour into all French manufactures soundly based. Those which are unsound, and which ought not to exist, would disappear.

And now, M. Albert, I cannot too strongly call your attention to this question of railways, second only to the printing-press in its importance to mankind. The chief physical distinction between a country and a wilderness is, the existence of roads, whereby men may hold communion not merely with their neighbours but with distant extremes. The more perfect and more numerous the roads, the higher will be the state of civilization, and the most perfect of all known roads is the railway, with steam locomotion. But the railways hitherto made are very far from perfect. They form connections between distant towns, but little more. They are to the general country, what a sea coast or a river is—a trunk line, and no more. To apply them efficiently, they should intersect the whole country. As at present arranged they are useful to towns, or manufacturing or mining districts, but not to agriculture. To be efficient in agriculture they should pass through every village, and into every farmyard and homestead. The great element of expense in agriculture is traction; but it will not do for the farmer to maintain one kind of carriage for a highway and a second for a railway; the expense of moving from one wagon to another is too great, and therefore, unless the railway goes into his

farmyard direct, it will be of little use to him. The wagon should come on rails direct into his farmyard and be borne on rails, without a break, direct to the market places in the towns.

Judging by the heavy cost of the main trunk lines, it may be objected, that the expense of intersecting the agricultural districts with railways would be too enormous for practice. The answer to this is, that it is not proposed to make such costly lines, or to use such enormously heavy machines for traction. Single lines of rails, formed of deep longitudinal timbers, shod with light rails, might be laid on the surface of the land at the rate of £3,000 per league, and the wagons might be worked over them by horse-power. Such railways would be perfectly efficient as means of communication when great speed was not required, and if great speed were required they could be worked by light locomotives, carrying passengers. Such lines would be made at less cost than the ordinary farm roads.

The advantage of such an arrangement of agricultural railways in France can scarcely be overrated. She is much underpeopled for the size of her territory, and is scarcely half cultivated—nor can she be properly cultivated till all parts are made accessible by roads. There is yet more—the agriculture of France is still only mere handicraft work; the half-machine farming known to Scotland and Norfolk is as a sealed book to her; and even that cultivation is poor and unprofitable to what cultivation would be in connexion with railways.

In the 'Westminster Review,' for January, 1848, the question of the construction of light railways and light locomotives is set forth, but their application to farming purposes is not touched on. In the connexion of railways with farms is to be found the means of applying to the production of food all the mechanical processes, and their steam power, which have proved so all important in the production of clothing and other articles. In the facility of conveying coal to all the agricultural districts of France, in the facility for the erection of steam engines, in the conveyance of manure from the towns to the farms, will probably be found the means of tripling, with comparatively little effort, the production of food.

Such railways will scarcely require to be made by companies. The capital required is so small that neighbouring landowners or farmers, in some cases almost individual landowners, might make them. They would be equivalent to streets. Gas and water pipes could be laid along their course, and the whole line might be laid out for dwellings, farm buildings, and manufactories. You, M. Albert, are said to be a Communist—a disciple of Fourier. It is to be hoped that the Republican government of France will furnish the means to put in practice the great experiment of the most-practical of the philanthropists. In no way can thorough justice be done to it save by constructing the Phalanstère* on a branch line of railway, and the best chance of

* A Phalanstère, as proposed by Fourier, is a residence for about two thousand souls, together with workshops, factories, places of amusement,

success would be, by entrusting the execution of its details to Coulomb Gengembre, the civil engineer of France, who long since retired into Brittany to prepare models for its construction. No honester man or better citizen can be found on the soil of France.

The principle of Fourier, that men should be fitted and not misfitted to their employments, is the true principle of progress, the true principle of the multiplication of food and of all commodities that are useful to man. Sound in his industrial rules, his social arrangements may be held questionable till practice shall have proved them, and it will be a misfortune for society if this, and many other plans be not fairly tried. To discover an untruth is the next thing to discovering a truth. It is a stumbling-block removed from before the footsteps of society.

For the second time have we beheld the spectacle of magnificent self-restraint on the part of the people of France. They show that they can self-govern themselves, during a short interval, and there seems no reason why they should not self-govern themselves during a long period. The poor have proved themselves virtuous, and have driven out the selfish and corrupt with scorn and ignominy, even as Christ drove forth the money-changers from the Temple. Grandly have the poets and the philosophers responded to the deeds of the people; well have they shown that the greater comprehends the lesser, that the teachers are fitted to be the rulers. Will the middle classes—the bankers, the merchants, the capitalists, be the only failers in this emergency? Will they be found wanting in the faith, the brotherhood, the hope, the trust, that distinguishes a nation from a horde of savages? Will they be found wanting in the moral courage to uphold the representatives of industry, the money power of the community. There is labour, and material, and skill in France, and much industry. There wants but the bond of faith—of credit—to draw these things together, and make them productive. Will the financiers hold forth to the world the spectacle that they can only be strong in gambling on the Bourse, while they weakly flee from the responsibilities of the industrial battle? If French financiers, which we cannot believe, should, with coward fear, shrink away from this strife with the time, should ruin themselves by unmanly terror, while it lies with them to save the nation from a fearful crisis; will English financiers, English capitalists in France, English shareholders in French railways—will they stand aloof and behold the wreck of their own property, and the agony of France, for want of the bold manly courage, the *heart-do*, that can win the French nation to them for ever, and maintain their

- gardens, and agricultural land; in short, a nation on a small scale, producing all its own food and clothing, in which all work, both children, women, and grown persons, at occupations for which they have a preference. Their remuneration is to be each according to his capacity and his industry—after the maintenance of all is provided for. Fourier argues, that in 2,000 souls every variety of tastes will be found, so that all persons may be fitted to their employments.

own wealth and magnificent power as the saviours of Europe from strife? "I love France so well," said the Tudor of old, "that I will not part with a single village of it; I will have it all mine." The atrocious physical tyrant, in whom yet there was a grandeur of soul! Braver than the Tudor, come forth, ye English financiers! and say, "We love France so well, that not a single village of it shall come to jeopardy." France who has thrust forth the Judas who betrayed us in the Spanish policy. France, who says that now faith is dead in her kings, she will find it in her people. France, who will put down the Satan of disorder under her feet. France, who will lift her voice by our side in all future struggles for the right—who will bare her blade, if need be, to aid us with her might. Come forth Brother Jonathan, and join us, hold out your nery right hand, pointing to uncounted bags of Eagle dollars.

"Pile your ships with bars of silver,
Pack with coins of Spanish gold,
From the keel piece to the deck plank,
In the roomage of their hold."

Pay back now to France the services she rendered in your infancy;—in the days when England slumbered under a tyrant's sway. Up and be doing, bankers and men of metal!—Rothschilds, Lloyds, and Barings;—and if the high heroic soul of man prompt ye not, think at least how much of ruin France will draw down on yourselves in her monetary throes. It is a whole world we live in, and the earthquake that shakes France will vibrate throughout England, and the distant union of the starry banner.

We think that if the English government were to propose a loan to France, to prevent troublous times during the growth of her infant Republic, the people at large would respond to it. It would be a far better security for peace than all the proposed war levies anterior to the revolution.

We do not want to see the time when England will be tried as France is, but if ever it should come—if a *faînéant* aristocracy were to leave a Queen without help, while the people were casting a chrysalis skin, we trust that our Tennysons, who have

"Looked into the future, as far human eye can see;
Seen the vision of the world, and all the wonders that will be;"

And our Carlyles who, in spelling the Past and Present, have well scanned the shape of the To Come; and our Cobdens, all whose strife is for peace;—we trust that they will never be found wanting in their power to uphold the great heart of humanity, to upraise the bond-work of the universal earth.

Since the above was written, the news of the financial crisis in Paris have been startling to those who will not look deeply. Faith is lacking in the absence of strong heart, and the men who maintained the bridge which unites capital and labour abandon their post. Banker after banker is failing, and labour is running about in wild despair,

resorting to measures suicidal in their results. It has been stated that two or three master manufacturers, attended by a band of workmen, called on M. Rothschild and requested the advance of 5,000 francs on some securities which they stated to be worth 50,000. M. Rothschild demurred, and the masters informed him that they would not be responsible for the acts of their men if the advance were refused. In this difficulty M. Rothschild retired to consider, and very properly called in a body of the National Guard to rid him of the commercial house-breakers who wished to frighten him out of his capital.

Every such fact is lamentable; but we will not, like some frightened people, hasten to the conclusion that the Paris workmen are mad, rather than ignorant, and bent upon the spoliation of the rich. This is idle—the landowners and capitalists of France are too large a body to permit plunder. The *haves* are more numerous than the *have nots*, and the over rich are too few in number to make it worth while to rob them, even were morality extinct and only common calculation left in its place.

We in England owe much to France for the lesson she will give, and which we can read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest at our leisure. France will pay such penalty as belongs to her ignorance, and we shall reap the benefit without cost, if we are wise enough. If the spectacle of Paris be not sufficient to teach us to educate all our people, so that they may be provident and moral, the wealthy amongst us will well merit the mulct of property that will be the eventual consequence. It is getting to be a well understood axiom that property has its duties as well as its rights, and those who neglect the duties will have to "come out of that."

Meanwhile, let all workmen remember, that till they are wise and prudent enough to save capital for themselves, their most fatal course would be the plunder of those who save it for them. The accumulating master is but the workman's save-all.

The Mont de Piété is a contrivance whereby the workman may get the use of a small portion of capital in money, in consideration of putting *out* of use his clothes, tools, or furniture. A Government Mortgage Bank would be a contrivance to get the use of capital in money to put *in* use capital in material, by the deposit of title-deeds.

Will you calculate, M. Albert, *ouvrier*, how much capital has been lost to France by converting 400,000 of her able-bodied men into non-producing soldiers? Of the millions laid out in useless forts we must not speak. This wasted money mainly contributed to produce a republic quickly by financial embarrassments. Had it been laid out on railways, the republic would have come more slowly, but there would have been a permanent instead of a provisional government, with a rich exchequer. The degraded monarchy would have passed away without bloodshed, and without a money-panic causing misery to thousands of workmen clamorous for food.

Will you also, M. Albert, try to solve the problem, how far the soldier-making process that renders every youth at eighteen years of

age liable to military impressment until the age of twenty-five—how far it is demoralising to consecutive industry, giving the English workman the preference in the labour market, and thus inciting the French workmen to dishonest violence, tending to perpetuate national antipathies, and making the profession of *Fraternité* a mockery? I trust that the men destined to work out the experiment of the first *phalanstère*, will not be selected from the exclusive workmen who violate the principles of nature, but from just men, desirous to reward each one “according to his capacity and his works.”

Your earnest well-wisher,
HELIX.

Note.—The ‘Times’ has stated that M. Albert is not a working man, but the proprietor of a large machine factory. This may or may not be. If he have falsely described himself, his influence upon the operative community will soon be taken by another, better deserving their confidence, as really one of themselves. M. Albert signs himself “Ouvrier,” and we have therefore assumed that he belongs to the class which he has been chosen to represent; but the remarks we have addressed to him we would submit equally to the attention of his successor.

ART. VII.—1. *Road Reform. A Plan for abolishing Turnpike Tolls and Statute-Labour Assessments, and for providing the Funds necessary for maintaining the Public Roads, by an Annual Rate to be levied on Horses.* By William Pagan, Writer. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

2. *The Road and the Railway.* London: C. Knight.

AN interesting chapter in the history of progress, might be usefully devoted to the origin and improvement of the means of intercommunication. Roads have ever been prominent landmarks of national progress. The great pioneers of European civilization left behind them large and lasting monuments of their skill and enterprise in road-making. Twenty-nine military roads, stretching from the walls of the eternal city, some of them to the extreme parts of the empire, exceeded the enormous length of 50,000 English miles. Our Roman conquerors bequeathed us few architectural remains; but their magnificent highways—their Fosse, their Watling-street, their Erming-street, and their Ikenield—still remain as evidences of their British sovereignty, and of the splendid industrial lessons they taught the rude aboriginal islanders. The Romans everywhere carried out the soundest principles of road construction, in the arrowy directness of their main lines, an example altogether neglected by the road-makers of the subsequent sixteen hundred centuries,

till Telford caught the spirit and revived the practice of the conquerors of the world. Railroad makers too, in the first step of their space-annihilating career, overlooked the lesson which the brief experience we have had of railwayism has shown to be the true first principle of communication.

From the Roman era down to the sixteenth century, road-extension in England made very small progress, as may be seen by a comparison of the Itinerary of Antoninus with the description of the thoroughfares given by Harrison. The great lines of intercommunication were few, imperfect, and only adapted to the tedious equestrian mode of travelling which satisfied the wants of our ancestors during the next two hundred years. The cross roads were fewer in number and more defective in their construction, if, indeed, we may be allowed to apply the term to such rough pathways. But they were both sufficient for the commercial wants, and figurative of the industrial advance of the country at that period. By the ancient laws of England, every man was bound of common right to contribute towards keeping in good repair the high roads passing through his parish. The statute 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, c. 8, intituled "An Act for amending of Highways, being now both very noisome and tedious to travel in, and dangerous to all passengers and carriages," provided for the repairs of the roads by annual labour. Much inconvenience having been experienced from the want of a proper officer to attend to the important duty of road inspection, this statute ordained that surveyors of highways should be chosen in every parish by the constable and churchwardens. Harrison, to whose account of the roads we have referred, states that this machinery was altogether inefficient; indeed, from his statement, it would appear that the jobbing and mismanagement which disgrace our roads system at the present day, had even then attained a rapid growth of rankness; for he says the statute was constantly evaded by the covetousness of the rich and the laziness of the poor. He adds, that the parish surveyors took care to have good roads to their own fields, but neglected those that led from market to market; and encroachments were daily made upon the highways by covetous landowners. One can readily conceive that under such a system the roads did not improve. This clumsy and oppressive mode of road maintenance could only continue in a very primitive state of society. The progress of the commercial spirit during the succeeding hundred years, rendered a new machinery absolutely necessary; for we have statutory evidence that the Great North Road, the principal thoroughfare of the kingdom, had become almost impassable.

The turnpike system was the next step in the progress of road

management; it was instituted by the 15th of Charles II., in 1663. This certainly, taking into account the circumstances of the times, was a manifest improvement on the old Helot process of annual labour; but, like all innovations, it was not well received at first, probably from the high rate of toll exacted. The "pikeman," from the days of the second Charles to those of the renowned Mr. Weller, has at no time been a popular character, and, in the early days of his career, his isolation from the world was occasionally disturbed by a rude outbreak of the Rebecca spirit, which a few years ago animated the toll-oppressed Cymri. A century passed before any real improvement took place in the material condition of our roads. "It was not till after the Peace of Paris in 1793," remarks Mr. M'Culloch, "that turnpike roads began to be extended to all parts of the kingdom, and that the means of internal communication began, in consequence, to be signally improved." It is a curious fact, that much of the opposition offered to turnpike extension to the more distant parts of the country, arose from the agricultural interest; not professedly on account of the tax on communication, but for fear of increased competition in the existing marts for their produce; and the farmers poured in doleful petitions on the legislature against the bills. Can we blame them harshly, when we know that this was the spirit which opposed the earnest labours of the railway pioneer—poor, neglected, and forgotten Thomas Gray, within our own day? The turnpike system, nevertheless, progressed, creating new markets and new demands for produce, until the rapid development of commerce far outgrew the capabilities of the road, improved, although it had been, by the almost Roman genius of Telford and M'Adam. In the course of twenty-five years, from 1814, not less than 2,000 miles of turnpike road, and 10,000 miles of other highways, were added to the net-work of communication. The canals, for a time, accommodated the demands of trade, and supplanted the road in the heavier kinds of traffic; but these in turn were left far behind the requirements of the industrial speed, which received its impetus at the close of the war. The railway is now alone meet for the demands of the giant commerce of our age. But if the railroad has monopolised what may be termed the national traffic of the country, it must not be forgotten that for local communication it is essential that our highways should be maintained in the most perfect efficiency. It is obvious that, as railways are extended throughout the country, so must the profits which have hitherto accrued from the thorough traffic on the turnpike roads fall off. These are not days when we can return to the general system of road

revenue of ancient times; the agricultural community has burthens enough when it maintains its parish roads, without an extension of the labour system, or its equivalent, to the long extent of the turnpike roads of England. A glance at the components of our road system is sufficient to show the weighty interests involved. In 1839 the turnpike roads of England and Wales amounted to 21,962 miles, and in Scotland to 3,666 miles: while in England and Wales the other highways amounted to 104,772 miles. From eight thousand to nine thousand boards or trusts share the responsibility of management, or we should rather say of "mismanagement." The cost of maintenance is prodigious; it being roughly estimated that the turnpike roads cost us £1,000,000, and the other highways at least £1,200,000 a-year.

At the present moment, when the mind of the country is concentrated in an earnest desire to substitute direct taxation for an unjust and unequal mode of raising the national revenue, and to curtail our enormous expenditure, it behoves reformers not to overlook the necessity which exists for a thorough inquiry into both these essentials of so important a question of industrial progress, as the satisfactory management of our highways. Mr. William Pagan, of Cupar Fife, a gentleman of great experience, and who has long devoted his attention to this subject, in his work on Road Reform has thoroughly exposed the abuses of the present system of road management in Great Britain; and basing his proposition on a large body of carefully selected and well digested statistics, has proposed a promising scheme of remedy. Before we give any outline of his plan of reform, it will be well to look at some of the facts he has adduced to illustrate the cumbersome machinery, and the extravagance and mismanagement of the whole existing system. Mr. Pagan founds his argument on the statistics of the two important Scottish counties of Fife and Kinross. With here and there occasionally, perhaps, some difference in detail, these facts may be taken as a fair specimen of the road system of Great Britain. The leading features of Mr. Pagan's plan are, first, as regards management, the consolidation of the road trusts; and secondly, in the levy of revenue, the total abolition of turnpike tolls and statute-labour assessments; and as a substitute, the imposition of an annual rate on horses. A very few specimens from the large store of facts he has gathered, will show the necessity for a movement in both directions.

Besides the ancient highways, which appear to be usually left to take care of themselves, there are two classes of public roads in these counties, the offspring of modern Acts of Parliament,—the one distinguished as statute-labour, and the other as turnpike. The subsisting acts for the two counties are ten in num-

ber; and under their powers, the roads and bridges are managed in twenty-eight different trusts. The statute-labour roads are maintained by annual assessments upon the whole heritors or landowners and tenantry, in the two counties, and upon householders in certain districts. This assessment has been allowed to fall nearly altogether upon the agricultural interest, in the shape of a rate, varying from 15*s.* to 36*s.* per "ploughgate," or fifty Scottish acres of land. At the maximum rate, this is equal to about 18*s.* per horse, a severe burden, considering that it gives no exemption from tolls on the turnpike roads. The mode of levy by collection, in the first instance, on the landowners, creates much annoyance. The turnpike-roads are supported from a variety of different sources,—from the rents of the toll-bars, from tolls on certain public coaches, reserved by the trustees, by sums paid under special agreement with the trustees, as a composition for their tolls, and by allocations frequently to a large amount, drawn from time to time from the statute-labour funds of the adjoining parishes. The financial results we gather from the data of the years 1841, 1842, and 1843. In each of these years, the average amount levied under the acts, in name of statute money, bridge money, and toll duties, was £33,547 7*s.*, which was thus disposed of:—in the ordinary repair of roads and bridges, £16,110 17*s.* 7*d.*; in payment of interest of debt, £3,939 1*s.*; in reduction of debt, £6,435 18*s.* 11*d.*; and the balance of £7,061 9*s.* 6*d.* in the expenses of management. The enormous disproportion between the cost of management, and the actual maintenance of the ways, being nearly 44 per cent. of the whole expenditure on the roads themselves, cannot fail to strike the most careless reader. The various roads of these twenty-eight trusts, extend to about 877 miles. At the end of 1843, the total amount of debt was £97,224 0*s.* 3*d.* Several of the trusts were then free from debt, while others were heavily pressed. This amount does not affect the trusts *in cumulo*; the debts as well as the funds being, under the existing system, kept separate. The debts are due to different sets of creditors, who rely upon the funds of the separate trusts, and personal security, when they have such, for the payment of interest, and ultimately, of the principal sums. We state these facts, because this matter of debt becomes an important element of consideration in the question of reform. As regards debt, these trusts appear to be much more favourably situated than the roads generally throughout the country; for if we divide the aggregate debt by the mileage, it will be seen that it is less than £110 per mile.

To simplify and render the management more efficient and economical, Mr. Pagan proposes to reduce and consolidate the

number of trusts. Of late years, under the more economical spirit which is gradually pervading public corporations and managements, this principle has occasionally been acted on very beneficially, as Mr. Pagan shows in the case of one district in Fifeshire, where fifteen separate trusts are now more efficiently conducted under one management. In so vast a body as road managers are, many years must elapse before public virtue, or the economical spirit, can work out so desirable a change. The legislature, it is clear, then, must apply the hastening process. It has already, by the Act 7 & 8 Victoriae, c. 91, publicly recognised the principle in the case of the turnpike trusts of South Wales, when the serious disturbances which agitated the principality rendered reform imperative. Deeply burthened as so many of the road trusts of Great Britain are with debt, the first consideration in any movement for reform is to take care that nothing shall injure the interests of the creditors. Mr. Pagan is of opinion, and we think justly, that consolidation would be greatly to their advantage; because, not to speak of the benefit which would accrue to them from the reduction of a large managerial expenditure, the debt would be much easier managed as a whole, than when divided, as at present, into numerous fragments, each having a body of separate creditors requiring to be treated in different ways. It is probable, too, that loans would be obtained on more advantageous terms; for as under a strong government the debt is safer than under a weak one, so is the rate of interest lessened. He proposes, therefore, to reduce the number of trusts from twenty-eight to five—giving four for the county of Fife, and one for Kinross. The roads are not now to make; and as sound management is so much better understood than in former years, no valid objection can be raised to a proportionate amount of trust-consolidation throughout the country, on the ground of an enlarged sphere of duty. Under a unity of control the details would be far more efficiently attended to. The presumption is, that it would diminish very greatly the labour as well of the trustees as of their servants, for, as Mr. Pagan remarks,

“Instead of a multiplicity of accounts, each made up at its own time and in its own way, we should have the whole financial proceedings of a county simply and perspicuously stated in one single account. All the pecuniary transferences from one trust to another would be saved, as well as the separate management of a debt for each trust, and all difficulties and disputes about what trust had a right to the funds would be saved. The officers would have the pleasure of serving one instead of several sets of masters; and when quarter day comes, one receipt would suffice to one paymaster, instead of having, as sometimes happens, to seek salary from several separate trusts.”

The expense of road legislation is another important con-

sideration in favour of consolidation. The cost of obtaining nine local acts, presently in operation in the two counties, was £3,532 10s. 9½d. As these are for the most part of limited duration, this is a constant item of very heavy expenditure. Mr. Pagan estimates the yearly burthen on the two counties at not less than from £200 to £300. The diminution in the amount of legislation, consequent on a general system of consolidation, ought to prove a cogent argument in its favour with members of both houses of Parliament.

The novelty, and, as a popular measure, what we believe will be considered the great merit, of Mr. Pagan's scheme, lies in the proposal to abolish the obnoxious statute-labour and turnpike-toll system altogether. To the inhabitants of the rural districts of the country, and to those whose pursuits of business or pleasure render them liable to the exactions of the 'pikeman, the blessings of exemption are so apparent that we need not dwell on this part of the question. Let us see how Mr. Pagan proposes to raise his revenue, and on what basis he founds the calculation of its sufficiency. His proposition simply is, that turnpike tolls, and everything connected with them, and also the statute-labour assessment, wherever existing as an adjunct to the toll-bar system, should be at once and for ever done away, and the road and bridge funds provided by an annual rate on horses. The sufficiency of the principle has been already tested. In the counties of Argyll and Inverness the roads are maintained by assessments upon land and upon carriages, with the addition of a small rate on horses. In the Isle of Man, the revenue is raised by a tax upon wheels—that is, on carts and carriages. Mr. Pagan, however, objects to a general adoption of this mode of assessment; for though it is fit and proper that land, horses, and carriages should all pay, still the having so many separate subjects of assessment must cause a complication in the charging and collection as well as in the accounts. A rate upon horses appears to be the most convenient as well as the most equitable adjustment, for it will effectually reach the landlord, the farmer, the man of business, in fact all whose use of the roads injures them. From rough returns procured from the constabulary of the various districts, and from other sources of information, Mr. Pagan estimates the number of horses at work in the two counties at 11,465. He says he has reason for believing that this falls below the real amount: that it at least ought to be 12,000. He would impose a rate equal to one-fourth of the horse rate, upon all other beasts employed in drawing and carrying, such as ponies and donkeys. These he computes at 200. Beside the produce of the rate on the horses and on these lesser animals, there remains for disposal the annual rent of the existing toll-houses, gardens, and

steell-yards. From the estimate of the road surveyors, he fixes the aggregate value at £4,778. We subjoin a bird's-eye view of the results at which he arrives, calculating the assessments at £1 7s. 6d. per horse:—

“To meet the £16,222 16s. 3d. annually required in the two counties for maintenance of roads and bridges, annuity for redemption of debt in thirty years, and expense of management, a rate of 27s. 6d. per horse—supposing a uniform rate to be the advisable one—would suffice. Thus:—

12,038 horses at 27s. 6d.	..	..	£15,950	7	0
200 ponies and donkeys, at a quarter rate	..	..	68	15	0
50 toll-houses, gardens, and steelyards, let at £5 each			300	0	0
18 do. for the constabulary, at 5s. each	..	..	4	10	0
			<hr/>		
			£16,323	12	0
Sum required	..	..	16,222	16	3
			<hr/>		
SURPLUS	..	..	£100	15	9
			<hr/> <hr/>		

Of this rate there would be—

For maintenance of roads, about	..	£0	19	6	per horse.
For redemption of debt	..	0	5	6	„
For management	..	0	2	6	„
		<hr/>			
In all	..	£1	7	6	per horse.

In this way the management would cost only a twelfth part, or 8½ per cent., instead of 44 per cent. as at present.”

To show how Mr. Pagan deduces the saving, we subjoin his comparative statement of the present and proposed expenses:—

	Expenses of Collection and Application.	
	Under the present system.	Under the new plan.
Collectors of statute-labour and bridge money ..	£208 2 4	£0 0 0
Repair of toll-houses, gates, steelyards, tables of tolls, lighting lamps, &c. ..	376 17 10	0 0 0
Advertising and rousing toll-bars ..	159 7 5	0 0 0
One hundred tacksmen and their collectors ..	3,796 11 5	0 0 0
Annual value of toll-houses, gardens, and steelyards ..	400 0 0	0 0 0
Clerks and treasurers ..	840 13 7	225 0 0
Road surveyors ..	1,268 14 7	845 0 0
Miscellaneous expenses ..	412 2 4	125 0 0
Surveyor of assessed taxes taking up list of horses	0 0 0	100 0 0
Collector of assessed taxes for collecting the rate	0 0 0	225 0 0
	<hr/>	
	£7,461 9 6	
Less proportion applicable to roads belonging to other counties ..	184 15 2	
	<hr/>	
	£7,276 14 4	£1,520 0 0
	<hr/> <hr/>	

This is altogether exclusive of the charges attendant on the operation of the present system, which there are no correct means of estimating; such as the expense of the renewals of the Road Acts, law charges in prosecutions betwixt toll-men and the public, and waste in having too many trusts and too many administrators of the road funds. An important recommendation of the plan is, that a rate upon horses may be levied with something approaching to exactness, and that the produce of the rate will be employed within the county or the district. Did railways not exist, we might conceive the possibility of public objection on the ground that foreign traffic would be exempted; but as the railways have destroyed the thorough traffic of the country, the roads are now almost solely used for local purposes; there exists, therefore, an urgent necessity for the adoption of some efficient plan for keeping them in proper repair.

We have given a very faint outline of Mr. Pagan's scheme, but we have said enough to show the importance of the principles on which it is based. His plan has been discussed by the most competent road authorities in Scotland, and has met with very general approval from corporations and trusts. His work is a complete gathering of all the statistics and the considerations of the subject, and well deserves attention. We trust it will prove the instrument of a thorough reform of our whole road system. Were it only to free traffic from the obstructive system of toll levies, without a thought of economical considerations, it demands the serious attention of the public. A vigorous anti-toll-bar agitation has commenced in some of our metropolitan parishes, and there is no doubt that it will ere long be general throughout the country; for these are not times when England can tolerate the cumbrous machinery and the abuses and extravagance of our road system.

W. J.

ART. VIII.—1. *History of the Girondists.* By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE. In Three Vols. H. G. Bohn.

2. *Le National, for February and March, 1848.*

3. *Tables exhibiting the various fluctuations in the Three per Cent. Consols, from 1789 to 1847.* By J. VAN SOMMER. Smith, Elder & Co.

TIME has placed upon its records another of those tales of romance in which truth is stranger than fiction. A crowd of events, bewildering the public mind from their previous incredibility, have passed like a dream; but, not like a dream, to be

forgotten. The story of February, 1848, will not fade from human memory as a nine days' wonder. The term "revolution" is too feeble to express the magnitude of the change that has taken place;—a change which the sublime imagery of Scripture can alone adequately depict. We seem to have stood as witnesses to the opening of the seventh seal; as listeners to the sounding of the seventh trumpet; and the words that rise to our lips are those of the Apocalypse—"I saw a mighty angel take a stone, like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying 'thus with violence shall Babylon be cast down, and shall be found no more at all.'"

"The voice of the people," it was long since said, "is the voice of God;" and if it be ever true that Heaven sometimes appears visibly to man in the judgment of retribution and condemnation, it has been now. And what is the proclamation?—"Old things are passing away and behold I make all things new!" Old systems of civil polity; the old state craft of cabinets and diplomatists; the old trust of a people in princes, and of princes in standing armies; the old intolerance of political and religious opinion; the old oppressions of privilege and corruption;—these are passing away, and a new era is commencing with the inspiration of new hopes, founded upon the acquisition of new rights, at last beginning to be cherished, although as yet perhaps imperfectly understood.

We are not assuming the advent of a millenium. We know, on the contrary, that the immediate result of every great political convulsion, like that which has just occurred, is calamitous; involving a suspension of industry, and ruin to multitudes. Nor are we believers in the sufficiency of republican forms of government to exempt mankind from the consequences of human errors and passions. In the question of whether the late cabinet of the Tuileries, or that which has been suddenly formed at the Hôtel de Ville, be the better qualified, royalty apart, to direct the affairs of a nation, we take but little interest. All men have their weaknesses, and the judgment of none is infallible; but it is not *men* that will now govern; it is *principles*. The actors that henceforth will appear upon the stage will be but the springs of a mightier movement; and that movement will be an onward one; misdirected sometimes, and erratic in its course, but still an onward movement, one which nothing can stay or resist; for in the earthquake which has swept away a dynasty, have disappeared some of the mightiest but last remaining barriers to human progress.

We shall endeavour to state the grounds of our opinion; and this will be best done in the course of the observations that will naturally arise out of a connected narrative of the facts. These

we will note down in the order in which they have transpired, both with a view to present explanation, and the convenience of future reference, in a form, which, a few years hence, may be somewhat more available (to our readers at least) than existing fugitive newspaper documents, or the elaborate histories of the time, in ten or twenty volumes, that will one day issue from the press.

The character of the ex-king of the French may be described almost in a word; it has not been that of a man with either a bad heart, or a weak head. It has been that common-place character, which applies to a multitude of mortals in private life, with whom self, family, friends and connexions, are the great centre upon which the world turns. It is a misfortune for mankind, when one of this class fills a throne; a still greater misfortune when he who fills it possesses great talents, perverted by the same bias; and of the real, natural, and acquired abilities of Louis-Philippe, no one has entertained a doubt.

The accident of a moment, in the revolution of 1830, made him a monarch; but he was to be a citizen-king, surrounded with republican institutions!—an anomalous position which there was then no time to consider. The republicans were weak, and some rallying point was necessary to prevent anarchy. He presented himself, and was accepted.

The policy that it was likely he would pursue soon became apparent. It was to turn back the tide of democracy, and prevent any further encroachments upon the traditionary prerogatives of the crown. If he thought at all of the welfare of France, it was but the old story, “everything *for* the people, but nothing *by* the people;” “I and my family” were the theme of every royal speech—“*L’état c’est moi.*”

His first step was to disembarass himself of the instruments of his elevation. He behaved with coldness to Benjamin Constant, quarrelled with Lafayette, and dismissed from office Lafitte, and Dupont de l’Eure. The liberal party became indignant; Casimir Périer was called to office to put them down; Armand Carrel attacked the measures of the court in the ‘National,’ and commenced in the same journal a discussion on the comparative merits of a monarchical and a republican form of government. The press was attacked; insurrectionary movements followed; and violence, on the one hand, in the suppression of *émeutes*, and corruption on the other, as a means of support, became the order of the day. Turning to one of the back numbers of this Review, published in October 1837, we find the following description of the steps taken by Louis-Philippe to

seduce and corrupt the popular leaders opposed to him. It reads with new interest now that the play has been played out, and that we know the catastrophe of the plot, in the case of all the parties concerned.

“ One of the most deplorable effects of the new government of France is the profligate immorality which it is industriously spreading among the ablest and most accomplished of the youth. All the arts of corruption which Napoleon exercised towards the dregs of the revolution, are put in practice by the present ruler upon the *élite* of France: and few are they that resist. Some rushed headlong from the first, and met the briber half way; others held out for a time, but their virtue failed them as things grew more desperate, and as they grew more hungry. Every man of literary reputation who will sell himself to the government is gorged with places and loaded with decorations. Every rising young man of the least promise is lured and courted to the same dishonourable distinction. Those who resist the seduction must be proof against every temptation which is strongest on a French mind: for the vanity, which is the bad side of the national sociability and love of sympathy, makes the French, of all others, the people who are the most eager for distinction; and as there is no national respect for birth, and but little for wealth, almost the only adventitious distinctions are those which the government can confer. Accordingly, the pursuits of intellect, but lately so ardently engaged in, are almost abandoned; no enthusiastic crowds now throng the lecture-room; M. Guizot has left his professor's chair and his historical speculations, and would fain be the Sir Robert Peel of France; M. Thiers is trying to be the Canning; M. Cousin and M. Villemain have ceased to lecture, have ceased even to publish; M. de Barante is an ambassador; Jannequy Duchâtel, instead of expounding Ricardo, and making his profound speculations known where they are more needed than in any other country in Europe, was a Minister of Commerce, who dared not act upon his own principles, and is waiting to be so again; the press which so lately teemed with books of history and philosophy, now scarcely produce one, and the young men who could have written them are either placemen or gaping place-hunters, disgusting the well-disposed of all parties by their avidity, and their open defiance of even the pretence of principle.”*

It was this cancer, which had eaten into the system of Louis-Philippe's administration till it had left nothing vital, that destroyed it. When it had proceeded to such an extent that a minister (M. Teste) was formally accused before a criminal court, and ultimately found guilty of receiving direct bribes, the government lost its last hold upon public opinion. It remained only to be proved what strength could be derived from bought ma-

* From the review of the ‘*Life of Armand Carrel*,’ by (A).—‘*London and Westminster Review*’ for October, 1837.

majorities in the Chambers, fortifications, and an immense standing army. These were soon to be put to the test; but at the moment when the trial was about to be made, no one predicted or could have foreseen that the end was nigh.

We were in Paris in January, soon after the opening of the Chambers, when it was known that M. Guizot could command a clear majority of 100 votes; and when his position, however it might be assailed, was, as we were assured by some of the chiefs of the liberal party, quite impregnable. So it appeared to M. Guizot himself, to the King, and all the private friends of the minister; and that confidence was their ruin.

The session began stormily, and with ominous presages of a losing cause. The first question that gave rise to a serious discussion, was another public scandal. It had been long known that appointments under the government were often to be procured by money as well as patronage; and, in the affair of M. Petit, clear evidence of a negotiation of the pecuniary terms upon which one place was to be surrendered and another obtained, was brought home to the private secretary of M. Guizot. The case was not perhaps materially worse than our own almost equally indefensible custom of selling and exchanging commissions in the army; and the defence of M. Guizot was, that the practice had been tolerated by his predecessors, although not countenanced by law. He thought it sufficient to give notice of an act to prohibit such transactions for the future, and render them penal. This was admitting judgment against himself for sanctioning an act which he knew to be in itself wrong; and was descending from the advantage ground which he had hitherto maintained, of a moral reputation, personally irreproachable.

The second marked incident of the session was a speech (Jan. 14th) of M. le Comte de Montalembert upon the Swiss question, in which the most violent denunciations were thundered against radicals, reformers, and republicans, whether of Switzerland or France. The speech was warmly applauded by the Conservative party; and the Duke de Nemours and M. Guizot personally tendered their congratulations to the orator upon his success. In the midst of them, but as a warning thrown away, came the news of a revolution in Sicily, commencing, Jan. 12th, with an insurrectionary movement at Palermo. The discussion upon the paragraph of the address upon the Swiss policy of government, was closed by a division, Feb. 3, when the numbers were,—

For the paragraph.....	206
Against it	126
	—
Majority for Ministers	80

The third important discussion, and in fact the final one, for with it the Chamber of Deputies ended its existence, arose out of a paragraph of the address in which the promoters of the numerous reform banquets that had been held during the preceding year were stigmatized as mischievous agitators, blind to the true interests of their country, and influenced by hostile passions. This was a gross insult to the members of the opposition, nearly the whole of whom had been present at some one or more of these banquets, and, followed up as it was by the declaration of the Minister of the Interior (M. Duchâtel), and the Minister of Justice (M. Hébert), that there should be no reform, was a wanton defiance of the entire nation. It now seems inconceivable that men in the responsible position of ministers could have become headstrong and reckless enough to have thrown down such a challenge. The explanation is only to be found in the obstinacy of wounded pride, arising out of the personal offence which these banquets had given to Louis-Philippe; for at most of them, and even where the language of the speakers in condemnation of the government measures was the most moderate, the King's health had been designedly omitted. The tone of the debate under these circumstances of irritation necessarily became that of mutual exasperation; and the strong language employed by M. Duchâtel and M. Hébert, instead of serving the cabinet, only weakened it, by drawing forth the angry exclamations of "this is worse than Polignac,"—"blood will follow these threats."

The more moderate and independent portion of the Conservative party at last becoming alarmed at the probable effect of this violence upon the country, proposed, as a compromise, an amendment, meaning very much the same thing as the original paragraph, but suppressing the offensive terms "*ennemis et aveugles*." If this compromise had been accepted, the storm would at once have subsided. It would of course have led, though tardily, to the concession of reform; but the certainty of reform being won at last would have prevented revolution. Nothing, however, could shake the pertinacity of the court party. The terms "*ennemis et aveugles*" were to be retained at all risks. Significant and memorable words. To whom were they really applicable? To Louis-Philippe, his own enemy, and blind to his own destiny. The following was the division of Friday, February 11—

For the original paragraph	228
Against it	185

*

43

The diminution of his majority and the breaking up of his party

appeared to produce no sensible effect upon the minister. M. Sallandrouze moved an amendment to the effect that government should itself take the initiative in the reforms required and demanded by the country, but it was rejected by M. Guizot. The numbers were (February 2)—

Against the amendment of M. Sallandrouze...	222
For the amendment	189

• Majority for Ministers 33

We now find M. Guizot making vague promises of taking the subject of parliamentary reform into consideration, but refusing to pledge himself to the introduction of any specific measures respecting it this year or the next, and emphatically expressing and repeating his determination to put down all public demonstrations of opinion, in the shape of reform banquets. This was met by the opposition declaring their resolution to attend the reform banquet which had been announced for the twelfth arrondissement of Paris, and defying the minister to make good his threat; no law existing against a public meeting for any peaceable and constitutional object.

Upon this conduct of the opposition there can hardly be two opinions. The minister had clearly committed himself to a course of which the tendency, as utterly destructive of public liberty, could not be mistaken. Its illegality was also obvious, for the law which forbade organized associations without the sanction of the police, never was intended to apply to a meeting of persons not affiliated in societies; or, as it was properly observed, the law would have interdicted a family dinner party, without a police commissioner as one of the invited guests. Illegal, however, or not, it was the duty of every man opposed to absolutism to make a stand here. To surrender the right now attacked was tamely to bow the neck to despotism, and see the last vestiges of freedom contemptuously trodden under foot.

To try the question it was decided that the reform banquet of the twelfth arrondissement of Paris, which had been postponed from time to time, waiting the course of events, should now merge into a general banquet to which the independent members of both Chambers, and the public generally, should be invited. The object being a pacific demonstration of opinion, it was arranged, that to avoid all danger of collision with the authorities, the banquet should not be held in Paris itself, but in the suburbs, at Chaillot, near the Barrière de L'Etoile; and to place the legality of the meeting beyond all doubt by giving it as much as possible the character of a private re-union, the number of guests was limited to 1,500, and no person not invited was to be admitted.

Nearly one hundred Deputies, including M. Odillon Barrot, Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, &c., but not M. Thiers, who held aloof (waiting to be sent for by the king), accepted the invitation. A few members only of the Chamber of Peers signified their intention to be present.

The day fixed for the banquet was Tuesday, February 22nd, and it was not until the Monday—the day preceding—that the government finally determined to attempt its suppression. The first intention of M. Guizot was to allow the banquet to proceed, under protest. A civil officer was to be sent to verify the fact of meeting, and afterwards a crown prosecution was to be commenced against its originators; but on the Monday the court took offence or alarm at an advertisement and programme which appeared in the opposition journals, of a contemplated procession from the Madeleine to Chaillot; to consist of the guests invited to the banquet, officers and soldiers of the National Guard, with students and others, who were expected to assist, as an escort.* On the

* The following was the notice referred to; raised by M. Duchâtel into the dignity of a *manifesto*, calling out the National Guard:—

“The general committee charged to organise the banquet of the 12th arrondissement thinks it right to state that the object of the demonstration fixed for Tuesday is the legal and pacific exercise of a constitutional right; the right of holding political meetings, without which representative government would only be a subject of derision. The Ministry having declared and maintained at the tribune that this right is subject to the good pleasure of the police,—Deputies of the Opposition, Peers of France, ex-deputies, members of the Conseil Général, magistrates, officers, sub-officers, and soldiers of the National Guard, members of the central committee of electors of the Opposition, and editors of newspapers of Paris, have accepted the invitation which was made to take part in the demonstration, in order to protest, in virtue of the law, against an illegal and arbitrary pretension. As it is natural to foresee that this public protest may attract a considerable gathering of citizens, as it may be assumed also that the National Guards of Paris, faithful to their motto—‘Liberte, Ordre Public,’ will desire on this occasion to accomplish the double duty of defending liberty by joining the demonstration, and protecting order, and preventing all collision by their presence; and as in the expectation of a numerous meeting of National Guards and of citizens, it seems right to take measures for preventing every cause of trouble and tumult, the committee has thought that the demonstration should take place in that quarter of the capital in which the width of the streets and squares enables the population to assemble without excessive crowding; accordingly, the Deputies, Peers of France, and other persons invited to the banquet, will assemble on Tuesday next, at 11 o'clock, in the ordinary place of the meeting of the Parliamentary Opposition, Place de la Madeleine, 2; the subscribers to the banquet who belong to the National Guard are requested to meet before the church of the Madeleine, and to form two parallel lines, between which the persons invited will place themselves. The *cortège* will be headed by the superior officers of the National Guard who may present themselves to join the demonstration; immediately after the persons invited and the guests will be placed a rank of officers of the National Guard; behind the latter the National Guards formed in columns, according to the number of the legions; between the third and fourth columns the young men of the schools, headed by persons chosen by themselves; next, the other National Guards of Paris and the suburbs, in the order set forth above. The *cortège* will leave at half-past 11 o'clock, and will proceed by the Place de la Concorde and the Champs Elysées to the place in which

Monday evening, when it was of course too late to prevent the assembling of crowds the next day to witness the procession,—the banquet having been the sole theme of conversation for a fortnight previous,—proclamations were posted about the streets by the police, announcing that no banquet or procession would be permitted, and cautioning the public against tumultuous assemblages in the streets.

In the Chamber of Deputies an intimation to the same effect was received during the early part of the sitting, and at once put an end to the discussion of all other business.

“The opposition members, with M. Odilon Barrot, retired into a committee room to consult. At length M. Odilon Barrot entered the chamber followed by a vast number of deputies, and in a moment the house was all attention. M. O. Barrot immediately rose, and after alluding to the denial by the government, in the course of the debate on the address, of the right of citizens to assemble without tumult or without arms, to discuss their political rights, he said that the intention of the opposition deputies in attending the banquet was to assert the existence of the right, and allow the government the opportunity of settling the question before the tribunals. He added that he was convinced that if the government had allowed the manifestation to take place, the public peace would not have been disturbed, and the public mind would have been more tranquil.

“M. Duchâtel replied at considerable length. He said that the intention of the government, till that morning, was to have allowed the banquet to proceed, and merely to have protested against it, in order to let the question be tried before the ordinary tribunals; but the manifesto issued that morning by the Banquet Committee had changed everything. It was an appeal to classes opposed to the government, and was dangerous to the peace of the capital. The government was inclined to allow the question to be settled judicially, and could not allow an *imperium in imperio*. They therefore resolved to suppress the meeting.*

the banquet is to take place. The committee, convinced that this demonstration will be the more efficacious the more it be calm, and the more imposing the more it shall avoid even all pretext of conflict, requests the citizens to utter no cry, to carry neither flag nor exterior sign; it requests the National Guards who may take part in the demonstration to present themselves without arms; for it is desired to make a legal and pacific protest, which must be especially powerful by the number and the firm and tranquil attitude of the citizens. The committee hope that on this occasion every man present will consider himself as a functionary charged to cause order to be respected; it trusts in the presence of the National Guard; it trusts in the sentiments of the Parisian population, which desires public peace with liberty, and which knows that to secure the maintenance of its rights it has only need of a peaceable demonstration, as becomes an intelligent and enlightened nation, which has the conscience of the irresistible authority of its moral power, and which is assured that it will cause its legitimate wishes to prevail by the legal and calm expression of its opinion.”

* ‘Morning Chronicle,’ Feb. 23.

“The sitting was then terminated by adjournment; the members separating in a state of the greatest agitation.”

Some difference of opinion arose among the members of the Banquet Committee and the Deputies of the opposition, whether the proclamation of the government should be obeyed. A minority were inclined to form the procession at all hazards; but it was finally agreed that the meeting should be given up; that the public should be urged to maintain a peaceable attitude, so as to put the Government wholly in the wrong, and that the late discussion of the question in the Chambers should be renewed in a form that would lead either to a dissolution, and so bring it before the electors, or to a change of cabinet. Articles of impeachment were therefore to be moved against the ministry, by M. Odilon Barrot. These were not expected to be carried, but they would suffice to create an agitation that would force the government to give way; or failing to do so, the opposition, by resigning in a body, had the power in their hands of an appeal to the people. It was calculated that the number of Deputies retaining their seats, although a majority, would be insufficient to constitute the legal quorum required for the further prosecution of the business of the session.

In the morning a formal announcement that the banquet was deferred appeared in all the opposition papers, and the Minister of the Interior having been assured that no attempt would be made to form a procession, the orders he had given to the troops of the line to occupy the ground and all the avenues leading to the place of meeting, were countermanded. Picquets, only, were stationed in places where crowds might be expected to assemble, sufficient, it was presumed, to disperse a mob; but no serious disturbance was anticipated either by the ministry or its opponents.

The proclamations, however, of the prefect of the police (M. Delessert), and the announcement of the opposition journals, came too late. They had not been read by multitudes of the working classes, who had previously set apart the day for a *fête*, and who, even when they had read the notices, were little inclined to be baulked of their holiday. The majority of these might be peaceably disposed, but their presence in the streets was necessarily calculated to render formidable the smaller number bent upon mischief, if an opportunity should arise. Unfavourable weather, rain falling at intervals, did not affect this disposition; and at an early hour the Place de la Madeleine, the Place de la Concorde, and the Champs Elysées were thronged by the working classes.

“At noon, the vast area between the Chamber of Deputies and the church of the Madeleine was crowded with a dense multitude which

at one time could not have amounted to less than thirty thousand persons. A little before twelve o'clock, a procession of labouring persons, consisting of several hundreds, attired chiefly in blouses, arrived by the Rue St. Honoré, and the Rue Duphot, at the Place de la Madeleine, and halted at the hotel where the meetings of the opposition deputies have been usually held. Until this moment no display of military force took place at this point. Soon afterwards, however, a regiment of infantry, accompanied by a civil magistrate, wearing the tri-colour sash, arrived on the spot, and drew up in front of the hotel. The usual summons to disperse being read, the persons forming the procession submitted without any resistance, and marched away, taking the route towards the eastern-faubourgs.

"The multitude around the church of the Madeleine now became most formidable in numbers, though manifesting no symptoms of disorder or violence. The regiment which had arrived were drawn up in line along the railing of the church. Soon after several squadrons of the municipal cavalry arrived, and the populace was desired to disperse. This order being di-regarded, the charge was sounded, and the dragoons rushed on the people. A first effort was made to disperse the crowd by the mere force of the horses, without the use of arms, and the dragoons did not draw. This, however, proving ineffectual, several charges with drawn swords were made, the flat of the sword only being used. By these means the multitude was at length dispersed, without any loss of life or injury that we could hear of. At one o'clock, the main thoroughfares were clear. During the remainder of the day, the principal streets were patrolled by the cavalry of the Municipal Guard, the infantry of the line keeping clear the footways.

"Throughout these operations the good temper, forbearance, discipline, and intelligence of the troops of every class were especially remarkable. It is right to state that the same good dispositions were observable generally on the part of the people, who were seen shaking hands with the cavalry commanded to disperse them, and saluting the infantry regiments with 'Vive la Ligne!'

"Each company of infantry carried, besides their usual arms, a collection of implements for cutting down barricades, such as hatchets, pickaxes, adzes, &c. These were tied upon the knapsack, each soldier carrying one."

We next hear of a mob of the lowest rabble running through the Champs Elyseés, breaking the lamps; of a crowd attempting to escalate the railings and walls surrounding the Chamber of Deputies, but repulsed, and afterwards retiring, singing the "Marseillaise," and a chorus from the new opera of the 'Girondins,' "Mourir pour la Patrie;" of a deputation of students, accompanied by another crowd, arriving at the office of the 'National'

* The 'Express' of Wednesday evening, Feb. 23, 1848

with a copy of their petition to the Chambers for the impeachment of ministers; and towards evening of attempts to form barricades in different streets; attempts for the most part frustrated by the municipal guards, or the troops of the line. These petty commotions created so little uneasiness, that the funds not only remained firm, but in the belief that the threatened danger was past, slightly rose. The 3 per cents, which were on the Friday at 73 f. 85 c., opened on Tuesday at 73 f. 90 c., and closed at 74 f.

At the Chamber of Deputies three impeachments against the Cabinet were handed to the president, who without reading them ordered that they should be taken into consideration on Thursday. One of the impeachments was presented on the part of M. Odilon Barrot, and signed by fifty-three deputies; another on the part of M. Duvergier d'Hauranne; the third on the part of M. de Genoude, deputy for Toulouse.*

In the evening the disturbances were renewed, and now began to wear a threatening aspect. Gunsmiths' shops were broken open; barricades were formed in the neighbourhood of the prin-

* The following was the act of impeachment of M. Odilon Barrot and the deputies of the left:

We propose to place the ministers in accusation as Guilty—

1. Of having betrayed abroad the honour and the interests of France.
2. Of having falsified the principles of the constitution, violated the guarantees of liberty, and attacked the rights of the people.
3. Of having, by a systematic corruption, attempted to substitute, for the free expression of public opinion, the calculations of private interest, and thus perverted the representative government.
4. Of having trafficked for ministerial purposes in public offices, as well as in all the prerogatives and privileges of power.
5. Of having, in the same interest, wasted the finances of the state, and thus compromised the forces and the grandeur of the kingdom.
6. Of having violently despoiled the citizens of a right inherent to every free constitution, and the exercise of which had been guaranteed to them by the charter, by the laws, and by former precedents.
7. Of having, in fine, by a policy overtly counter-revolutionary, placed in question all the conquests of our two revolutions, and thrown the country into a profound agitation.

The following were the signatures:—

MM. Odilon Barrot, Duvergier d'Hauranne, Thiard (General), Dupont (de l'Eure), Isambert, Léon de Malleville, Garnier-Pagès, Chambolle, Bethmont, Lherbette, Pagès (de l'Ariège), Baroche, Havin, Léon Faucher, Ferliand de Lasteyrie, Le Courtais, Hortensius-Saint-Albin, Crémieux, Gaultier de Rumilly, Bimbault, Boissel, Beaumont (de la Somme), Lesseps, Mauguin, Creton, Abatucci, Luncau, Baron, Lafayette (Georges), Marie, Carnot, Bureaux de Puzy, Dussolier, Mathieu (Saone-et-Loire), Drouyn-de-l'Huys, D'Aragon, Cambacérés (de), Drault, Marquis, Bigot, Quinette, Maichain, Lefort-Gonssolin, Tessie de la Motte, Demarçay, Berger, Bonnin, Jouvencel (de), Larabit, Vavin, Garnon, Murat-Ballange, Taillandier.

cipal markets ; lamps were extinguished ; posts of the municipal guards were attacked ; the streets were filled with troops ; and at night, anxiety for the result of the sanguinary contests on the morrow, which had become inevitable, spread through the whole of Paris.

Perhaps in saying this we should except the court party, for, although slumbering on the edge of a volcano, they appeared unconscious of danger. Eighty thousand troops of the line had been concentrated in or near Paris, and Paris was now surrounded by forts, to which the troops could retreat in case of need, and by which all the principal roads of the metropolis could be commanded. A portion of the National Guard were known to be disaffected, but the general body, it was believed, being composed of the middle classes, who had something to lose, were disposed to assist in the suppression of any riotous demonstrations, that might directly or indirectly affect property ; and of the readiness of the municipal guard, or armed police, to support the government, there could be no doubt. The worst that could happen seemed to be the loss of a few lives, but lives which, in the estimation of Louis-Philippe, could be well spared, and the possible sacrifice of M. Guizot, to his rival, M. Thiers.

It is of some practical moment, in reference to our own future prospects, not so much to comment upon the error of these calculations, as to trace its source. The mistake arose out of the ignorance of the government and its friends, of the extent to which they stood damaged in public opinion. They were right enough in their estimate of the weakness of a mob ; but wrong in not perceiving that even that weakness was strength as compared with the feebleness of a party, left without a single honest or unbought adherent throughout the country. The ragged boys who break lamp-glasses and shop windows, do not make revolutions ; but let it come to a fair stand-up fight between a crowd of street vagrants and a royal family, for which a million of spectators looking on will not lift a finger, and there need be little hesitation about which way the victory will be decided. But whence this ignorance of the court party of the state of the public mind ? The explanation is to be found in their own suicidal folly, which from July, 1830, to February, 1848, incessantly sought to repress the indications of opinion, whether as manifested through the medium of public meetings, or the press. Never had there been a government which had originated so great a number of prosecutions of the press, as were conducted on the part of the crown solicitor, during the reign of Louis-Philippe ; and by the stamp laws of September, 1835, all cheap newspapers, addressed

to the mass of the people, had perished at a blow. The higher priced journals that survived, existed only under the guarantee of good behaviour, conveyed by a deposit of several thousand pounds, as *cautionnement*, which might be forfeited at once by an unfavourable verdict of a jury. Thus even such papers as the 'National' were compelled to speak under breath of the court; all expressions having the remotest tendency to bring the King into contempt, or which might be so construed, being visited upon the editor with heavy penalties.

The application of this moral lesson to our own case is important; for in regard to the suppression of cheap newspapers, the English government have followed closely in the footsteps of Louis-Philippe; although in other respects the system of restriction has not, here, been carried to the same extent. It will be remembered that one of the consequences of the Reform Bill, was an agitation for the abolition of the newspaper stamp and advertisement duties; an agitation which proceeded so far, that at last unstamped newspapers were set up in defiance of the law, and successively established, although several hundred persons were prosecuted, and suffered imprisonment for their publication. At the close of 1835, the sale of unstamped newspapers was estimated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at 200,000 weekly; the whole of which were put down by an act of the following session, which embodied for the object some of the most severe and despotic provisions to be found in the statute book, borrowed from the excise restrictions and regulations. This measure, which we owe to the cabinet of Lord Melbourne and Mr. Spring Rice (now Lord Monteagle), was accompanied by what, to a certain class of superficial thinkers, was considered a boon;—the *reduction* of the stamp and advertisement duties. The boon was a boon only to the proprietors of the high-priced journals, who pocketed a considerable part of the difference; and a boon to the rich, to whom the difference between 5*d.* and 7*d.* was an immaterial object. To the poor man, to whom the one price or the other rendered the purchase of political intelligence a rare and costly luxury, and to the whole body of the unrepresented classes, the act was, and remains, a cruel wrong. The evidence of the extent to which it has fettered political discussion, lies in the fact that we have not now, in 1848, a single additional stamped daily newspaper more than the number published in 1835, *before the reduction of the duty.* And what have either the Whig or Tory parties in the house gained

* The 'Daily News' only takes the place of the 'Public Ledger' and the 'Morning Journal.'

by their distrust of a free press? They destroyed the influence which, long before this, would have peaceably led to national education, an improvement of the suffrage, and equalized taxation; and, like Louis-Philippe, they have shut themselves out from the means of learning what is passing in the minds of the working classes at the present moment. Where are the organs of the untaught, but sufficiently catechised labourer; and through what channels of communication is his mind to be reached? * We have forbidden him to speak; and we cannot speak to him. In what way is he preparing to act? Already the signs that have escaped him are ominous. A mine of explosive materials lies beneath our feet.

Wednesday, February 23.—Crowds began to assemble at an early hour, principally in the neighbourhood of the Porte St. Denis, and the Porte St. Martin, and to busy themselves in the formation of new barricades. These were attacked and partially destroyed, as fast as formed, by the municipal guard, or the troops. The morning passed in skirmishes, in which some were killed, and success was generally on the side of the authorities; the people, however, when dispersed in one place, assembling instantly in another, and rapidly increasing in numbers.

Orders and counter orders for calling out the National Guards, had been given on Monday night. The doubt whether they could be trusted had prevailed; many having refused to obey the summons. On Tuesday night, when the symptoms of riot had become general, a new order was issued in the hope that the National Guards, if not supporters of the government, would yet be true to the instincts of property in the suppression of disturbance, and that their moral influence with the people might prevent the further effusion of blood. On Wednesday, considerable bodies of the National Guards appeared in the streets, but although at first wavering as to the course they would follow, it soon became evident that they would yield to the contagion of popular enthusiasm, and act with, rather than against the movement. The decisive incident of the day occurred in the Rue Lepelletier, near the office of the 'National,' and is thus described by an eye witness.

* This is not the place for replying to the objections of the abuses of a cheap press, but we would here observe that the remedy is not to be found in the suppression of any class of periodicals because of their cheapness, but in improved regulations. The best check would be a good law of newspaper copyright. The most violent and ill-conducted newspapers have always been those which have lived by the piracy of intelligence, police reports, &c., obtained by other journals at considerable cost.

"Hearing loud shouts from the crowd in the streets, I opened the window, and perceived that the people were throwing up their hats and crying '*Vive la Réforme!*' '*Vive la Garde Nationale!*' '*Vivent les vrais Défenseurs de la Patrie!*' and then winding up with the *Marseillaise*, in which the National Guards joined.

"I descended into the street instantly, and found that the National Guards of the Second Legion, to the amount of about 150, had formed in two lines across the Rue Lepelletier, one division at each extremity of the theatre. In the centre were the officers; outside, the people, frantic with joy. On asking a National Guard what had happened, 'We have declared for Reform,' said he, 'that is, some of us differ about Reform, but we are agreed about Guizot!' '*Vive la Réforme!*' '*Vive la Garde Nationale!*' cried the people incessantly.

"An hour afterwards the National Guards proceeded, with their *sapeurs* at their head, in full uniform, to the Tuileries to declare their sentiments.

"They returned about one o'clock, and occupied the Rue Lepelletier again. A platoon closed the street on the Boulevard. Loud cries of '*Vive la Garde Nationale!*' called me to the window again. A squadron of cuirassiers, supported by half a squadron of *chasseurs à cheval*, arrived. The *chef d'escadron* gave orders to draw swords. The ranks of the National Guards closed. The cries of the people redoubled, although not a man of them was armed. The squadron made a half movement on the Rue Lepelletier, when the officer in command of the National Guards drew his sword, advanced, and saluted him. A few words were exchanged. They separated. The one placed himself at the head of his soldiers, and gave the word to wheel and 'forward,' and they resumed their march accompanied by cheers and clapping of hands from the multitude. The officer of the National Guards returned very quietly to his post, and sheathed his sword.

"I am told the words exchanged between the officers were these—'Who are these men!' 'They are the people.' 'And those in uniform?' 'They are the Second Legion of the National Guard of Paris.' 'The people must disperse.' 'They will not.' 'I shall use force.' 'Sir, the National Guard sympathise with the people, the people who demand Reform.' 'They must disperse.' 'They will not.' 'I must use force.' 'Sir, we, the National Guards, sympathise in the desire for Reform and will defend them.'

"I am assured by persons who say they heard all that passed, that the officer and the cuirassiers cried '*Vive la Réforme!*' But I cannot affirm or contradict it.

"HALF-PAST 2.—Thrice since similar scenes have occurred. The municipal guards, who at present occupy the unpopular position of the gendarmes of 1830, are now, by order of Government, mixed up with the troops of the line, on whom the people are lavish of their compliments and caresses. A column of cavalry and infantry, municipal guards *à cheval*, cuirassiers, and municipal guards *à pied*, and

infantry of the line, arrived by the Boulevard at the end of the Rue Lepelletier. They made a move like the others as if to wheel into that street, but the attitude of the National Guard made them pause, and immediately the word was given to continue their march, the people rending the air with cries of '*Vive la Réforme!*' '*Vive la Garde Nationale!*' and '*Vive la Ligne!*' Again a precisely similar occurrence took place, but this time it ended with the absolute retreat of the troops, for they turned round and retired up the Boulevard.*"

A military revolt (and this was nothing less, for the National Guards, although citizens, were, when in arms, as much soldiers owing obedience to their commander-in-chief as troops of the line) leaves to an arbitrary government no choice but between civil war and submission. When, therefore, the wishes of the second legion, seconded by the third and fourth, and subsequently by other legions, were signified to Louis-Philippe, at the Tuileries, through General Jacqueminot, they were at once acceded to. Reform, and the dismissal of the Guizot cabinet, were promised, and Count Molé was entrusted with the charge of forming a new ministry. The news of this change was immediately carried to the Chamber of Deputies by M. Guizot himself. On entering he was saluted with groans and cries of "*à bas Guizot!*" from the National Guards of the tenth legion, there on duty. Let us note his last appearance on the scene.

"M. Vavin, deputy for the Seine, was the first to address the chamber, and said, that as deputy of the Seine, and in the name of his colleagues, he had a solemn duty to fulfil, to demand of the Minister of the Interior information and explanation as to what was passing in the capital. Within twenty-four hours the most serious disturbances had broken out in Paris. The population had observed with astonishment the absence of the National Guards. On Monday orders had been given to call them out. A counter order must have been given in the night. It was only the day before, after collisions had taken place, that the *rappel* was beaten. All the day the people had been exposed to serious danger. If the National Guards had been called out at the commencement, it is probable such sad results would not have been to be deplored.

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs then stated that he did not think it for the public interest, nor proper for the chamber, to enter on any debate on the explanation demanded. The King had called on M. le Comte Molé—(cheers from the left)—to form a new cabinet. (Renewed cheers.) He said such interruptions could not induce him to add to, or withhold anything of, what he intended to say. As long as his ministry remained in office, he should cause public order to be respected according to the best of his judgment, as he had hitherto done.

“ After some interruption created by this announcement,

“ M. Odilon Barrot rose, and said : In consequence of the situation of the cabinet, I demand the postponement of the proposition named for to-morrow. (The impeachment.) (Loud cries of ‘ Yes, yes,’ and ‘ No, no.’) I will submit to the decision of the chamber on the point. (No, no.)

“ M. Dupin then rose and said—The first thing necessary for the capital is peace. It must be relieved from anarchy. Every one knows that the spirit of July exists yet. Homage has been done to the will of the nation, but the people must know that its deliberations must not be on the public way. The assemblages must cease. I do not see how the ministry, who are provisionally charged with the public affairs, can occupy themselves at the same time in re-establishing order, and with the care of their own safety.

“ M. Guizot : As long as the cabinet shall be entrusted with public affairs, it will cause the law to be respected. The cabinet sees no reason why the chamber should suspend its labours. The Crown at the present moment is using its prerogative. That prerogative must be respected. As long as the cabinet is upon these benches, no business need remain suspended.”*

The motion for postponing the charge of impeachment from Thursday to a future day, was negatived by the Chamber, which then rose. Exit M. Guizot; who for the next twelve days vanishes into space. What has become of him, where he lies concealed, or whither he has fled, remains a mystery till the 3rd of March; on which day the fallen monarch and the fallen minister land on the British shore, at different ports: the ex-minister at Folkstone, by the Dover mail steamer from Ostend, “ looking pale and fatigued; as much perhaps from the effects of his voyage, as from the great and exciting scenes in which he had figured as one of the principal actors.” His arrival had been preceded some days by that of his colleague, M. Duchâtel, at Brighton.

The dismissal of the ministry produced but a momentary calm. At first the National Guards seemed disposed to be content with their triumph; but it soon became evident to their chiefs that, after the step they had taken, some better guarantee was required for their own safety than a cabinet to be formed by a personal friend of the King, and in which the views of the Court party would necessarily retain the ascendancy. This feeling was naturally encouraged by the only authorities recognized by the people, the small but energetic nucleus of republicans meeting in the office of the ‘ National,’ and who now for the first time began to dream of the possibility of realizing their

ulterior objects. The streets, therefore, continued to be crowded with rioters, who, as evening drew in, compelled the inhabitants to illuminate, and who, whenever they found themselves in sufficient force, attacked the picquets of the municipal guard, and often succeeded in disarming them; partly with the assistance of the National Guards, who acted as mediators in the contest;—favouring the ultimate escape of the obnoxious force.

Between ten and eleven, the somewhat subdued excitement of the populace was changed into rage. A crowd passing the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, which, as the residence of M. Guizot, had been repeatedly threatened, and was now occupied by the 14th regiment of the line, was suddenly fired upon by the troops with fatal effect. Many fell, desperately wounded; some dead. The report of this discharge renewed the consternation of the friends of order, who had begun to flatter themselves that all was over. Twenty minutes after, says an observer stationed in the Rue Lepelletier,

“The buzz of an approaching multitude coming from the Boulevard des Capucines was heard, chanting the low song of death, ‘*Mourir pour la Patrie*,’ instead of the victorious *Marseillaise*. Mingled with this awful and imposing chorus, the noise of wheels could be heard. A large body of the people slowly advanced. Four in front carried torches. Behind them came an open cart surrounded by torch-bearers. The light was strong, and discovered four or five dead bodies, partly undressed, which appeared to have been carefully ranged in the cart.

“When the head of the column reached the corner of the Rue Lepelletier the song was changed to a burst of fury, which will not soon be forgotten by those who heard it: The procession halted at the office of the ‘National,’ and the whole party burst into a unanimous shriek or cry of *vengeance!* You know how sonorous is that word when pronounced in French. The dead bodies in the cart were those of the men who fell under the fire of the soldiers above mentioned.

“The night was an awful one. The noise of workmen appeared to break on the stillness. Having heard a similar one in 1830, I guessed what was going on. Barricades—one immensely strong at the end of the Rue Richelieu—were in progress of construction. This has since continued without intermission. Every tree on the whole line of the Boulevard has been felled. Every one of the superb lamp-posts has been thrown down, and all converted into barricades.

“At the corner of every street is a barricade; gentlemen, shopkeepers, clerks, workmen, all labouring at the work with an eagerness and an earnestness beyond description.”*

This unfortunate accident, for an accident it appears to have been, decided the fate of the monarchy. It destroyed the last

hope of appeasing the public mind with moderate concessions. How it originated appears doubtful. It is said that an officer was struck by a chance shot, and that the soldiers fired without orders; but there are various accounts. It is certain only that the act was deeply deplored by the government; and with reason.

Late at night it was known that Count Molé had failed in his attempts to form a ministry, and that the king had sent for the leaders of the two sections of the opposition, M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot; but this announcement, which would probably have satisfied the people six hours earlier, and prevented further tumult, now came too late. The demand for reform had become converted by exasperation into a settled purpose of revolution, and the same spirit was likely to extend to the provinces. During the night the egress of the mails had been stopped, and the railways round Paris had been damaged or destroyed at every point at which troops were expected to arrive.

Thursday, Feb. 24.—Early in the morning a placard was posted about the streets to the effect that at 3 o'clock A. M., M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot had been appointed ministers. Subsequently the following proclamation was posted at the Bourse:—

“Orders have been given to cease firing everywhere.

“We have just been charged by the king to form a ministry.

“The Chamber will be dissolved, and an appeal made to the country.

“General Lamoricière has been appointed Commandant of the National Guards.

“THIERS.

“ODILON BARROT.

“DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE.

“LAMORICIERE.”

The orders issued to the troops were it appears not only to cease firing, but to retire to their quarters. Accordingly, about 11 o'clock, the trumpets sounded a retreat, and most of the important positions which up to that hour had been occupied by the infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were abandoned to the people and the National Guard. This, which on the Tuesday would have been a perfectly safe and even a judicious measure on the part of the government, became on the Thursday an act of unconditional surrender. The armed crowds at the barricades, hitherto divided and held in check by the military, were now at liberty to concentrate their force upon any point they pleased to attack, and there was no magic to arrest them in the names of the new ministers. M. Thiers, as a *quasi* liberal, they did not trust, and his more popular colleague, M. Odilon

Barrot, was considered to be wanting, from the timidity natural to wealth, in the energy required for the crisis.

Marshal Bugeaud, who had been named to the command of the troops in Paris, protested against the orders given, and resigned. His officers sheathed their swords in despair. Whole regiments marching to their barracks allowed themselves to be quietly disarmed by the mob, and in some instances with hearty good-will. There was now no want of muskets or cartridges on the side of the insurrection, and the number of working men and others who had the resolution to use them for the expulsion of the royal family, exclusive of the National Guards, was by this time swelled to an estimated force of twenty thousand men.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock the whole of this miscellaneous army directed itself upon the Tuileries and the Palais Royal, thronging and choking up the streets leading to them by their dense masses. At the Palais Royal some severe fighting took place between the people and a company of the 14th regiment of the line, in charge of the state apartments, who refused to surrender their arms, and maintained a struggle of nearly two hours before they were finally overcome. During the contest the sound of the incessant firing kept up in this quarter was distinctly heard in the Tuileries; its effect, combined with the unfavourable reports which reached the court from every part of the city, producing panic among the inmates of the Chateau, and all who were there assembled.

In the court-yard of the Tuileries were 3,000 infantry, with six pieces of cannon, and two squadrons of dragoons. These might for the moment have swept the space before them (the Place du Carrousel) clear of combatants; but what would this slaughter have availed? They were surrounded not only by an armed populace, but by six legions of the National Guards, ready to close in upon them if rendered desperate by their position; and who were now supporting a demand for the abdication of the king.

It was represented to Louis-Philippe that abdication was the only means left to save the interests of his family. Instead of "*à bas Guizot!*" "*la tête de Guizot!*" the more fearful cry had been heard of "*à la potence Louis-Philippe!*" The Line, it had been proved, could not be depended upon to act against the National Guards, and the National Guards would not fire upon the people. Abdication in favour of his grandson, the young Count de Paris, and the appointment of his mother, the Duchess of Orleans, as Regent, in the place of the unpopular Duke de Nemours, would, it was said, satisfy all parties—few voices having as yet been openly raised for a republic.

This was a proposition which, to be accepted with dignity,

required not only deliberation but freedom of action. The answer of Louis-Philippe should have been given at St. Cloud, to which it was yet open for him to retreat, with the force remaining at his disposal, and where, protected by the detached forts, he might at least have remained till he could have dictated honourable terms of capitulation. But all nerve and self-possession seem to have deserted the unfortunate monarch. He signed an act of abdication presented to him by Emile de Girardin, an act as powerless as a sheet of paper thrown to the winds in the midst of a hurricane; but with it all was lost.

Before the news of the abdication could possibly be known in Paris, the troops of the line in the court-yard of the Tuileries were summoned to quit the ground. Whom were they now to obey? The commander-in-chief had resigned. The king had abdicated. The government was dissolved. A few minutes of hesitation and they might be as fatally compromised as the Swiss guards of the first Revolution. They agreed to resign their post. The Chateau was to be protected by the National Guards, but the armed populace rushed by them, and entered it in triumph.²

* The following particular of the taking of the Tuileries was given in 'La Réforme' newspaper —

"It was learned that the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 10th legions surrounded the Tuileries, and that the others were on the march. The combat was imminent. It was then that Lieutenant Aubert Roche, advancing towards the railing near the Rue de Rivoli, caused the commandant of the Tuileries to be sent for. That person arrived with great fear. 'You are lost!' cried the lieutenant. 'You are surrounded and a combat will ensue, if you do not evacuate the Tuileries, and give them up to the National Guards.' The commandant, understanding the position, caused the troops to be ranged in a line against the Chateau without causing them to leave. Before that they had been drawn up in *echelons*. Seeing that the movement of retreat was not effected, citizen Aubert Roche, accompanied by the citizen Lesueur, chef de bataillon of the canton of Lagny-Rivey, who joined the 5th legion in to the railing of the Rue de Rivoli, knocked, and announced themselves with a flag of truce. The gate was opened, and both of them unaccompanied, with their swords in their hands entered into the midst of the court, which was full of soldiers. The commandant of the Tuileries advanced, saying that he had caused the troops to be withdrawn. 'That is not enough,' said the lieutenant, 'The palace must be evacuated if not, misfortune will happen.' The commandant of the Tuileries then conducted the two officers before the Pavillon de l'Horloge, where stood several generals, and the Duke de Nemours, all with consternation impressed on their faces. 'Monseigneur,' said the commandant of the Tuileries, 'here is an excellent citizen, who will give you the means of preventing the effusion of blood.' 'What must be done,' said the prince in a trembling voice to the lieutenant who was presented to him? 'Sir, you must evacuate the palace this very instant, and give it up to the National Guards—if you do not, you are lost. The combat will be a bloody one—the Tuileries are surrounded—the 5th legion, of which I form part, is fighting at this moment at the Palais Royal, with its major and superior officers at its head. Take care that the combat does not cease before these troops have left, if not, the battle will be renewed here.' 'You think so?' replied the duke. 'I will make the troops retire.' And, at the same instant, in presence of two officers of the National Guards, he gave the order to retreat. The artillery went by the railing of the Palace, and the staff and the Duke de

“*Sauve qui peut.*” The Tuileries is no longer an abode for kings, nor even for ex-monarchs. Leave your valuables; save your lives; and “stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once.”

The ex-King and Queen pass out at a private door into the gardens, and demand of the National Guards an escort through the crowd beyond. M. Maurice, editor of the “*Courier des Spectacles*,” is standing in the Place de la Concorde about one o’clock in the afternoon, talking with the colonel of the 21st regiment of the line, when his attention is arrested by a young man in plain clothes on horseback, who trots by at a quick pace, circulating the news that the King has abdicated.

“A few instants after, at the Pont Tournant, we saw approach from the Tuileries a troop of National Guards on horseback, at a walking pace, forming the head of a procession, and by gestures and cries inviting the citizens to abstain from every unfavourable demonstration. At this moment the expression *a great misfortune (une grande infortune)* was heard, and the King Louis-Philippe, his right arm passed under the left arm of the Queen, on whom he appeared to lean for support, was seen to approach from the gate of the Tuileries, in the midst of the horsemen, and followed by about thirty persons in different uniforms. The Queen walked with a firm step, and cast around looks of assurance and anger intermingled. The King wore a black coat with a common round hat, and wore no orders. The Queen was in full mourning. A report was circulated that they were going to the Chamber of Deputies to depose the act of abdication. Cries of ‘*Vive la Réforme!*’ ‘*Vive la France!*’ and even by two or three persons ‘*Vive le Roi!*’ were heard. The procession had scarcely passed the Pont Tournant, and arrived at the pavement surrounding the Obelisk, when the King, the Queen, and the whole party made a sudden halt, apparently without any necessity. In a moment they were surrounded by a crowd on foot and horseback, and so crowded that they had no longer their freedom of motion. Louis Philippe appeared alarmed at this sudden approach. In fact, the spot fatally chosen by an effect of chance produced a strange feeling. A few paces off a Bourbon King, an innocent and resigned victim, would have been happy to have experienced no other treatment. Louis-Philippe turned quickly round, let go the Queen’s arm, took off his hat, raised

Nemours by the Pavillon de l’Horloge, their horses descending the flight of steps. The cavalry followed them, then the infantry. It was even forgotten to relieve the posts, who remained. The citizen Aubert Roche charged himself to introduce the National Guards into the Palace. He went to warn the National Guards, who were then near the staff. The National Guards then put the butt-end of their muskets in the air, and entered the Court of the Tuileries by the railway of the Rue de Rivoli, accompanied by the curious, all quite astonished to find themselves masters of the Palace. A quarter of an hour after the combat ceased on the Place du Palais Royal, the combatants hastened to attack the Tuileries, but they found the gates open.”

it in the air, and cried out something which the noise prevented my hearing; in fact the cries and *pêle-mêle* were general. The Queen became alarmed at no longer feeling the King's arm, and turned round with extreme haste, saying something which I could not catch. At this moment I said 'Madame, ne craignez rien, continuez, les rangs vont s'ouvrir devant vous.' Whether her anxiety gave a false interpretation to my intention or not I am ignorant, but, pushing back my hand, she exclaimed 'Laissez-moi,' with a most irritated accent; she seized hold of the King's arm, and they both turned their steps towards two small black carriages with one horse each. In the first were two young children. The King took the left and the Queen the right, and the children with their faces close to the glass of the vehicle, looking at the crowd with the utmost curiosity; the coachman whipped his horse violently, in fact, with so much rapidity did it take place, that the coach appeared rather carried than driven away; it passed before me, surrounded by the cavalry and National Guards that were present, and cuirassiers and dragoons. The second carriage, in which were two females, followed the other at the same pace, and the escort, which amounted to about 200 men, set off at a full gallop, taking the water side, towards St. Cloud."

While this incident is passing, bonfires are being made of the royal carriages and furniture, at the Palais Royal and Tuileries. The throne of the state reception room is carried in triumph through the streets, and finally burned in the Place de la Bastille. The plunder and destruction of property commenced is, however, chiefly confined to the insignia of royalty, and speedily checked. Sentinels are placed at the entrances of the Tuileries by the leaders of the people, and no person allowed to leave the Chateau without a rigorous search.* The scene changes to the Chamber of Deputies. It is that of the final catastrophe of the monarchy. The curtain is about to fall.

"About half-past one it was rumoured about that the Duchess of Orleans and the two young princes, her sons, were about to arrive.

* The moral feeling of the people generally, with regard to property, may be gathered from the following anecdote of remorse of conscience, related subsequently by the 'Droit.'

"A working man went to the commissary of his quarter, and stated that, after fighting for the people during the three days of February, he was among the first to enter the Tuileries, and, reflecting on the state of destitution in which he had left his wife and family, was tempted to take a double breast-pin, united by a small chain, and mounted with two large pearls, upon which he afterwards obtained 5*fr.* from the Mont de Piété, which saved four persons from starvation. But having got back to work and pay, he was able to restore the 5*fr.* with the ticket from the Mont de Piété, which he placed in the hands of the commissary, who gave the man high praise for his resolution in doing what was right. The pin, when redeemed, was found to have belonged to the Duke de Nemours, and each pearl is worth 500*fr.*" The 'Droit' adds, "that several other similar restitutions have been made, and among them a valuable tortoise-shell box, with a portrait set in gold."

Shortly after a movement was apparent in the passage on the left of the Chamber, and the Duchess and her two sons entered, followed by the Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier. The Count de Paris entered first of all; a person holding him by the hand. With difficulty he penetrated as far as the semicircle in front of the President's chair; so encumbered was it with deputies and National Guards. His presence and that of the rest of the Royal party created a great sensation. The Duchess seated herself in an arm-chair with her sons at each side of her in the wide space just mentioned.

“Almost immediately after, the passages to the various parts of the Chamber were filled with an immense body of the people and National Guards, both armed. Cries of ‘You cannot enter!’ ‘You have no right to enter!’ were then heard; but the next moment a number of men belonging to the people forced their way into the Chamber, and placed themselves right under the tribune.

“The Duchess of Orleans then rose, and taking the young princes by the hand led them to the range of seats forming the *pourtour* behind the deputies, and still exactly in front of the President. The Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier placed themselves in the last line of seats, immediately behind the Princess and her sons. The greatest agitation prevailed in every part of the Chamber, and it was a moment after increased by the public tribunes being rushed into by another body of the people.

“M. Dupin then ascended the tribune, and amidst deep silence said—In the present situation of the capital and the critical circumstances in which the country was placed, the Chamber was bound to assemble immediately. The King has just abdicated. (Sensation.) He has disposed of the Crown in favour of his grandson, the Count de Paris, and has constituted the Duchess of Orleans Regent. (Applause from all the benches of the Centre, and from some of the public tribunes, and with loud disapprobation on the left.)

“A voice from one of the tribunes.—‘It is too late!’

“An agitation, impossible to describe, here arose. A number of deputies collected round the Duchess of Orleans and the rest of the Royal group. National Guards without ceremony came and mingled with the deputies who had done so.”

M. Marie ascends the tribune, and when silence is restored, reminds the Chambers that a law exists which gives the regency to the Duke de Nemours, and which cannot be abrogated by an act of the King in favour of another. He demands the nomination of a Provisional Government; M. Crémieux and the Abbé de Genoude, support the proposition. Odillon Barrot is called upon to speak, and declares himself in favour of the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, a ministry of tried liberal opinions, and an appeal to the country. The Duchess herself rises and addresses some words to the Chamber, which are not heard.—Odillon Barrot resumes his discourse, and appeals to all parties

to defend the crown of July, now committed to the custody of a child and a woman, as the only means of putting an end to intestine divisions, and averting the evils of civil war. A majority of the deputies present signify their assent, but their tokens of approbation are drowned in murmurs from the galleries, and cries of *Vive la République*. The Marquis de la Rochejaquelin protests against some of the statements of the preceding speakers, without succeeding in explaining his own. M. Chevallier, editor of the '*Bibliothèque Historique*' ascends the tribune, amidst cries of "you are not a deputy," "you have no right to be there." M. Chevallier cautions the Chamber against proclaiming the Count de Paris without the consent of the people, into whose hands the real sovereignty had again fallen.

"At this moment a vast crowd broke into the Chamber. They were dressed in the most heterogeneous manner, some in blouses, with dragoon's helmets on their heads; others with cross-belts and infantry-caps; others again in ordinary clothes, but all with arms—swords, lances, spears, muskets, and tri-coloured flags. These persons at once seized on such deputies' seats as were unoccupied, several even ascended the tribune, and fixed themselves there. The President perceiving what had occurred, and in order to mark his disapprobation, as well perhaps as to signify that the sitting could not go on under such circumstances, put on his hat. This created a dreadful uproar, and numerous cries, 'Off with your hat, President!' were heard from the new comers. Several of them even directed their muskets at him. The scene was of almost unimaginable violence.

"M. Ledru-Rollin, from his place, overpowering the tumult with his voice—"Gentlemen, in the name of the people, I call for silence!" * "A number of the deputies, appearing to consider their position perilous, began to withdraw, and as they abandoned their places the crowd took possession of them. The tumult was tremendous, and many deputies looked with anxiety towards the Duchess of Orleans and her children. She, however, sat calm amidst the uproar.

"M. Ledru-Rollin after some time succeeded in making himself heard.—'In the name of the people (said the hon. deputy) I protest against the kind of government which has just been proposed to you. (Immense applause, cries of 'Bravo, bravo!' from the new comers, and their comrades in the public tribunes: the shouts were deafening.) This is not the first time that I have thus protested; already, in 1842, I demanded the Constitution of 1791. (Cheers.) That Constitution declared that it should be necessary to make an appeal to the people when a regency bill was to be passed. (The loudest applause.) I protest, therefore, against the government that it is attempted to establish. I do so in the name of the citizens whom I see before me; who for the last two days have been fighting, and who will, if necessary, again combat this evening. (From every side cries of 'Yes! ye' " cheers with brandishing of arms, and in some cases raising of

muskets to the shoulder; indescribable tumult.) I demand in the name of the people that a Provisional Government be named.' (Great applause.)

"M. de Lamartine.—'Gentlemen, I shared in the sentiments of grief which just now agitated this assembly in beholding the most afflicting spectacle that human annals can present—that of a Princess coming forward with her innocent son, after having quitted her deserted palace, to place herself under the protection of the nation. But if I shared in that testimony of respect for a great misfortune, I also share in the solicitude—in the admiration which that people, now fighting during two days against a perfidious government for the purpose of re-establishing order and liberty, ought to inspire. (Great applause from the tribunes.) Let us not deceive ourselves—let us not imagine that an acclamation in this Chamber can replace the co-operation of 35,000,000 of men. Whatever government be established in the country it must be cemented by solid definitive guarantees! How will you find the conditions necessary for such a government in the midst of the floating elements which surround us? By descending into the very depth of the country itself, boldly sounding the great mystery of the right of nations. (Great applause in the tribunes.) In place of having recourse to these subterfuges, to these emotions, in order to maintain one of those fictions which have no stability, I propose to you to form a government, not definite, but provisional—a government charged, first of all, with the task of staunching the blood which flows, of putting a stop to civil war (cheers); a government which we appoint without putting aside anything of our resentments and our indignation; and in the next place a government on which we shall impose the duty of convoking and consulting the people in its totality—all that possess in their title of man, the right of a citizen.' (Tremendous applause from the people in the tribunes.)

"A violent and imperative knocking was now heard at the door of an upper tribune, which was not entirely filled. On the door being opened a number of men rushed in, well provided with arms, and who appeared to have just come from a combat. Several of them forced their way to the front seats, and pointed their muskets at the deputies below. Some of these weapons were also turned in the direction of the Royal party.

"Immediately the persons near the Duchess of Orleans seemed to address her energetically, and a moment after she rose, and, with her sons and the two Princes, quitted the Chamber by a door on the extreme left.

"M. Sauzet at the same moment withdrew from the president's chair, and nearly all the deputies who had remained quitted their places. The noise and disorder at this moment were at the greatest height.

"Shortly after, silence being somewhat restored,

"M. Ledru-Rollin said, 'According as I read out the names, you will say "Yes" or "No," just as they please you; and in order to

act officially, I call on the reporters of the public press to note down the names, and the manner in which they are received, that France may know what has been done here.' The hon. deputy then read out the names of MM. Dupont (de l'Eure), Arago, de Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Garnier Pagès, Marie, and Crémieux; all of which were received with acclamations.

"Cries of 'To the Hotel de Ville!' here rose, followed by a cry of 'No civil list,' and another of 'No king!' Some one having directed the attention of the crowd to the picture of Louis Philippe swearing obedience to the charter, cries of 'Tear it down!' arose. A workman, armed with a double-barrelled fowling-piece, who was standing in the semicircle, cried out, 'Just wait until I have a shot at Louis Philippe!' and at the same moment both barrels were discharged.—(Great confusion ensued, in the midst of which two men jumped on the chairs behind the president's seat, and prepared to cut the picture to pieces with their sabres.)

"Another workman ran up the steps to the tribune, and exclaimed, 'Respect public monuments! respect property! Why destroy the pictures with balls? We have shown that the people will not allow itself to be ill-governed; let it now show that it knows how to conduct itself properly after its victory.' (Great applause.)

"The next instant, M. Dupont (de l'Eure) was placed in the chair. M. de Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin attempted severally to obtain a hearing, but unsuccessfully. Several of the National Guards, and some of the people, also made similar attempts, but without effect. A cry then arose in one of the tribunes of 'Let Lamartine speak!' and at once all the others took it up.

"M. de Lamartine.—'A Provisional Government will be at once proclaimed.' (Enthusiastic cheers of 'Vive Lamartine!')

"Other voices.—'The names! the names!'

"M. Crémieux, amidst great tumult, said, 'it is essential that silence be restored, in order that our venerable colleague, M. Dupont (de l'Eure), may read to you the names which you wish to learn.'

"As the tumult, which had lulled for a second, whilst the honourable Deputy was speaking, recommenced just as violently as ever, the names were written down on a sheet of paper, and that, being placed on the end of a musket, was so paraded about the Chamber.

"M. Ledru-Rollin (in the midst of the noise).—'A Provisional Government cannot be organised in a light or careless manner. I shall read over the names aloud, and you will approve of them, or reject them, as you think fit.'

"In the midst of shouts and cries the honourable Deputy read out the names, but nothing could be heard. Nearly all the Deputies had by this time departed, and the National Guards and the people had the Chamber to themselves.

"M. Ledru-Rollin.—'We are obliged to close the sitting in order to proceed to the seat of Government.'

"From all sides.—'To the Hotel-de-Ville! *Vive la République!*'"

Louis Philippe, in his flight from the Tuileries, is said to have been heard to exclaim in the anguish of a wounded spirit, "comme Charles dix!" "comme Charles dix!" but the comparison, although not a favourable one, is yet too flattering to the former to be just. Charles the Tenth, when he quitted France after the Revolution of July, 1830, proceeded to the coast by slow and easy stages, not as a prisoner, but with a military escort as a guard of honour. Louis Philippe, had he requested it, might have been supplied with a similar escort, and travelled in state, with all the comforts of a coach and six, the whole of his journey. The only anxiety of the new government, as we have seen from the event, was, that his journey should not be interrupted; and the feeling of the populace towards him was manifested in the exclamations heard from the crowd, "Let him depart—we are not assassins!" "Bon voyage!" To have detained Louis Philippe, or any members of the royal family, would have been an embarrassment to the new government they were most anxious to avoid. The arrest was ordered, *pro forma*, of M. Guizot and his colleagues, but no active measures for their apprehension followed. When information was given at the Hotel de Ville of the place of concealment of some of the ex-ministers and others, hints were conveyed to the fugitives that it would be expedient to choose another. All were suffered to flee who wished to escape the possible consequences of the part they had acted. We read, therefore, with no sympathy of the privations endured by the ex-monarch before his arrival in England; but they are worth noting, as indicating the deep distrust and total misapprehension of the character of the French people, which seem to have influenced him to the last, and the profound indifference of the latter to any possible efforts that may hereafter be made by him or his descendants for the recovery of the crown. The following particulars are from the 'National:'—

"The mayor and ex-adjoint were absent when the ex-King arrived at St. Cloud on Thursday about three o'clock, escorted by some national guards and dragoons to prevent his being annoyed. The commandant cried that the King had abdicated. After having descended from the little carriage in which he had come, he asked to have riding-horses. Being told there were none, he went into the public omnibus, which took him to Versailles. He was accompanied by the Queen, the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier, and the Duchess of Nemours. He only stayed at the chateau three quarters of an hour. He told the adjoint he had been basely deceived. In the evening his valet, Provost, arrived at St. Cloud, bringing some clothes for the King; for in his hurry he had taken nothing. This valet had, in the morning, with tears in

his eyes, said concessions must be made to the people, that Paris was very agitated. What think you was the reply? 'Tis only the gossip of the cafés, we will bring them to reason; in a few hours all will be settled.'

Another account says:—

"The ex-King, when he left the Tuileries with the Queen, got into a brougham in the Place de la Concorde, and drove off to St. Cloud at such a rate, that when they had crossed the bridge the horse was too exhausted to mount the hill leading to the Chateau. Several men pushed the carriage up, however. After taking some papers, the ex-king entered a hackney coach at St. Cloud and drove off to Versailles, and thence to Trianon. He in a short time entered a travelling carriage; but before leaving the park he saw at a distance, approaching towards him, six men on horseback, and became afraid that they were in search of him. He, therefore, ordered the coachman to stop, alighted, and ran into a guard-house at the gate of the park, near the railroad station (Montretout), and concealed himself behind a stove. The men having passed, an *aide-de-camp* informed him there was no danger. He accordingly re-entered the carriage and drove off."

A letter received from Dreux, published in the 'Journal de la République,' states that the flight of Louis Philippe had been so unforeseen that it was necessary, at Trianon, to make a subscription for his travelling expenses, which produced about 200 francs, with which sum he proceeded in a hired vehicle from Versailles to Dreux.

"Here they put up at the house of a person on whose fidelity they could rely, where they passed the night. This friend, whom we understand to be a farmer, procured disguises for the Royal fugitives and suite, the King habiting himself in an old cloak and an old cap, having first shaved his whiskers, discarded his wig, and altogether so disguised himself as to defy the recognition even of his most intimate friends. The other disguises were also complete.

"Although we have stated above that they passed the night at Dreux, they started long before daylight on their way to La Ferte Vidame, where Mr. Packham had been building a mill on some private property of Louis Philippe. On their route they were accompanied by the farmer, who promised to see them in safety to the coast through a country with which he was well acquainted. They took the road of Evreux, 12 to 15 leagues from Honfleur. They travelled chiefly by night, and reached Honfleur at 5 o'clock on Saturday morning. They remained at Honfleur in the house of a gentleman whom the king knew for a short time, and then crossed to Trouville, a short distance from the town. It was their intention to embark at Trouville, but owing to the boisterous state of the weather, they were compelled to remain at the latter place two days, when, finding they could not embark, they returned to Honfleur, with the intention of embarking from that place, but the weather still continuing very rough, and

the King fearing that the Queen in her exhausted condition would be unable to bear the fatigues of a rough passage, deferred his departure till the weather changed on Thursday. In the mean time information was secretly conveyed to the Express, Southampton steam-ship, that she would be required to take a party from Havre to England.

“On Thursday afternoon the gentleman who sheltered the dethroned monarch and his consort at Honfleur, engaged a French fishing-boat to convey the fugitives from Honfleur to Havre, and fearing that in this small vessel the features of the King might be recognised, the gentleman engaged a person to interpret French to the King, who, to render his disguise more complete, passed as an Englishman. Nothing of moment transpired on the passage to Havre, where the Express was waiting with her steam up, and at 9 o'clock on Thursday evening the royal fugitives and suite set sail for England. The vessel reached the offing of Newhaven harbour at 7 o'clock this morning, but owing to the state of the tide she could not enter the harbour till nearly 12 o'clock.”*

Friday, March 3.—The ex-King and Queen of the French landed at Newhaven. Their suite consisted of General Dunas and General Rumigny, a valet, and a female German attendant. Louis Philippe, whose first reply to the congratulations addressed to him, was “yes, thank God I am in England once again,” appeared in the disguise which he had worn after his departure from Dreux; consisting of a green blouse, a red and white comforter, and a casquette, or peasant's cap. Over the blouse was a sailor's frock coat, borrowed of the captain of the Express. The Queen was attired in plain mourning, over which she wore a woollen cloak, of black and white plaid, with broad checks. We need hardly add that they were hospitably received in this country; but with a silent welcome on the part of the public. The residence assigned them by the English Government is Claremont; where for the present they take up their abode as the Count and Countess of Neuilly.

The Duchess of Orleans, who also reached England in safety with her two children, afterwards left for Germany, with the object, doubtless, of placing her interests and those of the young Count de Paris under the protection of the Northern Powers. This was a false step. The Northern Powers have now too many embarrassments of their own to engage lightly in a war with French democracy; and if the time should come for war with France to be proclaimed, it will not be in the name of the rights of the Count de Paris.

* Daily News, March 4th, 1848.

Friday, February 25th, 1848.—The existence of a National Republic, with a provisional executive strong enough at once to assume administrative functions, was formally announced in the following proclamation:—

“To the French People,

“A retrograde government has been overturned by the heroism of the people of Paris.

“This government has fled, leaving behind it traces of blood, which will for ever forbid its return.

“The blood of the people has flowed, as in July, but, happily, it has not been shed in vain. It has secured a national and popular government in accordance with the rights, the progress, and the will of this great and generous people.

“A Provisional Government, at the call of the people and some deputies in the sitting of the 24th of February, is for the moment invested with the care of organizing and securing the national victory.

It is composed of

M. M. DUPONT (DE L'EURE)
LAMARTINE
CREMILUX
ARAGO
LEDRU ROLLIN and
GARNIER PAGES.

“The Secretaries of the Government are—

M. M. ARMAND MARRAST
LOUIS BLANC and
FERDINAND FLOCON.

“These citizens have not hesitated for an instant to accept the patriotic mission which has been imposed upon them by the urgency of the occasion.

“Frenchmen, give to the world the example Paris has given to France. Prepare yourselves, by order and confidence in yourselves, for the institutions which are about to be given you.

“The Provisional Government desires a Republic, pending the ratification of the French people, who are to be immediately consulted.

“Neither the people of Paris nor the Provisional Government desire to substitute their opinion for the opinions of the citizens at large upon the definite form of government which the national sovereignty shall proclaim.

“‘L'unité de la nation,’ formed henceforth of all classes of the people which compose it:

“The government of the nation by itself;

“Liberty, equality, and fraternity for its principles;

“The people to devise and to maintain order;—

“Such is the democratic government which France owes to herself and which our efforts will assure to her.

“Such are the first acts of the Provisional Government.

“(Signed) Dupont (de l’Eure), Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Bedeau, Michel Goudchaux, Arago, Bethmont, Marie, Carnot, Cavaignac, Garnier Pages.”*

Of the members of the Provisional Government it may be briefly observed, that M. Dupont (de l’Eure) had attained by age, being in his 80th year, the venerable title of “Father of the Chamber of Deputies.” He had taken part, when a young man, in the first revolution of 1789, in which commenced that struggle with monarchy which had lasted down to the present day; and his whole life had been one of honourable consistency. In 1842, the respect entertained for him by the French people, was shown by his election for four separate constituencies in the Department of the Eure.—He sat for Evreux.

Of the literary and practical reputation of M. de Lamartine we need not speak. His position in the Chamber of Deputies was that of Burke in the House of Commons, but with higher aims, and less narrow party sympathies than the English orator. His ‘History of the Girondists,†’ which all men should read who would understand the political tendencies of the age, had prepared the way for the late revolution, by reviving the discussion of republican ideas, and pointing out the causes of their former failure. In the Chamber of Deputies he represented Maçon. M. Crémieux, late Deputy for Chiron, is a free-trader, whose parliamentary career, as a leading member of the opposition, has been in part distinguished, like that of Mr. Bright, by an agitation against the game laws. M. Arago, as a mathematician, secretary of the Academy of Sciences, and member of the Office of Longitudes, enjoys an European reputation. In France, as a politician, he has always been known as an enemy of privilege

* A subsequent proclamation gives the following distribution of Cabinet Offices:—

- M. Dupont, (de l’Eure) President of the Council, (without Portfolio).
- M. de Lamartine, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- M. Crémieux, Minister of Justice.
- M. Ledru Rollin, Minister of the Interior.
- M. Michel Goudchaux, Minister of Marine.
- General Bedeau, Minister of War.
- M. Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction, (a son of Carnot of the Convention.)
- M. Bethmont, Minister of Commerce.
- M. Marie, Minister of Public Works.
- General Cavaignac, Governor General of Algeria.
- M. Garnier Pages, Mayor of Paris.*

* This office was soon after assigned to M. Marrast; M. Garnier Pages undertaking the duties of Minister of Finance.

† An English translation has been published by Bohn, in 3 vols.

and corruption. M. Ledru Rollin, late Deputy for Mans, was subjected to a government prosecution for an election speech, and thus obtained notoriety and popularity. He sat on the extreme left, and defended with ability the ultra democratic opinions of 'La Réforme,' against the policy, not only of M. Guizot, but also of M. Thiers and Odilon Barrot. Of the qualifications for a future ministry of M. Garnier Pagès, great expectations had been entertained by the members of the opposition.

These were the men, who, from their position in the late legislature, it was necessary to put prominently forward to secure public confidence; but the two men in France, to whom, more perhaps than any other, may be traced the energy and decision which frustrated the views of M. Thiers and Odilon Barrot for a Regency, and caused a Republic to be proclaimed, were M. de Lamartine and Armand Marrast; the latter, twelve years ago, an exile in England—an escaped political prisoner from St. Pelagie, flying from the vengeance of Louis Philippe; subsequently the Editor of the *National*, and in that capacity rendering himself formidable to the government, by his unrivalled powers of sarcasm, and as, in some respects, the ablest journalist of France.

The courage, eloquence, and judicious conduct of M. de Lamartine have been the theme of just and universal admiration. The happiest effects resulted from his influence over the people; and among these, perhaps not the least was his successful appeal to the armed crowds before the Hotel de Ville to throw away the red flag of the first revolution, which they had at first raised as the flag of the Republic (and which had excited general alarm as an emblem of blood), and to adhere to the tricolour, under which the armies of France had marched to victory. Addressing them for the fifth time during the day, and with muskets brandished about his head, from the yet prevailing feeling of distrust of the intentions of the Provisional Government in regard to a compromise with royalty, he said—

"Citizens! for my part I will never adopt the red flag; and I will explain in a word why I will oppose it with all the strength of my patriotism. It is, citizens, because the tricolour flag has made the tour of the world, with our liberties and our glories, and that the red flag has only made the tour of the Champs de Mars, trailed through torrents of the blood of the people."

* The allusion here is to the "Massacre of the Champs de Mars," July 17, 1791. The flight of the king (Louis XVI.) from Paris having led to riotous demonstrations, during which some unprovoked murders had been committed, the National Guards assembled to disperse the populace. The result is thus described by Lamartine, in his 'History of the Girondists.'

Never had orator a greater triumph. The people who had refused to listen to him, drowning his voice in their clamours, gradually became softened, shed tears, and finished by lowering their arms, throwing away their flags, and peaceably dispersing to their homes.

The first sitting of the Provisional Government lasted night and day, without intermission, for sixty hours, during which it was besieged at every moment by tumultuous crowds or deputations; but finally succeeding in inspiring all with confidence in the integrity and firmness of its intentions. When, on the Saturday, February 26, its first initiative labours were brought to a close, M. de Lamartine again descended the steps of the great staircase of the Hotel de Ville, and presenting himself in front of the edifice, with his colleagues, thus expressed himself.

“Citizens—

“The Provisional Government of the Republic has called upon the people to witness its gratitude for the magnificent national co-operation which has just accepted these new institutions.

“The Provisional Government of the Republic has only joyful intelligence to announce to the people here assembled.

“Royalty is abolished.

“Bailly, Lafayette, and the municipal body, with the red flag, marched at the head of the first column. The *pas de charge* beaten by 400 drums, and the first rolling of the cannon over the stones, announced the arrival of the national army. These sounds drowned for an instant the hollow murmurs and the shrill cries of 50,000 men, women, and children, who filled the centre of the Champs de Mars, or crowded on the glacis. At the moment when Bailly debouched between the glacis, the populace, who from the top of the bank looked down on the mayor, the bayonets, and the artillery, burst into threatening shouts and furious outcries against the National Guard. ‘Down with the red flag! Shame to Bailly! Death to Lafayette!’ The people in the Champs de Mars responded to these cries with unanimous imprecations. Lumps of wet mud, the only arms at hand, were cast at the National Guard, and struck Lafayette’s horse, the red flag, and Bailly himself; and it is even said, several pistol-shots were fired from a distance; this, however, was by no means proved: the people had no intention of resisting—they wished only to intimidate. Bailly summoned them to disperse legally, to which they replied by shouts of derision; and he then, with the grave dignity of his office, and the mute sorrow that formed part of his character, ordered them to be dispersed by force. Lafayette first ordered the Guard to fire in the air; but the people, encouraged by this vain demonstration, formed into line before the National Guard, who then fired a discharge that killed and wounded 600 persons—the republicans say, 10,000. At the same moment the ranks opened, the cavalry charged, and the artillerymen prepared to open their fire, which, on this dense mass of people, would have taken fearful effect. Lafayette, unable to restrain his soldiers by his voice, placed himself before the cannon’s mouth, and by this heroic act saved the lives of thousands. In an instant the Champs de Mars was cleared, and nought remained on it save the dead bodies of women and children, trampled under foot, or those flying before the cavalry; and a few intrepid men on the steps of the altar of their country, who, amidst a murderous fire, and at the cannon’s mouth, collected, in order to preserve them, the sheets of the petition, as proofs of the wishes, or bloody pledges of the future vengeance of the people, and they only retired when they had obtained them.”

“The Republic is proclaimed.

“The people will exercise their political rights.

“National workshops are open for those who are without work. (Immense acclamations.)

“The army is being re-organized. The National Guard indissolubly unites itself with the people, so as to promptly restore order with the same hand that had only the preceding moment conquered our liberty. (Renewed acclamations.)

“Finally, Gentlemen, the Provisional Government was anxious to be itself the bearer to you of the last decree it has resolved on and signed in this memorable sitting; that is, the abolition of the penalty of death for political offences. (Unanimous bravos.)

“This is the noblest decree, Gentlemen, that has ever issued from the mouths of a people the day after their victory.* (‘Yes, yes!’) It is the character of the French nation which escapes in one spontaneous cry from the soul of its Government. (‘Yes, yes; Bravo.’) We have brought it with us, and I will now read it to you. There is not a more becoming homage to a people than the spectacle of its own magnanimity.”

The abolition of the punishment of death for political offences, at the moment when the Royal Family and the ex-ministers were flying for their lives or trembling in concealment, was indeed a noble inspiration; and it probably did more than any other act of the Provisional Government to produce that general conviction of the justness and moderation of their views, which led

* This just and generous sentiment of the Provisional Government, and the decree of “death” of the National Convention in 1792, after the trial and condemnation of Louis XVI., form one of the most striking contrasts of history. In Lamartine’s ‘History of the Girondists,’ the conduct of the Duke of Orleans (the father of Louis Philippe), at the memorable sitting when judgment was pronounced, arrests the attention of the reader. The votes of the Convention were taken openly, and with a proud solemnity befitting the occasion. Every member mounted in his turn the tribune, and raised his voice for “death,” or “exile,” or “imprisonment.” The twenty-one deputies for Paris all voted for DEATH.

“The Duc D’Orleans was the last called. Deep silence followed his name. Sillery, his confidant and favourite, had voted against death. It was expected that the prince would vote as his friend had done, or would refuse in the name of nature and of blood. Even the Jacobins anticipated this exception; but he would not be excepted. He ascended the steps slowly and unmoved, unfolded a paper which he held in his hand, and read with the voice of a stoic these words: ‘Solely occupied with my duty, convinced that all who have attempted, or shall attempt hereafter, the sovereignty of the people, merit death, I vote for “death.”’ These words fell in the silence, and to the astonishment, of the party to whom the Duc D’Orleans seemed to concede them as a pledge. He did not find, even from the Mountain, a look, a gesture, or a voice that applauded him. The Montagnards, whilst condemning to death a captive and disarmed king, might wound justice, affright mankind, but they did not appal nature. Nature revolted in them against the vote of the first prince of the blood. A shudder pervaded the benches and tribunes of the assembly.”

the entire nation to accept the new men, as the indispensable necessity of the time, with an unanimity to which there is hardly a parallel in history. On the part of the army, Marshal Bugeaud; on the part of the clergy, the Archbishop of Paris; gave in their adhesion to the new Republic. On the part of the middle classes, whether in Paris or in the provinces, and of the whole press, without a solitary exception, there does not appear to have been the hesitation of a moment. All seem to have felt by instinct, that whether or not the people were prepared for Republican institutions, the time was come when a trial of them must be made; for after the fall of a government which but a few days before had enjoyed the reputation of being one of the strongest in Europe, and then suddenly vanished like a mist, there could be no further hope of security for person or property under the protection of royalty.*

Another decree, subsequently issued, but conceived in the same spirit, a spirit worthy of a great cause, must not be passed over in silence, it marks an epoch in the moral history of nations

“ THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

“ LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

“ The Provisional Government of the Republic, considering that during the last fifty years every new government that constituted itself required and received oaths, which were successively replaced by others at every political change, considering that the first duty of every Republican is to be devoted without any reservation to the country, and that every citizen who, under the government of the Republic, accepts functions or continues in the exercise of those he occupied, contracts in a still more special manner the sacred obligation of serving it and devoting himself to its security decrees —

“ Public functionaries of the administrative and judiciary order shall not take any oath

“ Paris, March 1st, 1848.

“ (Signed) The Members of the Provisional Government — Dupont de l’Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Cremieux, Ledru Rollin, Garnier Pages, Maillast, Marie, Louis Blanc, Flocon, Albert ”

† This feeling was put to the test by a feeble attempt on the part of the few remaining friends of the elder branch of the Bourbons, which ended in the following ridiculous failure —

“ Ten young men attempted on Saturday evening,” says the *Compter Financier*, “ to get up a Legitimist manifestation in the Faubourg St Germain. The people, seeing them all dressed in black, with white cockades in their hats, cried out ‘ *Tiens ! Tiens !* A funeral ! They are undertakers’ men !’ The young men, finding the people in such good humour, immediately set to work. ‘ Friends,’ exclaimed they, ‘ remember Henry IV., and proclaim his descendant Long live Henry V !’ The people, in the same good humour, immediately cried out, ‘ Ah, how is he, the dear prince ? Is he not dead ? So much the better ! Make our compliments to him, if you please gentlemen How happy he will be ! Henry IV is dead ! Vive la Republique !’ Thus did the people turn Legitimacy to the right about. If we relate this fact, it is merely to add that, in despair for the cause, they immediately went to inscribe themselves at their respective mayoralties, as nearly all the young men of the Faubourg St Germain had already done. Thus Legitimacy has turned into Republicanism, the wisest thing it could do. ‘ Henry IV. is dead. Long live the Republic !’ ”

In this unanimity, which even subsequent distress, arising from financial and commercial difficulties has not in the least disturbed, lies the safety of the Republic. It is a guarantee against the recurrence of the sanguinary scenes of the first revolution. The timid English who have fled from Paris in the belief that the new political clubs that have sprung into existence, will, by exciting the passions of the people, lead to another reign of terror, have entirely mistaken the character of existing circumstances in relation to those of the past. The Jacobin clubs of 1791 were the leaders of a perpetual revolt against a court guilty of perpetual treachery—they were the terrible, but energetic defenders of their country against the armies of a foreign coalition.

But neither the duplicity of the court, nor the foreign coalition, would have given any mischievous influence to the clubs of Paris during the first revolution, but for an act of the National Assembly, originating in patriotism, of which the consequences have not been understood. This was their celebrated self-denying ordinance, by which, when they had completed their work of framing a constitution for the nation, the National Assembly declared themselves ineligible as candidates at the next election; leaving therefore the further progress of legislation to a body composed entirely of new men, for the most part of unknown names, and inferior capacity. The immediate result of this measure was, a great accession of strength to the clubs, which a little before were dying of inanition. Robespierre, the disciple of Rousseau, the friend of peace, “the incorruptible,” and the most popular man of the day, descended from the arena of statesmen to that of demagogues, and gradually yielded to the infection of that spirit of sanguinary violence (as means to be justified by the end) which he had been himself the first to denounce. This violence, however, only broke out when the party of the Girondists, of the New Legislative Assembly, sought to put down the Jacobins; and that at a time, when, by their own temporizing policy with the court, they had lost their own popularity. It was then that the leaders of the Jacobins instigated the mob to attack the Tuileries, place the king under arrest, and proclaim the Convention, by which he was tried and condemned. But now the contest of sixty years has been brought to a close. There is no longer any ‘veto,’ but in the will of the majority. The object of political agitation will no longer be insurrection in disguise; for against whom are the people to be invited to rebel? Against the government? Why resort to arms when they can change it by a vote? The new clubs of Paris will be as harmless as our own election committees and parish meetings. They will discuss

the merits of candidates, organize parties at elections, criticise the debates of the National Assembly, prepare petitions, and when there are no obnoxious laws to be repealed, sink into insignificance.

The apprehension of civil war arising out of freedom of debate, the freedom of the press, and universal suffrage, are as groundless in respect to France as the same fears would be in respect to America. And not less devoid of rational foundation has been the alarm of another continental war as the immediate consequence of the revolution. On the announcement of the abdication and flight of Louis Philippe, the rates of insurance in London for vessels chartered for the Mediterranean rose to war risks; and yet the first news that followed was that of an order given by the King of Prussia to recall the troops on their march to the assistance of Austria and the King of Naples. Up to the present moment the revolution, instead of increasing the preparations for war, has stopped those which were already on foot. Instead of further attempts to crush opinion by armies, the absolute governments of Europe have all suddenly been placed on the defensive. We hear no more of coalition, but of popular concessions; and that in countries where the spirit of liberty had been supposed to be extinct.* The strongholds of despotism in Europe, whether in a mild and paternal form, or in that of naked tyranny, were Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. Two of these have surrendered, almost at discretion. How long will the third threaten the progress of civilization, or brave its assaults?

The following day, Sunday (Feb. 26), was devoted to the ceremony of a formal inauguration of the new Republic at the Column

* The policy of the French Government has been explained by M. de Lamartine (in a circular addressed to the foreign agents of the Republic, for which we have not room), to be one of peace, so long as the right of every nation to regulate its own internal affairs is respected by other powers; but of war, in the event of foreign aggression, whether manifesting itself in France or Italy. The prospects of France and Europe in this respect are very clearly and ably set forth in the following article from 'The National.'

“Three alternatives are possible—Shall we be attacked? Shall we attack? Or lastly, shall we remain in an expectant state? First of all, shall we be attacked? It is only necessary to cast a glance over Europe to comprehend how unlikely that is. Let us take one by one the three Northern Powers, those to whom the event of our three days will be the most displeasing, and let us see what they can really do against us. Austria has in face of her the whole of Italy, which is arming and preparing for the struggle, and which, if there was a war against us, would be a powerful auxiliary to France. An Austrian army occupies Lombardy, and Lombardy at each instant menaces her oppressors with an insurrection. On the flank of Austria, and stretching forth the hand to Italy, is Switzerland—radical, victorious over the Sonderbund, and wholly devoted to the popular cause. There, from the summit of her mountains, as from the top of an impregnable fortress, she would be quiet and impede any military demonstration on the part of Austria, and would

of July on the Place de Bastille; and to masses in the church for the victims who had fallen on the side of the people.* The

render the situation perilous. Austria has plenty to do to maintain her *status quo*, and consequently it is improbable that she will first give the signal of battle. The great German power, Prussia, is not certainly in the presence of an Italy calling for aims to maintain her liberty, but she has not the advantage of being first in her movements. Who is there that is not aware how much revolutionary and social ideas have advanced in Germany, and who does not foresee what an impulse they will receive from the triumph obtained by Paris? The Prussian government is about to find itself in presence of the increasing exigencies of that assembly which it consults, and of German public opinion, of which the voice becomes every day louder and louder. On what grounds could it decide the Germans to invade our province, and to wage war on us when we do nothing to them? We are satisfied with our power, glorious of the example which we are giving to the world, proud of the sacrifices which we are making for general civilisation, and we only ask to resolve amongst ourselves the difficult problems which arise. Never on such conditions will Germany be induced to come against us. Russia then remains, lying far away in the north. But what can she do, if she is deprived of Germany? And besides, is she not occupied enough in keeping down Poland, which has not renounced her claim to nationality and which will soon gather hope from the cry that has burst forth on the banks of the Seine? Let us therefore allow to vanish like a phantom these plans of coalition against us, and let not our ideas in that respect be troubled by any remembrance of 1814 and 1815. Then, by the most disastrous of mistakes, we had for adversaries besides the kings, our natural enemies, the populations, who in exasperation at the conquests of Napoleon, precipitated themselves on us. At present nothing is more clear than our position, we are friends of the populations, and the populations know it—the kings will not succeed in deceiving any one on so manifest a matter. Shall we attack? That would be a capital fault, and thereby we should afford a pretext for all kinds of calumnies. The reminiscences of the past would be turned against us—our ambition would be pointed to our spirit of conquest would be accused—the chord of national pride would be touched, and soon we should be misrepresented in the minds of the nations, which are at present so much in favour of France, and so confident in her. The fatal dissensions which brought about the fall of the empire would be renewed, and the fraternity of nations would be broken. An expectant state therefore, is the course which it is important for us to follow, it is the policy which will save our interests and those of Europe. We shall in that state behold events proceeding—we shall recognise amongst the nations those which have the greatest tendency to renew their social state, and we shall not in any way, by an opposite intervention of ideas, trouble the work which is enfranchising them. Our example our moral support, are sufficient to modify Europe; our aims would only serve to retard this modification, and interrupt its regular course. But there is a case in which, of all necessity, it would be necessary to quit an expectant state,—and that would be if Austria, not confining herself to remaining on the defensive should of herself attack and invade Italy. Whether she marches on Tuscany, Rome, or Naples, or sends forces against Piedmont, the French republic would be under a strict obligation to oppose that act of aggression and violence, and offer to Italy the aid of an army and a fleet. Not that we consider the Italians as weak and incapable of defending themselves, but the struggle would be doubtful, and it is important that it should not be so. They must permit their friends in France to share their dangers, and to pay to Italy a debt of gratitude for all the blood which the Italians have shed in the French ranks.”

* The following Saturday, March 4th, was devoted to the solemnity of their funeral, the National Guard, the troops of the line, the authorities, schools, &c, the whole population of Paris assisting. The ceremony was performed in the Madeleine, and the bodies were interred in the vaults of the Column of July, in the Place de la Bastille.

“The day was beautiful, and a brilliant sun shining on the sharp, clear outlines of

killed on both sides appear to have been under two hundreds; a number remarkably insignificant as compared with the result, and proving either that there was very little actual collision, or that the troops in firing must often have directed their muskets in the air. The number of wounded then lying at the hospitals was 428, of whom 78 belonged to the military or to the Municipal Guard. On the Tuesday, Feb. 29th, within a week only of the date of the first outbreak, order was perfectly restored; the barricades had been removed; the people had returned to their ordinary occupations; the railways were again open; and but few traces remained of the convulsion which had occurred.

The organization of a corps called the "National Garde Mobile," and the immediate employment on public works of all labourers without the means of subsistence, contributed to this result. These measures, which under any other circumstances would have been hazardous, and which, even in the present case, involved a heavy financial loss, with no permanent benefit to the working classes, were, in the situation of Paris, the only course of safety. They at once cleared the streets of all the idlers with arms in their hands, from whose excited passions or real destitution danger might have been anticipated, and placed them, with their own consent, under the wholesome restraint of civil and military subordination.

the white Grecian church, on the lofty old-fashioned houses around it, so picturesque in their complete contrast with it, and glancing from the forest of bayonets bristling among hundreds of tricoloured flags, above the surface of the motley and closely packed crowd, of which no end was to be seen as far as the eye could reach, formed a spectacle that no city save Paris could furnish, and Paris only on such an occasion. There was something awful in that mass of human life; it was easy to imagine how armies fall in collision with such myriads; yet it was but a fraction of the host the city poured forth from every street into the main channel in which flowed the business of the day.

"While the authorities were with difficulty pushing their way into the church, the choir under the portico, drawn from the three operas, and conducted by MM. Girard and Laty, contributed its part to the proceedings. The arrival of the Provisional Government was hailed by the *Marseillaise*, splendidly sung, with the accompaniment of a military band. The instrumental piece that followed, a funeral march by Cherubini, was comparatively weak; little of it was heard above the hum of the crowd; this was succeeded by the 'oath' chorus from *Guillaume Tell*, a piece from the *Creation* ('the Heavens are telling'), and the 'prayer' from *Mose in Egypto*. The selection seemed to alternate mourning and supplication with the notes of triumph; the effect was sublime. As the music ceased, the funeral cars on which the coffins, fifteen in number, had been placed, were ready to proceed; as the first of the six moved onward, the *Marseillaise* was repeated; one verse was sung by the female voices alone, the men taking up the chorus, '*aux armes*.' As the spirit-stirring strain arose, the whole crowd uncovered and remained so till the last of the cars, which were open, showing the forms of the coffins under the black palls, had passed. The dramatic effect at that moment, the homage of the people, the fierce invocation to battle, the stillness of death, all uniting, made the hearts of all beat quicker with excitement."

In the provinces, the authorities appear to have had but little difficulty in maintaining public tranquillity. In no part of France was a voice raised for the fallen dynasty; and the news that the Revolution was accomplished having been proclaimed in the same breath with the announcement of the first conflict, there was no pretext for riotous demonstrations in aid of the popular triumph. The only serious disturbances which the authorities were unable to repress, appear to have been of the class with which we are too familiar in this country to attribute exclusively to republicanism. Not a year passes in England without mob fights between English and Irish reapers, English and Irish railway labourers, each party seeking to expel the other from the field of employment; and it would have been strange in France, at a moment when the mob of every village naturally looked upon themselves as the sole masters of the country, if English operatives should not have suffered from Trades' Union combinations.

The temporary success of the lower order of protectionists in driving English workmen out of France must not, however, be received as an evidence that the tendencies of the new Republic will be adverse rather than favourable to the principles of free trade. We may notice one counter-symptom in the marked hostility that has been shown towards the Octroi system (town dues, on all articles of consumption), and this will probably end in the substitution of direct for indirect taxation to a much greater extent than now exists. We must bear in mind also that no National Assembly to be elected in France by universal suffrage can be composed of men more in the interest of monopoly than the late Chamber of Deputies. The majority were mere delegates of beet-root-sugar manufacturers, iron founders, and forest proprietors, and they carried protection as far as it would go. There will be now a better chance than before for the public consumer. His voice will at least be heard. Free trade leaders are not wanting; and we rejoice to hear of their activity. The growing influence of their new journal, '*Le Libre Echange*' is a favourable augury; and among the minor indications of progress which have not escaped us, the election of a journeyman watchmaker, M. Peupin, a member of the Free Trade Association of Paris, as a delegate to the Government Commission on the Labour question, a Commission named by protectionists, and still under their influence, is deserving attention. M. Peupin was chosen at a meeting of his own trade to represent their interests in the Commission, after a full explanation of his own opinions as a free-trader: 212 persons were present, and the whole voted in his favour, with only one exception.

We have arrived at that portion of our narrative which relates to the alarm of the middle classes, both in France and England, and its disastrous consequences, caused by the supposed *Socialist* tendencies of the Revolution; which many who know nothing of socialism imagine must necessarily involve some violent levelling of all distinctions of property.

On the very first day of the revolution the working classes of Paris, and especially those who had taken a part in the overthrow of the Orleans dynasty, were not slow in making it understood, and we do not blame them for it, that this time the revolution was to result in some improvement of their position, and was not to be confined to the creation of a multitude of places under government for the middle and upper classes, as in the case of the Revolution of July.

Another thing they made apparent; and that was their conviction that in some way or other an improvement of their physical and social condition was an object within the power of attainment of an honest government. In this belief we share; differing with them upon the means, and differing especially upon the means thrust upon the Provisional Government of the Hotel de Ville. The labour question was one for the deliberation of the National Assembly, not for impromptu legislation. But pledges for the future would not satisfy the people; the pressure was serious; and hence the following decree:—

“Considering that the revolution made by the people ought to be made *for* them.

“That it is time to put an end to the long and iniquitous sufferings of workmen.

“That the labour question is one of supreme importance.

“That there is no other more high or more worthy of the consideration of a republican government.

“That it belongs to France to study ardently, and to resolve a problem submitted at present to all the industrial nations of Europe.

“The provisional government of the republic decrees a permanent commission, which shall be named *Commission de Gouvernement pour les Travailleurs*, which is about to be nominated, with the express and special mission of occupying itself with their lot.

To show how much importance the provisional government of the Republic attaches to the solution of this great problem, it nominates President of the Commission of Government for Workmen one of its members, M. Louis Blanc, and for Vice-President another of its members, M. Albert, workman.

“Workmen will be invited to form part of the committee.

“The seat of the committee will be at the Palace of the Luxembourg.”

If by the word “people,” in the first paragraph of this procla-

mation, we are to understand the working classes alone, it is not ingenuous, for nothing is more clear, than that without the support of the National Guards the revolution could not have been accomplished; and even with that support the government was only conquered because there were none who cared to defend it. But we will not cavil with terms or phrases. The mischief which followed the appointment of the Commission arose, not out of the appointment (for all inquiry is in itself useful), but out of the permission given to it prematurely to act. Before the Commission could be properly organized, so as to embrace the various sections of the working classes, including free-traders, as well as trades unionists, and embody a real representation of their interests, and in fact, before the Republic was a week old, we have decrees signed Louis Blanc and Albert, "Ouvrier," (March 1 and 2), fixing the duration of a day's labour at ten hours, and abolishing "*marchandage*," or the customary division of large contracts among a number of sub-contractors, without which no great work can be executed, excepting at a greatly enhanced cost.

The ten-hours labour decree is of course only an exaggerated copy of the ten-hours labour act forced upon Lord John Russell, and we have not, therefore, a word to say against Louis Blanc that would not equally apply to Lord Ashley. Both the citizen and the noble lord had not learned (but we trust they have now better knowledge) that it is the competition of workmen among themselves that regulates the hours of labour, and not the good pleasure of masters, or the will of a legislature. True, a factory may be closed at six in the evening, or shut up altogether, if it so please a government; but what law can prevent the hand-loom weaver, who is his own master, working 18 hours out of the 24, when the power-loom is idle* (and this is a common case); and who is to say to the

* A law which restricts labour only in factories, and it is only in factories restriction is possible, is in fact a law against the use of machinery; and it seems somewhat remarkable this should not have been perceived by some at least connected with the Commission. M. Albert, the Secretary, is a working engineer, and one of the editors of '*L'Atelier*;' a journal in which we find the following sensible address:—

"Paris, Feb. 25, 6 p.m.

"Brothers!—We learn that amidst the joys of triumph, some of our companions, misled by perfidious counsels, have wished to tarnish the glory of our Revolution by excesses which we disapprove of with all our energy; they have threatened to break the mechanical presses! Brothers! These men are in the wrong. We suffer as they do the perturbations caused by the introduction of machinery into manufactures; but, instead of quarrelling with inventions which abridge labour, but multiply produce, we charge none but egotistical and improvident Governments with being the cause of all our grief. In future this can never be. Therefore spare the machines.

tailor, the shoe-maker, the watch-maker, the sempstress, toiling voluntarily to eke out scanty wages at their own homes, day and night, and often seven days in the week, "at such an hour shall you begin to labour, and at such an hour shall you cease to labour, that your competition may not interfere with the interests of those who are compelled in factories to submit to the same regulation?"

If the Labour Commission of Louis Blanc and Albert, "Ouvrier," had commenced its duties with *inquiry*, it would have been enabled to teach its constituents that the factory operatives of England, instead of being satisfied with their 'Ten Hours' Labour Act, would at the present moment be only too happy to set it aside, if the opportunity should ever again be offered them of making up for past losses, by working over hours. From the long-continued depression of trade, the majority of mill hands have been obliged to submit, since the act was passed, to half-time. Instead of sixty hours employment per week, they have found it difficult to obtain thirty; and projects of emigration to America, where the factory hours are fifteen per day, are at the present moment being seriously discussed as the only remedy for the existing distress, by those who were foremost in the late agitation.

All that the law can do in regulating hours of labour, without injustice, or mischievous interference (the case of children excepted), is to define the meaning of a day's labour, in the absence of any written contract between master and servant, so that all claims for extra wages for extra hours might be settled without dispute. To pass a law that factory operatives, or any other, should not be allowed to work extra hours, whatever sum might be offered them; that a reaper, for example, should not be permitted to rise with the lark, and finish his work by the light of the harvest-moon, is, or would be, insupportable tyranny.

Louis Blanc has written a book on the Organization of Industry, full of generous thoughts. When called upon to realize its aspirations, he converts it into the sword of the destroying angel. The total *disorganization* of industry has been hitherto the only result of the decrees and proclamations of the Commission. A temporary stagnation of trade, and a scarcity of employment, is in all cases a necessary consequence of revolution. The Commission meets it by pledges of more abundant employment, and increased rates of remuneration. It raises the wages of omnibus drivers and conductors, and is immediately beset with a

Besides, to attack machinery is to stop the march and stifle the voice of the Revolution. It is, under the grave circumstances by which we are surrounded, doing the work of bad citizens."

thousand applications from other classes of operatives for a similar decree in their favour. It puts an end to sub-contracts (*marchandage*), without pausing to consider whether head contractors will be ruined or otherwise by the change, or what works it will cause to be suspended; and as if to add to the difficulties of merchants, manufacturers, builders, and every class of capitalists, it obtains from the Provisional Government a decree abolishing arrest for debt, without waiting to give the creditor a more effectual remedy for the recovery of his property; thus plunging every description of enterprise into an abyss of hopeless uncertainty and confusion. In such circumstances every prudent man would necessarily seek to withdraw his capital from trade; not to embark it in new speculations. A strike for wages, or some new restriction of labour, compelling the discharge of one set of servants and the engagement of another, might in a moment change the fairest calculations of profit into ruinous losses. To undertake the execution of a new contract, when all old conditions of labour had become unsettled, would be to take a ticket in a lottery in which all the chances would be against the employer. We see, therefore, within the first fortnight of the labours of the Commission, trade paralyzed, and many thousand workmen, in every branch of industry, who had never before wanted employment, suddenly reduced to destitution.

In all this, however, we trace nothing of *socialism*. The first decrees of the Labour Commission were concessions, not to the communists, but to the trade unionists. And it is here the real danger lies. The operatives who believe wages may be raised and the hours of labour lessened by arbitrary regulations, and who seek to effect their objects by the intimidation of masters, the destruction of machinery, and the exclusion of strangers or foreigners from the field of employment, are much more numerous than the socialists, whether in France or England, and are certainly not the disciples of St. Simon, Fourier, George Sand, or Robert Owen.

The term "socialist" has been applied without distinction to every person who has indulged in new speculations on the subject of social science, however much those speculations may differ. In this country, "socialism" has become a bugbear, from its supposed connexion with laxity of morals, and infidelity in religion; but its essential characteristic, and the only one in which all socialists agree, is the principle of "mutual co-operation for the interests of all." The extent to which mutual co-operation is practicable, without interfering with that individuality which is equally essential to happiness, is the question of *degree* upon which different opinions are entertained. And let us look this

monster fairly in the face. The Athenæum Club, in Waterloo Place, is a socialist community; confining its co-operation to the object of palace accommodation for gentlemen of literary tastes, and a *juste milieu* order of harmless politicians. The Reform Club, in Pall Mall, is another socialist community, composed principally of Whigs, and going one step further than the Athenæum, in providing sleeping accommodation for those members who require it. The Suburban Village Association patronized by Lord Morpeth, proposes to form socialist communities on a large scale, but confining their objects to comfortable cottage residences, amidst pleasant fields and gardens; with schools, and churches, and cheap means of access by railways. It would be only to persuade the inhabitants of one of these suburban villages to become joint-stock partners in a farm and factory for their own benefit, and we should have an exact pattern of the kind of socialist communities Louis Blanc is probably seeking to establish in France at the present moment; but of the success of which Lamartine, Marrast, and other members of the Provisional Government, are not so sanguine as himself. That such communities would fail in the first instance is very probable—is almost certain; much has to be learned of the arrangements required, and modes of management, and until a knowledge of these has been gained by experience; there will be defective organization and a waste of means. But who would say that the experiment should not be tried? And with the evidence surrounding us of the marvels accomplished by joint-stock associations of capitalists, what data have we for a prediction that joint-stock associations of labourers (and labour is capital) may not one day realize the results of which philanthropists have dreamed? The difficulties to be overcome are not physical but moral. The theory is sound, and it is that of Christianity, that the interest of one is the interest of all; but the habit of identifying our happiness as individuals with the common good has to be formed. Education, when it has escaped its present trammels, may form it.

So far from socialism being a just cause of apprehension to the middle and upper classes, its prevalence in France, although but among a comparatively small section of the population, is really a valid security for the general stability of the existing institutions of property. The communists of every school deprecate alike the principle of confiscation or spoliation.* They

* The following is an extract from a recent address to the working classes of France on this subject, by George Sand:

“A new life is commencing, we are about to know and to love each other—we are about to seek together and find the truth of social existence. We should have sought it in vain without such co-operation. We shall find it, not immediately.

seek not to pull down the rich, but to raise the poor by placing them in a position to secure a better share than they now obtain of the fruits of their own industry;* and they propose to accomplish this by purely voluntary associations, assisted in the first instance by government loans. Two or three millions sterling, (one half the cost of our own Poor Laws), will probably be the extreme expenditure of the French Republic for some years upon objects of this nature, and if the money should be all sunk it will not have been thrown away. The government will be popular with the working classes when they see it seriously occupied with schemes for their welfare; and those schemes, whether ultimately they fail or not, will, by the attention they will excite, and the discussions to which they will give rise at every stage of their progress, inspire hope, diminish the number of "strikes," and calm down the spirit of violence. But come what may of this new labour movement, we challenge Louis Blanc, or any republican philanthropists who may hereafter take his place, to produce, by any project, however visionary, likely to be sanctioned by the National Assembly, a title of the social disorders which arose out of the Irish Labour-Rate Act of 1846,—the greatest curse under the name of relief with which any country was ever afflicted; and of which the cost was ten millions sterling!

doubtless, not perhaps in our first National Assemblies, but in time, by experiment, by experience, and, above all, by the spirit of union and sincerity, without which a republic is an impossibility. This progress, which would have advanced with the step of a man in each century with the systems of yesterday, will proceed with the step of a giant in every year of the system of to-day. And us, O people, to secure that equality of which we all have need, for the tyrant is as miserable as the slave and the operation of the *regime* that has vanished, had made most of us tyrants in spite of ourselves. The prosperity which we cannot hope to impart to others, and which is enjoyed without the power of extending it to our fellow creatures, is a remorse which disturbs our slumber and oppresses the soul. Pity us for having so long forgotten this suffering, and command it to cease, you who are the soul of the country and of humanity."

* The only project of Louis Blanc that we have yet seen announced of a communist tendency is the following, which will probably, instead of alarming the reader, only remind him of the improved lodging-houses for the working classes recently established in London, under high patronage, but of which the plan has not been sufficiently comprehensive or perfect.—

"He proposes to establish, in the four most popular quarters of Paris, four buildings, each capable of accommodating about four hundred families of working men, with a separate apartment for each, that there might be derived a vast economy in lodging, firing, lighting, &c., and also in food, by the purchase in large quantities. Their economy would, he represented, be equivalent to an augmentation of wages to the work people, without any additional charge upon the masters. In this establishment there would be an asylum for the infants during the absence of their mothers, a school, yards for air and exercise, gardens, baths, &c. The first expense would be raised by mortgages upon the establishments themselves. These establishments would, said M. Louis Blanc, be accessible only to working men lawfully married, those who have the most numerous families being preferred. The utility and

The first measure of the Labour Commission, forced upon the government, not by the socialists but by the trades unionists, led to disastrous results. All the relations between master and servant, employer and employed, having become unsettled, multitudes of operatives suddenly found themselves thrown upon the resources of their past savings. This led to a run upon the Savings' Banks, and to a financial crisis, by which the whole industry of the country was brought to a stand.

We must not, however, exaggerate the influence of the bad political economy of the Trades Unions. Neither should we attribute to the revolution nor to republican consequences which do not necessarily belong to either. The revolution and the labour question precipitated a financial crisis; but the crisis would have stopped far short of that universal bankruptcy which ensued, but for two other causes in operation, one of which is sufficiently obvious; the other but little understood.

We allude first to the profligate expenditure of the late government, which, according to the financial report of M. Garnier Pagès* (dated March 9th), had been at a rate exceeding

interest of such a creation was unanimously acknowledged by the Commission, though some doubts were raised as to the concurrence of the workmen for whose benefit it was conceived. MM. Louis Blanc and Charles Duveyrier, however, soon set these doubts aside. In the end, M. Louis Blanc undertook to submit to the government for its sanction the resolutions adopted."

* Given *in extenso* in the 'Times' of March 13. The following abridged statement of the National Debt of France is from the 'Times' of February 29th.

"On the accession of Louis Philippe to the throne the capital of the funded debt of France had reached to about £172,000,000. Since that period an excess of expenditure over revenue has been the rule, and the following loans have successively been taken.—

Period, amount, and rate of the French loans contracted during the last 18 years.

Date.	Amount in francs.	Rate per cent.	Contract price.
1830 - -	10,000,000	5 - -	102
1831 - -	120,000,000	5 - -	84
1832 - -	150,000,000	5 - -	98.50
1841 - -	150,000,000	3 - -	78.52½
1844 - -	200,000,000	3 - -	84.75
1847 - -	250,000,000	3 - -	75.25

Total - - - - 910,000,000

"We have here an addition of thirty-seven millions sterling (being at the rate of more than two millions increase each year), which brings the present total to about 209 millions. These stand in the following way:—

	Rentes.	Capital in francs.	Capital in sterling.
5 per Cents. ..	147,000,000	2,940,000,000	115,294,000
4½ per Cents. ..	1,000,000	22,222,222	871,000
4 per Cents. ..	22,000,000	550,000,000	21,569,000
3 per Cents. ..	55,000,000	1,833,333,333	71,895,000
	<u>225,000,000</u>	<u>5,345,555,555</u>	<u>£209,629,000</u>

the revenue of £44,000 per day during the last 268 days; and which had caused 37 millions sterling to be added to the national debt of France since the year 1841. On the first of January, 1848, the national debt of France, deducting the government stock belonging to the sinking fund, amounted to £207,185,789. The whole of this burden it was necessary for the Republic to accept, and as the best possible pledge that it would accept it, and of its anxiety to uphold public credit, the Provisional Government commenced paying in advance on the 6th of March, out of the balance they found in the treasury, the dividends due on the 22nd. This measure, although re-assuring, did not prevent, as it was hoped it would, the great depreciation of government stock, as shown by the following quotations:—

1848.	Closing Prices of 3 per Cents.	Closing Prices of 5 per Cents.
February 21st	73f. 85c.	116f. 15c.
March 7th	56f. 50c.	89f.
„ 8th	47f.	75f.

The fall of railway stock was in a similar, and in some instances in a greater proportion than the above, from the damage done to the northern lines, partly at the instigation of parties connected with the old road traffic.

	Prices of Northern of France Railway Shares of £20—£10 paid.
Feb. 21	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ premium.
March 7	6 $\frac{1}{2}$.. 6 discount.
„ 8	7 $\frac{1}{2}$.. 7 „

The failure of banking houses holding large securities in railway bonds, was one of the first symptoms of commercial alarm. But the subject of greatest uneasiness was the deficit of 1847, for which a loan of 14 millions sterling had been contracted by the fallen government, in November, on which £3,280,000 only had been paid. The balance of £10,720,000 remained to be paid by instalments of £400,000 per month, and as the loss to the subscribers would be ruinous, the contract price having been 75f. 25c. in the 3 per cents., it became a problem whether even the house of Rothschilds, through whom the contract had been taken, would not break down under its responsibility.

To check the run upon the Savings' Banks, the interest allowed the depositors was raised to 5 per cent., but this did not have the effect of quieting their fears. The run continued; and it became necessary to declare the inability of the government to meet it with any means at their disposal. The property of the depositors, amounting to £14,200,000, was chiefly invested in the funds. To convert this into cash by sales of stock after a fall of

35 per cent., or to obtain the cash by any other mode, was obviously impossible. The government at once announced the fact. It arranged to pay each depositor £4 in cash, to meet the case of the very poor withdrawing it from actual need, and to pay the surplus in exchequer bills at four and six months' date, and 5 per cent. stock at par.* This measure, instead of relieving the pressure, aggravated it into panic. The depositors finding that a transfer warrant given them as 100 francs, would only sell for 75 (although they were not obliged to sell it in an unfavourable market), considered themselves robbed. The anxiety to obtain gold or silver to hoard in the event of worse contingencies increased on every hand; a run commenced upon all the banks throughout the country, including the Bank of France, which finally (March 15th) was obliged to suspend specie payments. The government then adopted the only course which remained; it issued a decree, authorizing the substitution of notes for coin, and declaring the notes of the Bank of France a legal tender.†

The next day a 1,000 franc note was sold for 825 francs in silver, establishing what a bullionist writer would call a *depre-*

* "The Provisional Government, considering that the fallen Government has left to the charge of the Republic a sum of 355,087,717f 32c., arising from the deposits made in the savings-bank, considering that of this sum there only remains disposable, in cash, 65,703,620f 40c., considering that the small deposits belong in general to necessitous citizens, whereas the large deposits belong, on the contrary, generally to persons in easy circumstances, and whereas it is desirable to reconcile the interests of justice with that of the Treasury, and that of private individuals with that of the public, decrees—Article 1. The *livrets* (receipt-books) showing a payment of 100f. and under, shall, at the demand of the depositors, be reimbursed in cash. Art. 2. Deposits of from 101f. to 1,000f. shall be reimbursed in the following manner—1, 100f. in cash, 2, the remainder, up to half of the sum paid in, in one or more treasury bonds, at four months' date, and bearing interest at five per cent., 3, the last half in a coupon of five per cent. rentes at par. Art. 3. For the receipt-books, in which the sum paid in shall exceed 1,000f., the savings-banks shall pay—1, 100f. in cash, 2, the remainder up to half the amount in treasury bonds at six months' date and bearing interest at five per cent., 3, the last half in a coupon of five per cent. rentes at par. Art. 4. The receipt-books inscribed in the name of societies for mutual assistance shall not be subject to the preceding provisions, their deposits shall be reimbursed in cash. Receipt books for deposits made since February 21, 1848, are also excepted from the measure—*March 15th, 1848*."

† "Art. 1. From the date of the publication of the present decree the notes of the Bank of France shall be received as a legal tender by the public officers and private individuals.

"Art. 2. Until further orders, the Bank is dispensed from the obligation of paying its notes in specie.

"Art. 3. In no case shall the issue of the Bank and its branch banks exceed 350,000,000f.

"Art. 4. In order to facilitate the circulation, the Bank of France is authorized to issue small notes, which, however, shall not be of a lower denomination than 100f.

By a subsequent decree, the notes of the Bank of Lyons, the Bank of Marseilles, and the Banks of seven other provincial towns are made a legal tender but for limited amounts, in no case exceeding £1,000,000.

ciation of paper of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; but more correctly—for no one has ever doubted the solvency of the Bank of France, an appreciation of bullion, or rise in the value of silver to that extent. The alarm spreading throughout the continent—the demand for the precious metals, with a view to hoarding, became general. The two great banking corporations of Belgium, the *Société Générale* and the *Banque de Belgique*, were compelled to follow the example of the Bank of France; and within a week of the same date.

Two months only had elapsed since the Bank of England had been drained of its treasures by a similar panic, but originating in different causes, and had been compelled to protect itself by an order in council (October 23), authorising an enlargement of its discounts at 8 per cent. upon notes which had become already practically inconvertible, and which were then sustained solely by the credit of the corporation. Previous to this order in council, panic had succeeded panic, crisis had succeeded crisis, throughout the two years of 1846 and 1847; but without a whisper of revolution or republicanism. When at last the news came of a Republic established in France, the English funds and the shares of joint-stock companies fell instantly, almost in the same proportion in London as French funds and shares in Paris.

		Closing prices of 3 per cent consols for money		Closing prices of London and North Western shares
Feb. 21, 1848	..	$89\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$	..	117 to 149
28	..	81 .. $\frac{1}{4}$	..	133 .. 138
Mar. 9	..	$80\frac{3}{4}$	..	130 .. 133
13	..	$80\frac{1}{2}$.. $\frac{3}{4}$	..	128 .. 130
22	..	$82\frac{1}{2}$.. $\frac{1}{8}$	..	125 .. 127

At the moment we are writing it is almost difficult to say whether the stagnation of trade, from the depression of every description of stock, without exception, in which capital has been invested, is not as great in England as in France; and yet not a thought has been entertained in any quarter of the people of this country suddenly agreeing to exchange the sceptre of her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria for another Commonwealth or Protectorate like that of Cromwell. To what then are these universal embarrassments, these periodical ague-fits of commerce, to be really attributed? To the false monetary principles by which commercial transactions are regulated. False in reference to the use of coins as a "fixed standard of value"; a standard as uncertain as if a yard measure were sometimes to mean 36 inches and sometimes 24; and false in reference to the mode of adjusting the payment of contract debts; the medium agreed upon

being one which in unforeseen circumstances, such as those which have recently arisen may become impossible, by disappearing altogether from circulation.

Before we quit the subject of the labour question, we would ask the trades unionists of Paris, and all who have sought to regulate wages by a money-standard, to consider well what it is they seek to fix. In settling the wages of a day labourer at 15*s.* per week, they fix undoubtedly the quality, weight, and number of certain silver coins which he is to receive. But is this all their object? It is not. Their ulterior object is the food, clothing, fuel, and shelter which, it is supposed, 15*s.* will purchase. But will 15*s.* always purchase an uniform quantity of these? They will not. A bushel of flour in 1846 was 8*s.* one week and 12*s.* another;—with the same quantity of silver at his command, the day labourer was one week fed, and another week starving. This does not happen when wages are paid in kind. The contract of a domestic servant being principally for his board, whether flour be 8*s.* or 12*s.* per bushel, he obtains the same quantity of bread, or of some other equivalent food. If provisions be scarce the loss falls upon his master; that is upon *capital*. In the case of money wages, it falls wholly upon *labour*. A most serious difference. It is idle to talk of coins as fixed standards of *value*. They are fixed in nothing but weight and quality. Their real want of uniformity of value while retaining the same names, or rather the want of a true standard of value founded upon general averages,* is the source of endless confusion. Trade will continue to be a lottery, and the labour question will never be understood and placed upon a right footing until this mischief has been traced through all its ramifications and corrected.

The doctrine of “convertibility,” or the law which makes

* We cannot here enlarge upon this part of the question, but let us remark that those who tell us that it would be *impossible* to regulate contracts by a system of general averages, forget that the payment of tithes is already so regulated, but upon a basis confined to the fluctuating prices, during every seven years, of corn. Nothing would be more simple than to apply the same principle to wages, or to the currency in which wages are paid, so as to secure absolute uniformity of purchasing power in that command of the necessaries of life, *which is the real foundation of value*. Take the quarterly contracts of the six hundred unions of England and Wales, for flour, beef, mutton, bacon, and potatoes. Add to these the prices of the raw materials of cotton, wool, iron, leather, and timber, as taken from the weekly trade lists of our principal seaports. Publish a quarterly statement of the average fluctuations *per cent.* of these commodities, and let that *per centage* be added or deducted as a premium and discount in the settlement of all contracts valid in a court of law. Supposing this done, and the variation of one Quarter to be equal to a rise of five per cent., a contract for £1 during that Quarter would have to be settled with 21*s.* Supposing the variation to be equal to a fall of five per cent., the legal tender for £1 would be 19*s.*

metallic money the only legal tender, with no means of adjusting its varying value to the equity of contracts, is another of the delusions, pregnant with disaster, of the same currency theory. At first sight it seems plausible enough to say that a promise to pay one hundred sovereigns (we purposely avoid the word pounds) should be discharged with sovereigns only, and not with tea or sugar, or some other commodity, at the pleasure of the debtor; but as it is notorious that there is not in existence one sovereign for every thousand that would be required to discharge all commercial obligations in gold, *at once*, is it not folly, amounting to lunacy, to contend that the debtors and creditors of a nation shall not, with their own consent and that of the legislature, protect their common industry from fluctuations greater than those of the gaming table, by allowing other property than gold or silver to be substituted for the precious metals at a previously agreed price, in certain emergencies?

Imagine the commander of a garrison issuing a contract for beef, and upon a murrain among the horned beasts of the district rendering it impossible for the contractor to fulfil his engagement to the letter, refusing to accept, instead of beef,—mutton, pork, fowls, veal, or venison, and deciding to hang the contractor, and allow his soldiers to starve, rather than consent to any modification of the original agreement. The position of the contractor in this case is that of all the bankers of Europe. Their business as bankers is to invest in securities bearing interest the surplus portion of the deposits placed in their hands, not likely in ordinary circumstances to be required by the public. These deposits, although originally lodged perhaps in the form of cheques and notes, are all liable to be demanded in gold or silver, and to be so demanded *at once*. In addition to which, all bank notes payable on demand are liable to be presented at once. The consequence is, that any event which produces general distrust may cause a sudden demand for gold and silver to an amount greater than exists in the whole world. Such a demand can only be even partially met by forced sales of investments, at whatever sacrifice such sales may be effected; depressing therefore alike the value of all securities that are not metallic, and making the fortunes of every man connected with commerce or manufactures hang upon a thread.

The wisdom of the nineteenth century has as yet discovered no remedy for this tremendous evil. A remedy worse than the disease is endured in the belief that there are absolutely no other means of checking excessive and fraudulent issues of paper money than the test of "convertibility;" a test which fails the moment it is applied on a large scale! No one now even suspects a government of abusing the prerogative of the mint, and debasing the

coinage, as in the time of Henry VIII., but fraudulent issues of paper money, it seems, however restricted and regulated by Act of Parliament, would be too severe a temptation for the virtue of statesmen¹

It is now assumed that the consequence of a suspension of cash-payments on the part of the Bank of France, will be the same inundation of inconvertible paper, based upon nothing, with which France was deluged during the first revolution, under the name of assignats; the whole of which became valueless. This was in 1796. The next year, however (1797), the Bank of England suspended cash-payments. Yet the English assignats did not become waste paper, but on the contrary, so far maintained their value, that on the return of peace they bought back the gold which enabled the Bank to resume cash-payments in 1821.*

There is obviously no physical or moral impossibility in giving to a currency of inconvertible paper an uniformity of value at least as great as that of gold, and we believe a much greater uniformity, for two reasons,—one, that paper when in excess of the demand can be contracted, while there are no means of withdrawing gold from circulation;—the other that it would not be, like gold, subject to the fluctuations arising from a foreign demand, or a home panic. The question is merely one of the mode by which the supply should be adapted to the demand; a question upon which the time will come when political economists will be agreed.

A plan, which might have been suggested to M. Garnier Pagès, in accordance with the views upon this subject, explained in our last July and January numbers, would have been, instead of declaring the notes of the Bank of France inconvertible and a legal tender, to have issued a new paper currency founded upon the security of the funds. When, for example, M. Garnier Pagès paid his debts to the depositors of the savings³ banks with transfer warrants of 5 per cent. stock at par, why did he not *make those transfer*

* *Assignats* were first issued by the NATIONAL or CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, in 1790, to the extent of £48,000,000; the government receiving them back again in the taxes, and in payment of confiscated estates sold by auction. In 1795, the CONVENTION being at war with the whole of Europe, issued them to the amount of £787,980,000, by which the value of 100 francs in paper, fell to about that of 100 pence in copper. In 1796 the issue of Assignats under the DIRECTORY, reached the almost incredible amount of £1,823,160,000, (45,579,000,000 l.). An Assignat of 100 francs (£4) was then currently exchanged for six sous (3d.).—*Storch, Vol. IV., p. 162.*

The amount of English Assignats, or Bank of England inconvertible Notes, in circulation during the war, never exceeded £30,000,000, and they were issued always upon securities, in the discount of bills,—not, as the French Assignats, in payment of the government expenditure.

warrants a *legal tender*, so that the savings' banks depositors could have paid *their* debts with them at the same price? The advantage of such a currency over that of inconvertible *bank* paper is that it would have upheld the funds, and therefore have maintained both public and private credit, while the solidity of the security would have been unquestionable. The dividends of the French fundholders amount to £8,000,000 per annum. Can any man doubt the ability of a population of 35,000,000 to pay this sum annually, or the willingness of the French people to accept the obligation. If not—in that equitable adjustment of national affairs, of which the object is to supersede or prevent universal bankruptcy, what ought the annual payment of £5 per annum (in silver if required) thus guaranteed, to be received as worth? In ordinary circumstances it would be worth 25 years' purchase. No injustice therefore could be done by making it a legal tender at 20 years' purchase, or £100 (divisible into fifths and tenths). Such a currency would also have the recommendation of regulating itself, and being wholly independent of capricious issues. It could never be in excess, because, whenever, from the abundance of money, or capital, money ceased to be worth 5 per cent. in the public market, the holders of these 5 per cent. notes, instead of paying them away, would receive the dividends upon them, and keep the notes in their own drawers.

These remarks may appear as a digression, but they were necessary to separate in the minds of our readers two questions, both of importance, but perfectly distinct, although now accidentally connected—the question of republicanism and that of the currency. We have now the unsatisfactory task of commenting upon the mistakes of the provisional government in reference to the spirit and form of the kind of democratic constitution they seek to establish.

Two official circulars upon the approaching elections have very justly given rise to much animadversion. One—that of M. Carnot, minister of public instruction—in which the masters of the primary schools were required, singularly enough, to decry the utility of their own labours, by instructing the working classes that in the election of a deputy to the National Assembly, it is not necessary to choose an educated man, but only a man understanding their interests and possessing their confidence. This we may pass as a slip of the pen or a verbal mistake, for, doubtless, the meaning of M. Carnot was only this, that a member of the National Assembly need not be a classical scholar. He did not intend to have it inferred that the representative of a Department might be an ignorant brute. To possess the intelli-

gence required to understand and properly to advocate the interest of any large class of men, necessarily implies education—self-education at least—for there is no intelligence without observation and reflection; and the best education is that which induces these in the highest degree, whether it be in the school or in the workshop.

But the circular of M. Ledru Rollin, Minister of the Interior, addressed to the newly appointed Commissioners of departments, is open to more serious objections. Instead of breathing the tone of free institutions, it reads like an imperial ukase of the emperor of Russia. The Commissioners are told to change everywhere the prefects and sub-prefects, mayors and deputy-mayors throughout the country, even where their continuance in office is demanded,—as agents of the late government not to be trusted with the elections; and to replace them by new men, and principally young men, of “sure republican principles.” It did not occur to the minister that such a sweeping change would first throw the whole local business of the country into inextricable confusion, and second, that the local resistance which an act of such unmitigated despotism was calculated to excite, would in many cases defeat its object (as the event has proved), and defeat it by converting into open enemies sections of the community whom it was important to conciliate, and who had shown themselves willing to remain passive. The proper course would have been to have extended the base of the municipal councils, and afterwards to have given to these bodies the choice of their own functionaries, whether selected or not from the old officials: a privilege which would have at once made the new government popular in the provinces; where the system* most hated is not that of either republicanism, or monarchy, but Parisian centralization.

The circular of M. Ledru Rollin had almost immediately to be modified, and in part to be disavowed by the Provisional Government; but it has caused a breach between the middle and working classes in town and country, which will be only slowly healed. A still more serious mistake, of the same character, and one for which the whole of the provisional government are accountable, pervades their present plan of electoral organization. The National Assembly, as it will be constituted, will not and cannot represent the mind of the nation. It will not even represent the mind of the majority of the nation. It will represent only the opinions of the electoral committees, clubs and journalists, who may be the most active during the ensuing contest.

The first error is that of *voting by lists*. One representative is quite as many as any one man requires to represent his opinions in a national Council. To call upon each elector to choose a dozen or more representatives, and thus to act more for others than himself, is giving him a privilege beyond his need, and beyond his capacity. The department of the Seine, for example, containing 1,360,000 inhabitants, is to have 34 representatives: a number which may not be too large for the population; but every elector is required by the decree of the Provisional Government*

* " FRENCH REPUBLIC.

" LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

" The Provisional Government of the Republic, wishing to resign as soon as possible into the hands of the Definitive Government the powers it exercises in the interest and by the command of the people

" Decrees,

" Article 1. The electoral assemblies are convoked, in each district, for the 9th of April next, to elect the representatives of the people in the National Assembly, which is to frame the Constitution.

" Article 2. The election shall have the population for its basis.

" Article 3. The total number of the representatives of the people shall be 900, including those of Algeria and the French Colonies.

" Article 4. They shall be apportioned by the deputies in the proportion indicated in the annexed table.

" Article 5. The suffrage shall be direct and universal.

" Article 6. All Frenchmen, 21 years of age, having resided in the district during six months, and not judicially deprived of or suspended in the exercise of their civic rights, are electors.

" Article 7. All Frenchmen, 25 years of age, and not judicially deprived of or suspended in the exercise of their civic rights, are eligible.

" Article 8. The ballot shall be secret.

" Article 9. All the electors shall vote in the chief towns of their district, by ballot. Each bulletin shall contain as many names as there shall be representatives to elect in the department.

" No man can be named a representative of the people unless he obtain 2,000 suffrages.

" Article 10. Every representative of the people shall receive an indemnity of 25*fr.* per day during the session.

" Article 11. An instruction of the Provisional Government shall regulate the mode of execution of the present decree.

" Article 12. The Constituent National Assembly shall be opened on the 20th of April.

" Article 13. The present decree shall be immediately sent to the departments, published and posted up in all the districts of the Republic.

" Done at Paris, in the Government Council, on the 5th of March, 1848.

" The Members of the Provisional Government,

" GARNIER PAGES.

" ARMAND MARRAST.

" ARAGO.

" ALBERT.

" MARIE.

" LAMARTINE.

" DUPONT DE L'EURO.

" CREMIEUX,

" LOUIS BLANC,

" LEDRU ROLLIN.

" FLOCON.

† The Secretary-General of the Provisional Government,

" PAGUERRE."

to vote for the whole 34. The elector's knowledge of public men may be so limited that he may not be personally acquainted with the merits of any one of the candidates; no matter; he is to satisfy himself, not only of the qualifications of one candidate, but of those of 34. His voting paper, if he votes at all, must contain the names of 34 candidates; neither more nor less. What follows? He votes completely in the dark, at the bidding of a committee; and, unconsciously to himself, he chooses perhaps some of the very persons he would most have opposed if he had known the men. This is not representation; it is an election lottery.

Another defect and curious anomaly of the plan is the inequality of the electoral districts. They are to consist of the 86 departments of France, with the precaution only of adapting the number of representatives to the extent of the population. While, therefore, the humblest "chiffonier," or dustman, in Paris, is to have 34 votes, the peasant of the Alps is restricted to 3; not because the peasant is not as competent as the "chiffonier," to select 34 statesmen from the mass of the people, but because the department of the Seine contains a population of 1,360,000, and that of the Upper Alps only 120,000. This blunder might easily have been corrected by forming new and equal electoral districts out of the rural communes and city arrondissements, or, to use English terms,—country parishes and town wards.

Another error of the plan, is the defect common to the representative systems of England and America, but not the less to be avoided as one of their most serious imperfections—the *exclusion of minorities from all share in the representation.*

We ask here the attention of all earnest reformers, and of that moral force section of the Chartists, which, with such leaders as William Lovett, men worthy of all esteem, will have no obscure influence over the coming time, to an important distinction—the distinction between *ruling* a nation, and *representing* a nation. *To rule*, is a question of force; and as the greatest force rests with the majority, there is both a propriety and necessity that majorities should govern: but, *to represent*, is a question of discussion: and the interests of a people cannot be adequately discussed where all interests are not represented, including both the interests of the many and those of the few. A national *executive* must rest upon the will of the majority, but a national *Council* should represent both majorities and minorities. It should be the exact image of the nation itself, *in petto*, with all its multifarious shades of opinion; for the only reason the nation itself does not meet to deliberate upon its own business, is its numbers. Were the whole nation present in a vast council chamber, majorities and minorities would of course be present. In a

smaller council chamber, therefore, majorities and minorities should be equally present—*by their representatives*.

The opposite principle, which gives representatives only to the majority, is the cause of all the bitterness, intimidation, and violence which disgrace the elections to the English House of Commons, and the American House of Representatives. One party seeks to crush the other as the only means of getting a voice in the common legislature of their country. Why should either be crushed? Why should not both have a voice if both desire it? When did any good arise out of the arbitrary suppression of opinion? Why, for example, when two-thirds of the electors of the West Riding of Yorkshire returned free traders, should the remaining third of the constituency not have been permitted to return a protectionist? All the virulence of election contests would cease, and in nineteen cases out of twenty there would be no contest at all,—an election would be a simple arrangement for counting heads, if the right of a minority to a *status* in the legislature proportioned to their numbers were recognised. And there are few rights more essential than this to human progress, for the first converts to a new truth, the first combatants of an old prejudice, are always a minority.

In the department of the Seine it is estimated that upon the proposed basis of universal suffrage for all males of 21 years of age there will be 400,000 electors, if all who are qualified should register, and as the 34 deputies to be elected will be the representatives of the majority only, it is quite certain that in this one department alone 100,000 persons at the least will be without representatives in the National Assembly. Will such a body as this, composed probably of the middle and upper classes, tamely endure political annihilation? It is quite certain that they ought not to endure it, and we believe that they will not.

In the United States, the term "tyranny" is now as frequently heard in reference to the majority by which the most intelligent portion of the community is frequently swamped at an election, as in Europe, in reference to absolute governments. But in a republic there ought to be no tyranny. All who are called upon to obey the laws should be invited to assist in the making of them. It is for the minority to submit to the majority, not before a law has been discussed, but after it has been voted.

If this argument be admitted, we need not devote many words to an explanation of the mode by which the principle may be fairly carried out; it is simply by the same rule as applied to persons which is generally adopted in the case of property. At a meeting of creditors, or of a body of shareholders, the election of assignees or of directors is governed by the stake in the concern

of the parties who vote. A man whose interest is only £100 or less, is not put upon an equal footing with a man whose interest is £100,000. So in the case of personal representation. A deputy who represents the opinions of 5,000 electors, should, we think, have a place in any national council chosen on the principle of universal suffrage; but his vote there, on a division, should clearly not have the same power over the result as the vote of a deputy representing the opinions of 50,000 electors. The *status* of the two deputies, on a division, should be as 1 to 10. Supposing the divisions of the National Assembly to be taken in this manner,—the reference being not to the number of deputies present, but to the number of the constituents each deputy represents, the majority would still govern as effectually as if the deputies of the smaller constituencies were excluded,—but without injustice to the minority.

Out of doors the plan of the elections might be this:—The electoral districts to be equal. Each district to contain 100,000 electors, and the number of deputies to be returned for each to be limited to ten—to be reduced at the pleasure of the electors, when they have equal confidence in a smaller number. Every elector to vote for one candidate only. Imagine the following to be the result,—

	Number of votes obtained by each candidate.		Number of votes to be assigned each, in the National Assembly.
A	25,000 and upwards	.. .. .	5
B	20,000	.. .. .	4
C	15,000	.. .. .	3
D	10,000	.. .. .	2
E	10,000	.. .. .	2
F	10,000	.. .. .	2
G	5,000	.. .. .	1
	95,000		

We need not go into further details to illustrate the principle. If the object of universal suffrage be to reduce the number of the unrepresented class to the smallest possible fraction, this plan would attain it; it will not be attained by that of the Provisional Government; nor would it be by the present scheme of the English Chartists.

Whether the influence of the working classes should *preponderate* in a national assembly, is a question upon which even their best friends will differ, but that it should not be the *exclusive* interest that should exist there, can hardly admit of doubt. *Au reste*, universal suffrage has been promised, and there should be no juggle about it. We are anxious to see it tried. In America it is a fiction; for the coloured population and

slaves are excluded the franchise. In France it may also become a fiction, for Ledru Rollin says, "the education of the people is incomplete, and they must be guided." This was what M. Guizot had said before; but guidance is not exactly self-government. The experiment is one we shall watch with great interest, and without alarm. The working classes are even more interested in the protection of property than the rich; and if there be petty depredators among them, they are not so dangerous as great criminals.

Our apprehensions are not for France, but England; and the danger we anticipate is not from any measures likely to be sought by the democracy of this country, but from those of government, now in operation.

We have a moment of breathing time. The prospect of any serious agitation for further organic reforms is not immediate. But a demand for them must come; and one that will be irresistible. All men should pray that it may come without violence, and that ruinous convulsions may be averted. Will they be averted?

Listen.—

The credit obligations of this country are nearly as great as those of the whole of Europe put together; and, like those of France, they are all based upon the impossible theory of unconditional convertibility. Our savings' banks deposits are about £28,000,000; and upon the first serious disturbances in England or Ireland a large part of this sum will be suddenly claimed. The whole is invested in the Funds. Those who may wish to know what the effect would be of Government being compelled to sell £10,000,000 or £20,000,000 out of the 3 per cents. any one week next winter, would do well to study the tables recently published by Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co., of the fluctuations of consols from 1789 to 1847. They will observe in a similar crisis, the same stock which is now quoted at 83, and which we have seen at 101, falling to 48. What does this involve? A corresponding depreciation of all other property in the kingdom, as compared with gold. A consequent run upon all private bankers and the Bank of England, to procure gold. Suspension of discounts—universal bankruptcies,—the ruin and destitution of multitudes,—and, *if bread should be at the same moment dear*, an exasperated populace that nothing will be able to restrain. We will not pursue the picture. If a general overturn be inevitable, it will not be precipitated by any overt act of sedition of the Irish press. *The Currency Committee now sitting will be its unconscious instrument.*

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

- 1.—*Un Periodo delle Istorie Siciliane del Secolo 13.* (A Period of Sicilian History in the Thirteenth Century.) By Michele Amari. Palermo.

THE principle that a government, obviously and perseveringly opposed to the welfare and wishes of a nation, may lawfully be set aside, has been too often openly proclaimed, and boldly acted upon, to make it necessary to advance any argument in its defence; but the precise point at which resistance to a government becomes lawful, and even laudable, never has been, and perhaps never will be, satisfactorily settled. The old theory of legitimacy may of course be considered as defunct, even if it were not impossible to show what, according to it, could be called a legitimate government; and though few may be able to follow the sublime flight of that writer of the Young Germany school, who declared that if a people were dissatisfied with a king, were it but for the shape of his nose, they had a right to depose him, none of us, perhaps, will dispute now, that a case may arise which shall justify a people in taking the sovereign power into their own hands. In our inability, however, to discover any general law, by which we may determine what is, and what is not, sufficient justification for such an act, it is not uncommon to lose sight of this most important part of the question, the grounds on which the "sacred right of insurrection" has been assumed, and bestow our approval or our condemnation, according to the use made of the power thus obtained, or the circumstances that may have accompanied the movement.

The recent revolution in Sicily, which appears now to be making the tour of Europe, has induced us to refer back to the great insurrection of the Sicilians in the thirteenth century, commonly known by the name of the Sicilian Vespers, which has been generally given over to reprobation, on account of the immediate bloodshed and cruelty by which it was attended. But atrocious and sickening as must always be the details of a massacre, it cannot, we think, be denied, that the chief guilt, in that case, rests with those who had maddened the people by a long course of tyranny and cruelty; and if it can be shown that there existed no hope of a pacific remedy, even without taking into consideration the very different view of these matters prevalent in the thirteenth century, to that which is current

at present, we may admit that it may claim the same excuse as the slaughter of a battle-field, or any other case of justifiable homicide.

It is very remarkable that although, as M. Amari has shown, there exist very numerous sources of correct information concerning this memorable transaction, such mistaken views of it should generally have prevailed. It seems certain that the idea of a general conspiracy among the inhabitants of Sicily, for the destruction of the French, is totally unfounded; and that though John of Procida may have held some correspondence with his countrymen, and certainly acted as an agent for Peter of Arragon, at the Greek court, these things had no immediate connexion with the rising, which, in the first instance, was but the sudden and violent explosion of popular feeling urged beyond endurance, and afterwards converted, by the common sense of wrong and danger among all classes, into a general and successful revolt. The facts, as related in the work before us, are recorded by a great number of contemporary historians of various parties and countries, and supported by original documents in public archives (with references to which the margin of every page is crowded), so that it is difficult to account for the mistake, otherwise than by the wish of historians to disguise the truth—that however misled an insurgent people may sometimes be as to the cause of its sufferings, or the remedies required for them, a general insurrection against a government never yet happened without being chiefly occasioned by its own conduct. In the case of the Sicilians, at the period to which we refer, the tyranny and misgovernment of Charles of Anjou had reached a point, which, but for the general character of the age, might seem incredible; yet, strangely enough, the cruelties and outrages of which, through a long course of years, this tyrant and usurper was guilty towards a whole nation, have been mostly forgotten, whilst the crimes of a few days, on the side of the people, have been vividly remembered. It is, however, matter of every-day experience, that deeds the most atrocious pass with slight comment if invested with the forms of law, whilst offences of no deeper dye, the result of irregular violence, are followed by loud execration. Far be it from us to attempt to palliate revolutionary excesses, but we cannot but think that if examples of terrible retribution are ever of avail against evil doers, they may have their effect on, and are, unquestionably, as much needed by governments as by individuals. If society has not yet been able to dispense with capital punishment, we may admit that, six hundred years ago, a sanguinary insurrection may have been a necessary evil.

The work before us* treats of the interesting and important period of

* We do not know whether our readers may remember the circumstances connected with this book. It was published at Palermo in the first instance, with the full approbation of the censors, and for some time openly sold; but at length the Court of Rome (under Gregory XVI.) discovered that its language was disrespectful to certain popes—that of Naples, that it tended to excite sedition. Thereupon, not only was the work itself forbidden, but two Sicilian journals and one Neapolitan one, which had spoken in its praise, were sup-

Sicilian history, from the year 1282 to 1302, during which the people displayed examples of patriotism, courage, and energy, which, judging from the character of a more degenerate time, we might have considered them incapable: and it gives a vivid sketch of the twenty years of almost insupportable tyranny by which they were wrought up to the terrible effort necessary to shake it off. Of the spirit in which the author has undertaken his task we will let him speak for himself.

"It appears to me," he says, "that no writer has yet completely investigated or worthily described this memorable period; nor can I presume that I have done so, but I have certainly attempted it to the extent of my ability. I will neither conceal indignation nor sympathy, for in treating of human affairs it would be vain to promise that I would feel none. But assuredly these feelings shall not lead me to disfigure facts; for falsification of the truth, from whatever motive, I shall always esteem vile and injurious; and I regard it as due to my country to record with equal candour her virtues and her faults, the joyful and the sorrowful days of the generations who have dwelt before us at our household hearths. I know that, in writing of a distant age, it is sometimes difficult to avoid what has been happily called the *divination* of the past, but I will study to yield as little as possible to imagination; and in order that my facts, or where they may fail, my inferences, may have the best possible foundation, I will derive the first solely from contemporary writers, or from public documents. Where authorities do not agree, I can only choose such as seem most worthy of credit, and which best agree with what is certain concerning the characters of the men and of the time."

The Suabian dynasty was extinguished in the blood that had flowed on the market-place of Naples, where had perished, Oct. 25, 1268, young Conrad, the last of the Imperial House of Hohenstaufen. The attempt in his favour had, notwithstanding what, according to the ideas of the time must be called the justice of his claim, been punished with merciless severity by Charles of Anjou, whose only title was the will and pleasure of the Pope (Clement IV.); and in Sicily still greater harshness and cruelty was exhibited than in his continental dominions. He dispatched thither, for the express purpose of taking revenge on the inhabitants, some French barons, notorious for ferocity of character and insatiable thirst of blood, who committed almost indiscriminate slaughter on the unhappy people.

The city of Agosta, where the inhabitants had made a valiant defence, was given up to be sacked by the French soldiers, with all the horror and outrage usual on such occasions; and when even the king's men, for very weariness, were inclined to spare those who were imploring their mercy, *Guillaume l'Etendard*, the appointed minister of his vengeance, summoned an executioner renowned for his prodigious bodily strength, and had the inhabitants brought before him, bound, to be slain in his presence in succession, till the functionary, covered

pressed; and the censor (a Jesuit) who had given his *Imprimatur* was dismissed from his office. After this the author was invited to go to Naples; but as it happened, somehow or other, that persons who had received equally kind invitations had found their way, shortly after, to prison, M. Amari declined the honour, and preferred sailing immediately for Marseilles.

with perspiration and with blood, could no longer continue his hideous labours; "but they brought him some large cups of wine, and then he was able to go on." No living soul was left in Agosta; many, flying towards the sea shore, crowded with such precipitation into the boats that they almost immediately sunk. In other places death was preceded by tortures; and when at length the carnage ceased, a new form of infliction was discovered, by which rapacity as well as revenge might be gratified.

"In the ancient Sicilian constitution the powers of the princes and barons tempered each other; the rights of the sovereign over the person were by no means unlimited, and his claims on property were not heavy; the subjection of the villains was less severe than elsewhere; the burgesses and citizens knew their rights and were prepared to maintain them. The judicial power depended directly on the prince, and was not enslaved to the will of the feudal nobility. The taxes were moderate. The feudal service mild. General contributions were very rare, and granted by parliaments alone; these parliaments were also required to give a solemn recognition of laws proposed by the king."

The turbulence of the nobles disturbed in some measure this order of things, and the Emperor Frederick II. of Germany, although on the whole a wise and just ruler, went more despotically to work than the preceding sovereigns, and levied, without the consent of parliament, on various occasions the general contributions, hitherto confined to the four known feudal cases;* multiplied the taxes on merchandise, and reserved the profit of some exclusively for himself; and thus enormously increased the royal revenues. But he repented ultimately of these proceedings, and in his will abrogated the violences he had done to the constitution of Sicily. Charles of Anjou was, however, in some measure necessitated by his position, as well as tempted by his natural character, to carry these violences so far as to make the worst acts of Frederick appear venial and innocent, by comparison.

"The petty lord of Anjou and Provence was obliged to borrow large sums before he could prepare so vast an armament, and a considerable portion of his force served him in hope rather than for present pay; he was therefore compelled to satisfy these, the supporters and conquerors of his throne; and he had scarcely set his foot in Sicily before he opened his grand lottery. There were no lucrative public offices that were not reserved for his followers, no ecclesiastical benefices that were not conferred on their connexions; the very lands and fiefs seemed to be regarded as held for their benefit. A rigid investigation of the titles to all domains and baronies was immediately ordered, not to discover the truth, but to find some real or pretended flaw in them. The sagacious hungry hounds of the exchequer were put upon the track, and began to turn over old parchments and cavil about old laws and usages; paying no attention, however, to prescriptive right or antiquity of possession, but demanding the titles of all fiefs, and being only deterred from spoliation by

* These four feudal cases were,—1st, Invasion, or a great rebellion in the kingdom. 2nd, The imprisonment of the king. 3rd, The knighting of himself or his son. 4th, The nuptials of his daughter or sister.

bribery. When they once got possession of the bribe they often returned to the charge after a brief space, so that there was scarcely a barony in Sicily that was not two or three times redeemed in this manner."

The crown was further enriched by immense confiscations, for real or pretended treason, so that the new king had abundant means of gratifying his rapacious companions, who in their turn had to adopt a similar system of rewarding their dependants; and the soil of Sicily was soon covered by foreign military proprietors, fierce, suspicious, ready to resort to violence on the most trivial occasion, insolent from recent triumph, and accustomed to tyrannical and insolent proceedings hitherto unknown in Sicily, by which the whole feudal system assumed a new and more barbarous form. To these grievances were added continual and vexatious interferences with industry, extortionate exactions from travellers, and frequently open rapine. The king assembled no parliaments, and observed no measure in his exactions, sometimes aggravating those to which the people were accustomed, sometimes introducing such as were new and hitherto unknown, sometimes leaving it entirely to the pleasure of his ministers to levy what taxes they pleased.

The utmost industry of the people was frequently insufficient to pay all these impositions, and some would give up their land and fly from the oppressor: but such as were not bold enough for this decisive step, and would submit to have their agricultural implements and their household goods seized, almost the very bread snatched from their mouths, still often found all insufficient, and were thrown into prisons filled to overflowing with the innocent and the guilty, with old and young, nobles and peasants, girls and children, mingled indiscriminately together. To the rich who paid promptly, for fear of worse consequences, the tax-gatherers would often refuse receipts unless a particular present was made over and above to themselves. But perhaps still more universally injurious was the alteration of the coinage, which had been more or less well managed by the Suabian princes, whilst in almost all the other States of Europe the treasury gained great advantages from the currency, that is to say, by vitiating it grossly. Charles, the imitator of the Suabians in all that they had done amiss, followed in this the example of others, and according to his custom in ill doing, went beyond them. He coined, in place of the ancient *Agostali*, *Carlini* and half *Carlini* of gold (a denomination taken from his name, which has reached to our own time), which coins he affirmed to be of the same value as the *Agostali*, and of pure metal; but in the very same edict he convicted himself of falsehood, for threats are not necessary to induce people to take good money, and it contains the menace, that for paying or receiving these at less than the value stated, his own officers should be liable to confiscation of goods and the cutting off of the hand, whilst for private individuals guilty of the same offence, the coin should be heated red hot, and branded on their faces. * ^ * Nor were these the sole injuries that commerce sustained.

“The king himself trafficked in some commodities, and interfered in a thousand ways to force or restrain the sale of others. The export of salt, grain, and of all provisions was either monopolised by the sovereign, or subjected to heavy impositions; infinite were the exactions in the ports, the visits, the investigations, the troublesome ceremonies, the thefts and frauds of petty officers, the terror of the higher officials, who were responsible to the king, with body and goods, for the observance of all these regulations.”

That he might obtain the lion's share of the profits of domestic, as well as of foreign trade, the monarch built mills, and commanded every one to bring his corn to them to be ground; nay, he even carried his paternal care so far as to bake bread, and constitute himself sole baker to his subjects. In some instances baking ovens, mills, or taxes, were farmed out, and then the unhappy people had to satisfy the rapacity of the farmer as well as of the king; and sometimes rich men were forced, whether they would or not, to take this office on themselves, that is to say, to pay the king whatever he calculated the tax would produce, and get it from the people how they could. Officials convicted of mal-practices compromised the matter with the king for a certain sum of money; by which means he not only recovered what he had been defrauded of, but participated also in the little profit they had made from the subject, over and above the stipulated amount. The vast extent of the royal domains did not prevent the king from seizing on many private and cultivated estates, to convert them into hunting grounds; and royal proclamations to this effect appeared all over the country, after which it became dangerous not only to shoot a deer, but even to linger or pass near the spots where they were found. The barons, too, enlarged their parks in imitation of the king; “they had acquired them with equal justice, they defended them with equal humanity, and was it not reasonable that for an hour's sport of these chosen ones the vile rabble should hunger or weep through long years?”

All persons of the lower orders, sailors or not, were liable to be seized, indiscriminately, to serve on board the vessels of the king; and if they fled, parents, sisters, and brothers, were imprisoned until they were induced to return and give themselves up. Men, quietly following their occupations, were ordered to set off and ride as couriers with despatches and letters, and only excused on payment of a large bribe. The familiars of the king and the foreign nobles laid their hands on boats and carriages, and crying “for the service of the king, for the service of the barons,” dragged away the owners, or forced them to drive or row them whither they would, often giving them blows by way of payment. In the market places they seized provisions without recompense, and sealed up the best wines for the use of the king and his creatures, leaving the refuse to the proprietors; and the servants and messengers of the French king and his nobles, flying continually through the country to do the behests of their masters, would enter the houses of private citizens as if they were inns, order the family right and left, make use of household utensils, beds, even garments, and, if it suited them, carry them away, “if not, would frequently throw them into the faces of their hosts, when they took

their departure. In those horrible times, noble and honoured men were compelled to bear on their shoulders wine and provisions to the tables of the foreigners, and youths of noble birth to stand and serve as turnspits in their kitchens." Such was tyranny in the thirteenth century.

Wherever there was any attempt at resistance the swords of the officials were out in a moment, and the offending citizen was dragged away to prison, whence if he did not speedily redeem himself for money he was taken before a magistrate, who "invoking the laws, and the name of God," condemned him to death, or, by particular clemency, to continued imprisonment or exile. With such a government as this, it is scarcely necessary to say that the judicial power was no restraint, but only a further instrument of tyranny; and for all offences which had, or could be construed to have, reference to treason, the cruelty of the king knew no bounds.

"He commanded that the search after rebels should *never be discontinued*—that whenever taken they should be hung by the neck—that all who should receive them with pity should suffer a like fate—and whoever should be aware of their presence and not play the spy, should be punished according to the king's pleasure."

For the one vice with which Charles of Anjou personally does not appear to have been chargeable, his nobles and favourites made ample amends; and in the long catalogue of their wrongs none appears to have excited so deeply the hatred of the Sicilians as the licentious behaviour of the insolent foreigners towards their women.

Yet still, though uttering curses "not loud but deep," their endurance continued, and Charles and his officers flattered themselves it would do so for ever.

The Easter of 1282 was approaching. The commencement of this season had been distinguished by especial outrages at Palermo, the ancient capital of the kingdom, and on that account, as well as for its strength, peculiarly the object of aversion to the foreign invaders. People had been dragged by the officers of the king's treasury out of the churches, where they were seeking consolation for worldly sorrows in the sacred offices of penitence and peace. They had been manacled and thrown into prison in the face of their fellow citizens, and still the people's patience endured—but the cup was now full.

"About half a mile from the southern wall of the city, on the brow of the Oereto ridge, stands a temple consecrated to God, concerning which our Latin fathers have noted, that when the first stone was laid in the twelfth century the sun was eclipsed. On the one side of it is the precipice and the river—on the other extends, as far as the city, a plain, at present encumbered with walls and buildings, and a dark enclosure of cypresses, hollowed out by tombs, and covered with urns and stones, which surrounds the church. It is a public cemetery, laid out towards the end of the eighteenth century, and which the terrible pestilence of 1837, so destructive to Sicily, filled in three weeks. Through this then beautiful and blooming plain, covered with the bright flowers of early spring, the citizens had to pass on their way to the church, which it was much the custom to frequent on this the Tuesday before Easter,

at vespers. The plain was soon covered with groups from the city; tables were placed in various parts—some sat down to chat, others formed into parties for dancing, and—be it a vice or a virtue in the national character—they began to forget their troubles in the enjoyment of the moment, and breathe more freely,—when suddenly a number of the familiars of the government made their appearance, and a chill seemed to pass over every heart.

“With their accustomed assurance they said they came to keep the peace, and therewith they began to mingle among the groups, to take part in the dances, and address the women in an impudent manner. Some of the citizens advised them in God’s name to go away quietly and offer no affront to the women; others murmured, and some of the more irritable among the young men raised their voices so loud in their indignation, that the familiars said among themselves, ‘These rascals are aimed, or they would not dare to reply in this way,’ and therewith they began to apply the most abusive terms to the people, and feel about their dress, to find out if they had any weapons. Some blows even were given, and hearts had begun to beat hard on both sides, when there advanced, walking quietly on her way to the church, a young woman of noble and modest deportment, and of rare beauty, accompanied by her husband. One of the Frenchmen named Droetto (? Drouet), urged either by mere insolence or licentiousness, advanced towards her as if to search for arms, and seizing hold of her, thrust his hand into her bosom. She fell into the arms of her husband, who suffocated with rage, cried out, ‘Let them die! Let these Frenchmen die at once!’ In a moment a young man rushed like lightning from the crowd upon Droetto, disarmed, stabbed him, and fell himself at the same moment, doubtless killed. His name and history have remained unknown, and whether love of the lady, or the mere impulse of a noble indignation urged him to expose himself to this risk. Courageous examples animate a people more than words; the slaves awoke at once from their long servitude. ‘Let them die! Let the Frenchmen die!’ was heard on all sides, and the cry ‘like the voice of God,’ say the historians of the time, resounded over the whole country, and penetrated into every heart. All was confusion; some sprang furiously on the French—they fully armed, our people having only sticks, stones, and knives; there followed frightful scenes; the tables with their festive preparations were dashed down, broken, and covered with blood. The people put forth its strength and overcame its enemies. Brief was the struggle but great the slaughter; two hundred of the French were present, and two hundred fell.

“To the quiet city rushed the insurgents, panting for breath, dripping with blood, brandishing their weapons, and calling out ‘Vengeance, and death to the French,’ and every Frenchman they met was put to the sword. Their aspect, their words, the mysterious contagion of passion roused the whole people in an instant. In the surging of the wild tumult, a man of noble birth, Ruggieri Mastrangelo, was chosen, or chose himself, as leader; the throng increased; it divided itself into troops; stormed through the country, broke open doors, examined every hiding-place, every corner, calling ‘death to the French!’ striking them down, tearing them to pieces, whoever could not strike loudly applauding.

“The royal justiciary, Giovanni di Remigio, at the sound of the tumult had shut himself up in the palace, a place of great strength, but in a moment it was surrounded by a furious multitude, calling him to death; they break down the barriers, they burst in, but the justiciary, though struck in the face, escapes in the falling darkness and the confusion, and mounting on horseback, followed by two servants, flies for his life.”

He did not rest from his rapid flight till he arrived, in the middle of

the night, at Vicari, a castle thirty miles from the capital, bleeding, exhausted, and disfigured, so that he could scarcely be recognised. All that night and the next day the slaughter continued; but we need not force ourselves to the painful task of following its details, which are sufficiently well known. A just though terrible retribution on fierce and insolent foes became at length a ferocious massacre of women and innocent babes, in whose veins the detested blood of the French was supposed to flow. But frightful as it was, there would be, alas! no difficulty in finding cases of equal cruelty under circumstances of far less provocation; and in an age of greater refinement, and in the most just war that can be undertaken, it is to be feared that not only will innocent blood be shed, but, what is worse, innocent hearts will be broken. The dreadful extremities to which the Sicilians carried their hatred of their oppressors had at least the intended effect. The French were swept from the island, there could be no thought, now, of half measures; the name of the king was renounced for ever, and it was determined to raise Sicily into a commonwealth on the model of the Tuscan and Lombard republics, but under the protection of the church, possibly with a view of disarming the Papal anger.

Amidst the tramp of armed multitudes, by the light of torches flashing on the ensanguined soil, the republican magistracy was inaugurated, and the ancient standard of the city, the golden eagle on a red field, displayed with the recent addition of the keys of the church, while thousands and thousands of exulting voices shouted "*Buono Stato e Libertà.*"

We regret that want of space prevents us from following M. Amari through the glorious period of Sicilian history that succeeds this great effort, or tracing the gradual decline of the country under the Spanish viceroys; but our readers will gain by the omission, if they are induced, instead of contenting themselves with a brief and imperfect outline, to refer to a work now too highly established in the estimation of Europe to need any commendation of ours.

2.—*Levana, oder Erziehlehre. Dritter auflage.* (*Levana, or the Doctrine of Education*). Third Edition. By Jean Paul Frederick Richter Cotta. Stuttgart and Tubingen, 1847. London: Williams and Norgate.

THERE are few subjects on which so vast a quantity of breath and ink has been expended, apparently to so little purpose, as on that of education. Whilst in every other department of human effort, success has generally corresponded, as nearly as possible, to the expenditure of time, thought, and labour, made upon it; the results of education have been often so altogether incalculable, that it has seemed as if blind chance, or what we call such, favoured us more than our most sedulous endeavours. The child that has been the object of the most assiduous attention, enjoying all the means and appliances of the most complete and well considered system, watched and trained with the most unre-

mitting attention, does he often rise above the dead level of mediocrity? Does he not often turn out a mere plausible blockhead? Whilst if we cast a glance at the early lives of those who have climbed the loftiest heights of human genius, shall we not find them springing up unheeded on the wild commons of life, rather than amongst its cultivated garden flowers? The seeds scattered by the wind will rise into majestic vigour and beauty, whilst all our digging and delving can produce but a feeble and stunted growth.

The genius, if he find his way to school at all, not unfrequently returns from it labelled as a dunce; or should the culture he receives there produce any effect, his powers will frequently shoot forth in a direction quite opposite to that in which we looked for them.

We reap where we have not sown, and gather where we have not planted; the poet springs forth where we had looked to find the soldier,* the soldier where we had expected the grammarian or the mathematician. One of the greatest of human kind, goes through a preparatory course of deer stealing, and is finished off by matriculation at the Globe play-house.

There is nothing which we set about so blindly, or in which we know so little what we do.

It has been said, however, that to find our way, before all things it is necessary to know where we wish to go to; and before we suffer ourselves to be altogether disheartened by our many signal failures, or perhaps to turn wearily away from the subject, with the fear that all is vanity, and that no such thing as education to any high purpose is possible, we should do well to inquire whether we have attended to this very simple rule.

*What is the object which we have really most at heart in the education of our children? Do we not sometimes send them to school, not so much that they may receive a good education, as that they may be supposed to have received one, and that this supposition may serve as a passport to the favour of society? We do not so much ask what they should be taught, as what they will be expected to know. Thousands of people send their children to public schools and universities, merely for the sake of being able to say that they have done so; and verily they have their reward. The object in view is not education, but the maintenance of a certain position in society, or, perhaps, the capability of climbing a few steps higher, and it is, therefore, not surprising if this is what they really attain. In professional education we see fewer examples of such signal failures; for a man who goes about to make his son a doctor or a lawyer, really wishes to enable him to labour in his vocation as such, and not merely to enable him to pass for one in the eyes of his acquaintance. With the education of women, on the contrary, the latter is, in the majority of cases, the only purpose in view, and the consequence is obvious. We do not hit a mark which we have never really aimed at.

* Our readers will recollect Schiller, and the military academy of Stuttgart.

Another of the great difficulties of education consists in the incalculable number of influences at work simultaneously, which makes it difficult, and sometimes almost impossible, to determine results with any degree of certainty. Alluding to this, Jean Paul, in his characteristic playful style, begins the explanation of his doctrine of education with "showing that education is impossible."

OPENING ADDRESS AT THE JOHANNEUM PAULLINUM, SHOWING THAT EDUCATION PRODUCES VERY LITTLE EFFECT.

"Most Worshipful Inspectors, Head and Second Masters, Ushers of the lower forms, and Collaborators.

"I hope to express, according to my ability, my pleasure at being appointed teacher to this institution, by endeavouring to prove to your satisfaction, that school education, and home education, have neither bad consequences, nor any other. Should I be so happy as to bring home to your minds a tranquil conviction that your labours have no result whatever, I hope I shall help you to support your weighty offices with more ease and cheerfulness, so that you may pursue your daily avocations, go in and out with your pupils, and sit on your easy professorial chairs, with a certain calm confidence that has nothing to fear. First, then, I must show who it is that really educates, for educated, one way or another, we must all be.

"Whence comes it that no age has ever yet written and spoken so much about education as the present, and no country so much as Germany, whither Rousseau's winged seeds were blown over from France and have been ploughed in? The ancients did and wrote very little for it; their schools were more for young men than for children, and in the Athenian Schools of Philosophy, the pupil was often as old as the teacher. Sparta was a kind of military school for parents and children together. The Romans often employed Greek slaves as schoolmasters, without their children turning out either Greeks or slaves; and in the days when the great heroic deeds of Christianity and of chivalry glittered like stars on Europe's dark horizon, the schools were but little obscure scattered wigwams, or monks' cells. And what have the English, the political *roués* of Europe, whose island is a school for citizens, where lessons are given septennially at parliamentary elections, *what have they, I ask, better than establishments for the systematic spoiling of children?* And where, again, do children turn out more like their parents than among savages, from whom we never hear a word about education? And to anything more than to a resemblance of himself, may no teacher hope to mould, or chisel, or knead his pupil. The further back one pierces into the grey dawn of nations, the scarcer become school-books, till at last there are none at all, because books are not. Yet though man exists wholly in and for the state, and woman, who might educate in his stead, be quite incapable of fulfilling the office, still does the child grow up the very image of its parents, and this is now more than the best parents can expect, since God himself, if he have, indeed, made man in his image, is certainly content to see himself somewhat caricatured * *

"Who then educates among all nations in all ages? The living time, with its many thousands of men, and opinions, and actions, and twenty or thirty years dashing upon us incessantly, as from a boundless ocean, must soon wash away the faint traces of words deposited on us in the few years of what is called education.

"The age in which a man lives is his spiritual climate, and his early education but the glass frame or hot-house under which he is nursed for a time, and then planted out once for all. But by age we must not understand any certain

period of time; it may be ten years, as well as a thousand; for we date, like religious chronologies, only from great men.

“What then can your dead words do against living deeds? The present time with its new deeds brings also new words, whilst the teacher, with his examples from history, sets before us merely corpses shrouded in dead languages. The educator is himself educated and possessed by the spirit of the time, which, nevertheless, he persists in seeking to drive out of the youth, as a whole town will rail against the temper of a whole town. Unfortunately, every one seems to himself to stand exactly in the zenith of the universe, and sees suns and races of men culminating over his head, himself casting no shadow the while.

“If this were not the case, how could we all talk of the spirit of our age, whilst every word supposes that we are, ourselves, placed out of the sphere of its influence—as the ebb and flood of the tide cannot be perceived on the ocean, but only on its boundaries—the coasts? * * * * *

“The spirit of the age and nation is school and schoolmaster too—seizing on the pupil with its mighty hands, and with its living facts and forces, and with its unbroken unity of doctrine—never ceasing for a moment, but perpetually repeating its lessons.

“With joy and sorrow, with friends and enemies, with books and society, with thousand-handed life, the present time operates on us; and no teacher of the people is ever so consistent in his doctrines, as the people itself.

“Spirits fused together appear to lose something of the individual freedom of movement (which bodies, for instance the heavenly bodies, precisely by their masses seem to gain), and move on heavily in smooth well-worn paths. Thus though it would seem that marriages, deaths, and quarrels, depended as much as anything on private caprice, yet it is found possible to calculate their numbers for a whole nation taken together. Besides the bills of mortality, it is estimated (according to Madame de Stael), that in Italy the number of assassinations, and in the Canton of Bern that of divorcees, taking one ten years with another, remains always the same. Must not, then, a child be carried forward by the perpetual and uniform motion of this world of life, as upon the great globe flying along its orbit, whatever angle of direction may be given him by his schoolmaster?

“Repetition is the mother of all culture. Like the fresco painter, let the educator lay his colours on the wet chalk; they will dry in indeed, but he will renew them again and again, until they remain and bloom for ever.

“Who, then, lays on colours oftenest—in Naples for instance, one tutor, or a population with 30,000 lawyers, 30,000 lazzaroni, and 30,000 monks? Besides this vociferous multitude, most families are provided with a crowd of educators in grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, aunts and godmothers, friends, acquaintances, and servants, so that one might expect a child with so many teachers to come forth like an Indian slave, who goes about branded with the stamps of his successive owners. In the deeper colouring of actual life, however, these various impressions disappear, as the stamps of the slave are overpowered by the hot black tints of the burning sun, or are received into them like a coat of arms into a field sable.

“The second power with which the spirit of the age and nation educates effectually, is the living example. ‘Not the cry, but the flight of the wild duck,’ says the Chinese proverb, ‘draws the rest of the flock after him.’

“To have lived through a war against Xerxes would warm the heart with quite a different fire than the faint spark that might be kindled by reading and expounding the history of it ever so many times. In this education by school books, we do but present the magnificent temples and buildings of antiquity as so many little convenient cork models; and yet the mere ancestral gallery of examples in Plutarch’s Westminster Abbey, may throw the seed of the divine

word deeper into the heart than some thousand volumes of sermons full of genuine pulpit eloquence. Heavens! could words be condensed or pounded into deeds—only a thousand to one—how would a single passion still continue to throw out volcanic fire into a world, where, from pulpit, and professional chairs, and bookcases, there descend everlasting snows of pure cold exhortations! Would not history be covered all over with mere craters and icebergs?

“Ah, dearest colleagues, if we ourselves, with the help of all our libraries, cannot manage to ‘pass a day without sin,’ what effect can we hope for from the few volumes of words that we may let fall in school hours?

“Have we not all a daily renewed example of the impotence of verbal teaching, in our own disregard of our private tutor, conscience, who never loses sight of his pupil, who is our morning preacher, and afternoon and evening lecturer, and travelling tutor, and partner at bed and board? Could one believe that such a mentor in the chamber of our brain, preaching away for fifty years or so, could make no better hand of it than the chaste Minerva in that of Jove, who could not manage to spare him a single one of his animal metamorphoses?

“Is it not, for instance, quite common in the history of the learned, to find worthy men proposing to themselves every day, for years together, to get up earlier to-morrow morning, without ever being able to bring it to pass, unless, perhaps, they should do so on the day of judgment?

“To return—is it likely that a thousand words of another should do more for us than a billion of our own? and can one wonder that the shallow stream of precept, on which we set our youth afloat, should be soon lost amidst the roaring wind and waves of the world ocean?

“Let us also remark that we are apt to reckon as productions of school gardening, plants that spring up everywhere on the common soil; just as epidemic diseases, arising from the state of the atmosphere, were formerly ascribed to the poisoning of the wells by the Jews. Not merely the lecture or class-room, but the bed-room, the stairs, the playground, the servants’ hall, and every place where a child lives and moves, becomes a school to him. The bodily growth of itself promotes that of the mind, and yet you ascribe this solely to your pedagogue hotbed, as if one could help becoming longer and wiser at the same time. One might as well attribute the growth of the muscles to the leading-strings.

“There are so many delusions of this kind. Parents consider much in their own children as the effect of care and culture, which in those of others they would ascribe to natural development; and let a great man but have passed through a school, and he is immediately explained out of it. * * *

“We may flatter ourselves, most worthy fellow preceptors, with having deserved well of humanity, if we can once attain to the certainty, that with our education we do in fact little or nothing. As in the mechanical world, every movement would be perpetual were the resistance of friction wanting, so in the spiritual, did the pupil less valiantly resist and fight against the master, we should see an everlasting, insipid renewal of the same life. What more would be wanting to fill our streets with perpetual stiff, feeble copies of the same pedagogue type, than that our education should succeed beyond our expectations, and tutors and schoolmasters should send the impressions of their heads, like those of sovereign princes, to circulate in all corners?

“By dint of long teaching, a tutor comes to persuade himself that the poor scholar cannot go a step without his guidance, since even with it he is apt enough to go astray, ‘If,’ he thinks, ‘I could but wind the boy up for a century or so like an astronomical clock, and set him exactly right, so that even after my death he would continue to go as usual, and show all the hours and the various positions of the planets!’ Let the tutor, however, accompany his pupil to the university, and already he perceives that the youngster can find

his way alone into a great deal of good company; and let pupil and master make the grand tour together, and the young gentleman finds still more equivocal companions, and yet the tutor becomes less and less anxious.

“His fears had been such as a mother might entertain lest her infant, naked and helpless, should perish in the cold-blowing world into which it was about to be born, when it could no longer be nourished with her own heart’s blood.

“No one of all my hearers, of which I am the first, can have forgotten that at the beginning of this oration I inquired why so much is now written in Germany about education; and I ask this the rather that I intend myself to lay before the public in print a few ideas upon this subject. I answer my own question then—It is because the tendency of our whole civilisation is to turn the whole man into an organ of speech, for as the Word was once made flesh, so is the flesh now once more become word.

“Now the Germans, unlike the people of the South, who are talkative, may be called *wrieteative*, and always prefer the fixed substantial black and white printing, to the light volatile speech, blown about by every puff of wind. Now since every kind of life is only propagated by itself,—for instance, actions by actions, words by words, education by education, so may we, most worthy colleagues, indulge the animating hope, that our labours may possibly enable our pupils, from scholars to become masters, and that this present institution, the *Johanneum Paullinum*, may become a nursery of other similar institutions, and that we may in time send forth an abundant crop of tutors, ushers, and schoolmasters, ready to multiply and replenish the earth, each after his kind, and bring forth—not Cyruses, but *Cyropedias* and *Cyropedagogues*.”

The foregoing Inauguration Address was, we are informed, no sooner delivered than it was found to bear such a strong resemblance to a Farewell Speech, that it was thought proper to afford the author a handsome opportunity of adding anything further he might have to say under that form, and accordingly in a few days he was presented with his dismissal, and was thereby enabled, in ascending the pulpit for the second and last time, to take for the text of a short but impressive parting address to his fellow teachers:—

“THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION.

“Most respected Brothers in Office.—In laying down my office, held for so short a period, I may at least carry with me the consolation that no pupil can possibly reproach me with having wasted his time, or instilled into his mind false doctrines; and this thought naturally leads me to a suitable topic for the parting words I have to address to you, on the advantage of a good education and the power with which it seizes on the very heart of the time. As to my *predecessor* in this chair (for after my dismissal I cannot venture to allude to myself in any other terms), who thought proper, the day before yesterday, to attempt to prove the very contrary, I shall proceed to show that he uttered mere sophisms, which, according to Leibnitz, originally meant exercises in wisdom.

“‘Why do we now write so much about education,’ he asks, ‘than because our whole power of action has passed into words, and words into souls by the instrumentality of tongues and ears?’

“Is this, however, anything more than what I am myself prepared to maintain?

“No ancient time or nation can be compared with any one subsisting since the discovery of printing, for since then there is no such thing as a separate

state any more, and therefore no separate and single operation of any state upon its constituent parts.

"The strangers and travellers whom Lycurgus would have excluded from the dramatic unity of his republic, now overrun all countries, under the names of books or of waste paper. No one is any longer alone,—not an island of the most distant ocean. Europe is an entangled Liana forest, around which the other quarters of the globe wind and cling as parasites, exhausted and exhausting.

"Books have established a universal republic, an alliance of nations—a Humane Society—a 'Society of Jesus' in a finer sense; by means of which there arises a second Europe; situated like London in several counties and jurisdictions. This book-pollen flying about everywhere, brings indeed with it the disadvantage that no state can now raise a flower clear of any streak or sprinkling of foreign colour, or unfold itself so slowly, gradually, purely as before; but, like an Indian idol, presents a combination of the bodies and limbs of various animals, which have grown into it from the neighbour states; on the other hand, however, no mind need any longer be slavishly subject to the provincial parliament of its own people, but may appeal to the states-general of the literary world, and take refuge in case of need from the visible in the invisible Church. Now, also, when the spoken re-echoes from the printed word, is it possible, with some hope of success, to undertake an education in opposition, if need be, to the spirit of the time.

"That so much is written about education supposes two things, namely, the general feeling of its importance, and the consciousness of its absence, for it is only lost things that are cried in the streets. The state educates no longer, but leaves the business to the schoolroom, the pulpit, and the writing desk. The forcing houses in Rome and Sparta have long since been broken up, though a few are still left standing in China and the Arabian deserts. The old cycle, that education depends on the State, yet that the existence of the State supposes education, is rectified or squared by the art of printing; since every where the State itself is educated by the mighty dead, who guide us as according to tradition,—the angels in the old deep oriental world, led by the hand as children, the newly created race of man,—and after the lessons given, vanished again into heaven.

"According to Zach's genial idea, our earth has been formed from a cluster of fallen moons, one rushing downwards on the American side, having driven the deluge over the older portion; and Switzerland, with its wild high-towering heaps of craggy mountains, and its deep ravines and precipices, being still visibly a moon. Thus is spiritual Europe a combination of great souls fallen from, or sent by heaven; and the great man sits now on a higher throne, and the radiance of his crown is seen over a wider plain, for he works not only by his deeds, but by his writings,—not only by his words, but, like thunder, by their echo. One mind affects those nearest to it, and these again the multitude; and as many small vessels may tow a large one into the harbour, so may subordinate minds lead a great one to the shore and enable him to deliver his cargo.

"My predecessor may perhaps here advance, that if the great collective nation of authors, have taken the place of each individual state in the office of education, it may be expected that the voices of so great a multitude will overwhelm at once, as with a sea, that of a few teachers and their school-books; and this appears probable; but there is here one thing to be remarked.

"However certain it may be that all things with which we come into contact work together to make us what we are; that we are moistened by damp weather, as well as wetted by torrents of tropical rain,—that as the soft falling dew wears the summit of the granite rock, so a man cannot so much as take

a walk, but he will bring home some trace that will help to form a link in the chain that stretches through eternity; yet, on the other hand, it is to be remembered that the force of these impressions varies infinitely, according to the circumstances of yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow. Now it is known that the less spiritual food a human creature has yet received, the more will it assimilate. Its bodily growth is never so enormous, and out of all proportion to the nourishment, as during the period preceding birth; and this activity gradually decreases through life. Those who have the office of education, should therefore do most in the first years, for then they can effect more with half the power; and as some farmers believe that those fields prove most fertile which are sown during a mist, so do we reap most abundantly from what we sow during the first thick mist that hangs about the morning of childhood.

“Life, especially moral life, moves first by flight, then by leaps, then by steps, and at length stands still. With every year that a man grows older, his conversion becomes more difficult; and a villain of sixty is less fit for a missionary than for an *auto-da-fè*. The same observation will hold with respect to intellectual development. Like a Greek temple, man receives his greatest light at the entrance, and from above; and we may in vain look, at any subsequent period, for such a soil for cultivation as we find in the nature of a young child; wintry-barren indeed, but full of the germs of vegetation, and bursting into freshest verdure and bloom at every spot where a warm ray falls. And does not all true teaching consist rather in warming and vivifying, than in sowing? And is not the whole period of childhood made up of genial days of creation?”

“Two forces work for us in infancy; firstly, faith, that power of absorption, without which there could be neither education nor language. The second we must call excitability, and this is physically and mentally in the corporeal and spiritual child, greatest at first, and gradually decreases with advancing life, till at length nothing in this world can excite the worn-out man, but only the future one. Man, like the earth and the planets, assumes his general forms whilst in the first fluid state, and is afterwards only rounded off. The weight of a world pressing on the matter, when once cooled, will produce but a faint impression. The spirit of the age and nation does indeed incessantly operate on the child, but in the first instance only through those who have the charge of his education. Jews, Quakers, and Moravians, exemplify the preponderating influence of peculiar education over the force of example in a surrounding but dissimilar people; and although the spirit of the age and nation may be perceptible even in these, it is so in a far less degree than in the general mass. The whole mass of the population also, does not, as my predecessor would fain assert, influence the character of the individual man, for he comes in contact with only a few points. A friend, a teacher, a club, a domestic circle, these stand for the nation; the rest pass by like a distant army. And when can individual example operate with so much force as in the years of childhood? or when so long as in the first ten? for in education as in law, a long time meant ten years. The waves of the world-ocean break on the walls that contain the water of crystallization, in which the character of the child is formed; and father, mother, brethren, and a few others, form the entire world of infancy. The power of education, we must also recollect, is not to be estimated by the individual, but by the whole mass; and not by the present, but by the future. We are too apt to require that destiny, or the spirit of the age, shall answer all our questions by return of post.

“I have now endeavoured to answer, to the best of my ability, the objections of my predecessor and rival, and I trust with a regard to decorum not always met with in the learned world. As for what he says about the individual being lost in the society, I am willing to admit it; but the equality of

the masses leaves room for much inequality in their constituent parts. The bills of mortality may be right on the whole, yet we never think of consulting them for regulation of our individual hopes and fears.

"In contemplating the heavenly bodies, we see not their mountains; and in viewing the mountains from afar, we lose sight of their rough stony paths. He who has to climb them, however, perceives them well enough.

"Lastly, it may be remembered, that when the worthy man complained of the inefficiency of good education, he let fall some lamentations on the efficiency of bad. And does not the capacity of being spoiled suppose also the capacity of being well educated. The principal want we experience in education, is that of exact tables by which to calculate the perturbations that our little planets may be liable to, from the revolutions of neighbouring orbs.

"And now most worshipful academical Senate, I do not know that in this place I have anything more to say."

In the following chapters, treating of the spirit and leading principles of education, Jean Paul throws his playful glancing lights on some of the most common errors. The art and method of education must of course be in a great measure determined by its archetype or ideal—for without an ideal of some kind "man would soon go on all fours." The worst of it is, however, that in education it is common to have not one ideal, but a whole gallery of ideals, which hover by turns before the mind's eye—and are successively proposed to the child as models.

"A father, for instance, might be supposed to arrange for his son some such course of instruction as the following:—In the first hour the boy shall receive, from me or the tutor, a lesson of pure morality. In the second, however, one of *impure*, that is applied morality directed to self-interest. In the third, 'Don't you see, boy, that your father does so and so?' In the fourth, 'You are still a little boy; only grown people must do that.' In the fifth, 'The chief thing is that you should learn to make your way in the world.' In the sixth, 'Not what belongs to time, but what belongs to eternity, decides the worth of a man.' In the seventh, 'Suffer injustice patiently, and love your enemies.' In the eighth, 'You must learn to take your own part, boy, and not let people impose on you.' In the ninth, 'Don't make such a dreadful noise my dear.' In the tenth, 'A boy ought never to sit still.' And thus by the daily and hourly change of principles does the father conceal from himself that they are one-sided and untenable."

The effect of this uncertainty of aim is to produce motley half-and-half characters, "like fireworks that go off during rain, exhibiting at best bright fragments of figures and halves of the letters of names."

The author of *Levana* strongly urges the necessity of observing, and as far as possible respecting, the individual character of the child, and the spiritual devastation that would ensue from attempting to crush, "for instance, Kant, Raphael, Mozart, Cato, and Frederick the Great," into the same mould. In second-rate minds the result of such an attempt would be to produce a vacillating paralytical character—a tendency to perpetual imitation, and slavery to every new command.

"There are, however, two kinds of individualism—of the head, and of the heart—to one of which the educator must allow free growth and development, while he must restrain and direct the other. Every intellectual peculiarity—

mathematical, artistical, philosophical—is as a beating heart, to which all acquired knowledge, and all teaching, serve but as the great blood-vessels to conduct materials for its activity and movement; and instead of drugging it to sleep, you may even throw more weight into the preponderating scale. But it is quite otherwise with the moral character. If the former be melody, this is harmony. An Euler must not be weakened by an inoculation from the soul of a Petrarch—for no intellectual power can be in itself too great, and no painter too great a painter; but to every moral quality there must be set a limit by the development of its opposite pole. To the heroic character we must preach peace, whilst we charge the timid with electrical words of thunder. Let it be regarded as a law that every force is sacred, and therefore never to be weakened in itself, but only balanced by its opposite, that both may unite harmoniously as parts of the whole. An over-soft, loving soul is not therefore to be hardened, but the principle of honour strengthened, and the judgment rendered sound and clear, whilst in dealing with the bold character, we must not seek to render it timid, but only cultivate it to love and wisdom.

“I may perhaps now be asked what are the conditions under which the Ideal or Prize man of every child is to be discovered; but to state these would require not *one* book, but a whole library of books, as well as a particular gift for the interpretation of dreams and omens, to understand and unfold the closely wrapped buds of character as they appear in the child, often as hard to be distinguished as in the chrysalis the future butterfly. If we must translate into plainer words what we have called the Ideal or Prize man, we should say it was the harmonious maximum of all individual capacities taken together, which in different individuals bear the same relation to each other that one key in music does to another. Whoever takes a piece written in A and transposes it into B does it an injury, yet not so great a one as the educator who insists on setting all children’s characters in the same key.

“To the most complete attainment of the objects of education, it is necessary to rise above the spirit of the age, as it is called, at all events high enough to see whether it is tending; but what is the age? What is the extent of the time of whose indwelling spirit we are accustomed to speak? Is it a century, or only the ‘little arc described by the everlasting sun between the morning and the evening of our life?’ Or do we count from one great event, the Reformation, for instance, to another, or from what period of revolution, and of what kind—moral, philosophical, poetical, or political? And, again, in what place do we take our observations—in London, or Paris, or Berlin, or where? For the same time must develop different spirits in these and in the American Backwoods, or the Russian Steppes. It is as difficult to determine its place in space as in time. Is it possible for us, too, ‘to raise ourselves high enough above the waves of time to judge of its course, and not merely feel its dark current bearing us onward towards a sea where, for want of shores, we cannot calculate its rapidity?’

“If, however, it is sometimes difficult for us to catch the utterance of the spirit of the time, a voice coming from the past, the voice of Eternity, which is above all time, declares what is chiefly wanting to the ‘passion fire-worshippers and sensual enthusiasts’ of the present age—the holy spirit of the super-sensuous. The consciousness of, and the faith in, what is above this world, which struck deep root into the darkest times, bears no fruit in our more enlightened and purer atmosphere; for the world we have a machine, for the ether a gas, for God a *force*, and for the future world a coffin.

“Further, the spirit of Eternity declares to our shame, that the flames of passion, of anger, or of love, which the nations of the antique world endeavoured to restrain or to conceal, are played off among us like fireworks for our diversion. * * * Passionate violence is a symptom

of disease in our age, for nowhere is so much irritability and self-abandonment, such softness towards oneself, and such inexorable hardness towards others, as on the sick bed; and on such a bed is society now lying."

Thus speaks the dread spirit, but he grows milder as we listen to him.

"Every noble sorrow called forth, every tear dropped over the ills of the time, like a spring on the summit of a hill, points to a loftier summit whence it proceeds. Only those nations which stuck fast in the slough from century to century utter no complaint against themselves, but only against others; and the spiritual epileptics of the French philosophy had no consciousness of their malady, but, on the contrary, felt nothing but pride in their strength.

"One form of religion is extinguished after another, but the spirit of religion which created them all is immortal and inextinguishable. As long as the word *God* is heard in a language, it will direct the human eye to what is above. It is with the divine as with the sun in an eclipse—as long as the smallest rim remains uncovered the daylight continues; and even in France, where for a short time the darkness of total eclipse prevailed, there arose a Chateaubriand, a St. Martin, and then disciples. This present time of ours is, indeed, a critical and a criticising one, vacillating between the wish and the incapacity to believe, it is a chaos of conflicting elements, but even a chaotic world must have a centre round which to revolve, there can be no such thing as pure, absolute, lasting, disorder and confusion. * * * * * Since

opinions bring forth actions, and *vice versa*, modes of life produce modes of thought, head and heart corporally and spiritually acting and re-acting upon each other, when both are diseased the cure must be expected to be a long one. If, however, adversity purifies and amends individuals, why not also nations?—here sicknesses and fast-days, there wars and fast-centuries, and whole races must lie down pale and sorrowing that others may rise in joy. In the mean time, how our children shall pass through these wintry days depends on us and on their education.

"The child is to be furnished with three counterbalancing forces to meet the triple malady; the debilitation of the will, of love, and of religion. Our time shows strength only in passionate desire, like the sick man, the mad man, and every weakling, but nothing of that heroic strength of will so finely displayed in Sparta, in Rome, and in the first ages of the church. Let us, then, endeavour, as formerly the state did, to harden the young mind and will, and extinguish by a stoical uniformity of colouring the vulgar fame of tiger spots and snake-like changing colours, produced by the ebullitions of the passions. Let boys and girls learn that there is something in the sea above its waves, namely, Christ who commands them.

"With the development of the stoical power of will, the power of love becomes freer. Courage is less egotistical than fear, for it is less necessitous. The parasitical moss of selfishness grows on rotten stems, but strength destroys meanness as bitter quassia kills flies. Man is born for love, and let him only have free space, and love springs up spontaneously within him—the strongest love, which is built upon a rock. Let the spiritual heart be modelled on the corporeal one; let it be warm, active, susceptible, but held by a stout tough muscle behind a grating of hard bones, so that its tender nerves cannot easily be found."

A few more *Jean Pauliana*, and we have done.

"The middle ages possessed, besides moral churchyards full of weeds and corpses—of cruelty and lust—also churches and temples for the religious sense. We have reversed this; for while the sacred groves of religion have been

broken down and profaned* we have made the moral high roads broader and more secure. A simultaneous decay in morals and religion would have been too cruel. The age indeed seeks to hide from itself the decay of the sense for the super-earthly, by greater rigour for the moral; and, reversing the practice in great cities, where people build high because they cannot build broad, we seek to obtain a wider space on earth because we cannot rear our structure towards heaven. * * *

“Since the first rule for those who wish to give anything is that they shall have it to give, no one can teach religion who does not himself possess it; hypocrisy and mouth religion will bring forth only their like. * * *

“The sublime is a step to the temple of religion, as the stars are to that of infinity. Let the name of God be heard by the child in connexion with all that is great in nature—the storm, the thunder, the starry heavens, and death—a great misfortune—a great piece of good fortune—a great crime—a greatly noble action, these are the sites on which to build the wandering church of childhood.”

The part of the *Levana* which treats of the physical education of children, has little value for us now, whatever it may have in Germany. We do not now need to be convinced theoretically of the benefits of fresh air, and exercise, and cold water, though it may in some cases still be necessary to enforce the practice of such precepts. In the chapters on the education of women also, we cannot think even Jean Paul has always kept clear of the common error of mistaking the mere facts of experience for necessary truths. His ideal woman is merely a German woman of his own day, and we think that most of those who have not taken their opinions on this subject from books, will agree with us that he has greatly exaggerated the original moral and intellectual differences of the sexes.

Notwithstanding this, however, we rejoice, and regard it as a favourable sign of the times, that it should have been found worth while to print a new edition of a book long since extensively known,† and one less adapted than any work on education that was ever written to favour the quackeries of educational systems, while it is at the same time better fitted to inspire the feelings with which the great task of education should be undertaken, and to lead to the formation of true and sound principles.

Old as it is we make no apology for bringing it before the attention of our readers, as it is probable many of them may be unacquainted

* Our readers must bear in mind that in this and other instances where the author speaks of the *present* time, he alludes to the period immediately succeeding the French Revolution of 1792.

† A translation of *Levana*, published by Messrs. Longman, has just been sent to us. The translator has performed his task (no very easy one) well and conscientiously. Perhaps in some passages he has been too closely faithful for the pleasure of the English reader; but this, with an author like “Jean Paul der Einzige,” is certainly, if a fault at all, a fault on the right side. Here and there is a trifling error; such, for instance, as that of rendering *mess-bücher*, missals; whereas, in the passage alluded to (p. 25), it obviously means merely books sold at the German book fairs, or *messe*. In general, however, both letter and spirit are preserved with great skill.

with it; and although the subject of school instruction has been often enough discussed, there has been of late a remarkable dearth of works on education, properly so called. Some years ago the press teemed with all manner of new discoveries in this field, embodied in all shapes from the bulky quarto to the slender pamphlet; but these have all passed away into some peaceful limbo, or to the place long since appropriated to good intentions, and we still ask disconsolately, "Who will show us any good?" Perhaps we may be answered in the words of a contemporary, "*Si notre siècle avait des croyances plus fermes, aurait elle tant de peine à résoudre le problème de l'éducation? Dans les époques où les convictions sont profondes, il n'y a pas d'hésitation sur la manière d'élever la jeunesse.*"

3.—*Italienisches Bilderbuch.* (Italian Picture Book). By Fanny Lewald. Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1847. London: Williams and Norgate.

OUR readers may possibly remember our having noticed, in our last number, a very clever satirical novel called 'Diogena,' which created a sensation altogether unprecedented in Germany in that department of literature, and which was the more remarkable as it made its appearance during a time when political events were of absorbing interest, and especially when the debates of the first Prussian Parliament left the reading public of Berlin little time or attention to bestow on romances. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the success of *Diogena* was complete, and much ingenuity was exercised in endeavouring to penetrate into the mystery of the authorship. Almost every distinguished name which could possibly be brought into connexion with a subject of this kind, was successively mentioned as undoubtedly the true one, by some critic or other, though it happened, unluckily, that no two were agreed. On one point, however, our German brethren of the craft were nearly unanimous. Whoever it might be, it could not be a woman,—that point was soon settled. Such firm and vigorous drawing, such keen satire, such strict logical sequence in carrying out the principles of the "noble romance," could by no possibility characterise the productions of a writer of the less worthy gender. These gentlemen are, as all who are familiar with German periodical literature will know, especially clever at pointing out, on all occasions, precisely what is and what is not attainable to genius, which happens to wear in the flesh the mortal garb of a woman, in declaring its precise limits and pronouncing their authoritative "thus far shalt thou go and no farther." It is, therefore, rather pleasant to add, that the authorship of the production in question has been finally declared to belong to no other than a certain Fanny Lewald, the authoress, previously, of two novels called 'Clementine,' and 'Jenny,' and who has recently published the 'Italian Picture Book' named at the head of this notice. In this it is satisfactory to learn from her preface, that it has been her intention to say as little as possible of churches and pictures, and as much as

possible of the country and the people; to tell of their daily life and daily doings, "of their joys and their sorrows, their eating and drinking, their play and their work," as far as it was possible for a woman and a stranger to become acquainted with them.

The time spent in the country by Fraulcin Lewald, seems to have been scarcely sufficient completely to redeem this pledge; but she has made good use of the time she had, and presented us with many vivid and brightly coloured sketches of the scenes through which she passed. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that her journey was not made somewhat later, that she might have witnessed the dawn of the new era which has arisen upon Italy, and to which Europe is now looking with anxious hope; but it will be long before the character of society and the manners of the people will be perceptibly affected by political changes, and a knowledge of what these were, before the movement, can obviously afford us the only data for calculating its probable results. Whatever may be the precise form of the new institutions, they must, after all, depend for their efficacy on previously formed character and habits.

It was towards the close of the reign of Gregory XVI. that our authoress was in Rome, when dark night still lay on the political horizon, and no golden exhalations announced the approach of the new day. Society was as dull, rapid, frivolous, and unmeaning as despotism and police espionage could make it. *Exempli gratiâ*, take a description of a soiree at Rome.

"The best kind of social intercourse, that by which the spiritual life is excited to a higher activity, is only possible in free countries. Everywhere, in Russia as well as in Germany or Italy, people can dine, and dance, and drink, and smoke, and play at cards, and flatter the women.

"But these pleasures are not very lasting; they form no bond of union between individuals, and there is no real interest in them for any one who requires something more of his time than that it shall go as fast as possible. The better spirits among us have passed beyond the childish state of mind that could be content with these things, and desire, even in their recreations, a certain earnestness to which, however, no playful grace or gaiety need be wanting.

"The Italians have inherited from past ages the most pleasing and graceful forms of behaviour; they are children of noble birth, well-bred, and accustomed to elegant manners. Had they more of intellectual culture they would be in a position to develop the highest attractions of social intercourse. But in Italy the mind, and with it the life of society, has been laid in fetters; and there is, consequently, a something in the manners of the Italian circles that reminds one of their stately but unoccupied palaces, whose dust-covered pictures and furniture, rich as they are, have a mournful and decayed aspect.

"In France the various parties, political, religious, and literary, are brought together by the desire to discuss freely the questions that arise; for a single word spoken will often put an end to a misunderstanding better than whole pamphlets full of controversy, and the variety of opinion that always manifests itself in conversation opens fresh springs of interest and progress. In Italy, however, such an intellectual movement has been hitherto impossible; it does not want for men, who, with watchful eye and hopeful soul, follow the movements that take place in other countries, and fervently desire them for their own; but they are denied the freedom not only of action but of word. All society is watched, and this vigilance extends even to foreigners. I have heard

it positively asserted that the entertainments of an Italian lady of good family, who receives a great number of strangers, are paid for by the papal court, and that the lady herself is in its service as a spy. A very clever *Abate* of my acquaintance, pointed out to me a certain chevalier decorated with the highest papal order, who filled the same office; and afterwards, a German friend, long settled in Rome, warned me, for a similar reason, against the *Abate* himself. Whether any one of the parties really deserved the accusation, is what I had no means of ascertaining; but the mere possibility of being watched by spies is enough to drive people out of society; and there can be no difficulty in finding spies in a country where every free thought on religion is a heresy, and the betrayal of a heresy is regarded as a service to God.

"The middle classes of the Italians, the official persons, and the lower order of the nobility, live in their own circles, and see little of strangers of a similar class. The intercourse amongst the aristocracy of the various nations is more lively, but still seldom passes beyond an invitation to a ball, a box at the opera or a drive on the *Corso*. The interior of the domestic circle still remains closed to strangers, and consequently, a real intimacy of mind with mind scarcely ever takes place, while, in general society, all the profounder interests, social, political, or religious, are of course intentionally avoided, as likely to lead to forbidden ground.

'In Italian circles, I have accordingly found the conversation very superficial, consisting much of playful and not ungraceful trifling on subjects of traditional gallantry (from which, by-the-bye, the clergy is by no means excluded), and of the topics of the day, treated much in the style of a court journal. The comings and goings of illustrious personages, the changes in the genealogical calendar, accidents by flood and fire, theatres, singers, and though last not least, the bullet, these are the points round which conversation perpetually revolves. Now and then one sees a group whispering together on matters of greater importance, and from such a one, there can occasionally be gleaned intelligence not to be found in books or papers that have to pass under the eye of the censor. I was told, however, that all prohibited books were always to be found with the cardinals, and that they are read a great deal underhand.

"It is in some measure the deficiency of material for interesting conversation, that in Rome compels people to have recourse to poetry and music to fill up tedious intervals, which occur more frequently from its being the custom in many Italian houses to bring no kind of refreshment, no ice, no supper, not so much as water, to the guests.

"The house of the Baroness C—— had been especially recommended to me as an agreeable one, where the old Italian forms of social intercourse were exactly observed. On a certain day of the week, she receives all her acquaintance and friends, and invited me amongst the rest; and as she has the reputation of being a clever woman, and an excellent improvisatore, I willingly accepted the invitation.

"In the evening, between nine and ten o'clock, we drove into the beautiful palace, through a portal perfectly dark, into an inner court, which was only lit by the glimmer of the lamps from a few cardinals' equipages that were in waiting, and where we distinguished the splashing of fountains. We groped our way up the broad marble staircase, and in the antechamber, where a three-branched Roman candelabra was burning, found about thirty servants in various liveries, waiting for their masters, and amusing themselves meanwhile with cards and dice. A few older ones were sitting warming themselves over a pan of charcoal; but no one of them took the slightest notice of us, and our own servants had to open the doors for us.

"From this room we passed into a second larger apartment, also lit only by

a single lamp, and whose vast space, dark hangings, stone floor, and long rows of benches against the wall, seemed to fit it for the assemblies of the Secret Tribunal, or a nocturnal rendezvous of ghosts. At the upper end of this hall, before the door of the reception-room, stood several servants in the livery of the house, ready to announce the guests.

"The music was just about to begin. Rossi, the best violin player in Italy, and the first clarinet player from La Scala, in Milan, were seated near a fair-haired Englishwoman, at the pianoforte, to form a trio; and the hostess led me to a sofa, and seated me between Cardinals G— and M—. To my German Protestant eyes, there was something peculiarly striking in the rich costume of the ecclesiastics, and the appearance of the whole scene. The furniture of the saloon was plain to excess. The window-curtains were of flowered muslin, to which time had communicated so dark a tinge, that I at first took them for grey damask; a few fine ancestral pictures were hanging from the walls, near some wretched lithographs of living princes, and other celebrities, and a portrait of the Baroness, in the character of Sappho; and the cardinals with their scarlet hats; the *Monsignore* and *Abate* in their black silk cloaks, black, violet-coloured, and red silk stockings; and the indescribably affected appearance of some young men, who with their glasses stuck to one eye, were chatting with the ladies—the purely conventional aspect of the latter,—all this together made it seem to me like a scene in one of Goldoni's comedies, in which, oddly enough, I had a part to play myself. After the performance of the first piece, the cardinals withdrew to the card-room, accompanied by some old countesses, displaying richer toilettes than are commonly seen among us at such small parties; as almost all had velvet and brilliants. On the way to the card-room, the cardinals were several times stopped by young ladies, who kissed their hands.

"After this the music began again, but I cannot say that any that I heard came near the degree of excellence that I had been led to expect; indeed altogether, what I had been told of the vocal performances of the Italians, appeared somewhat exaggerated; good voices are scarce; the gondoliers and marinari, who make such a figure in some books of travels, make, it is known, a regular occupation of singing to strangers, and are no more fair specimens of their class, than our Bohemian musicians.

"The music was followed by declamation, and then the baroness was entreated to improvise, which after a little pressing she did; and spoke a really beautiful poem, which obtained and deserved much approbation. In spite of its merits, however, the effect of the peculiar style of recitation, the manner in which the company got ready their admiration, the formal delivery (for the tone of the Italians on these occasions is as different from that of their ordinary conversation as the French of Racine's Tragedies to that of the vaudeville), the swinging, more or less rapid, of a little bag that hung on the lady's arm, the motion of which served to measure the height and fervour of her inspiration; all this had to me rather a comic character. But subsequently, in Naples, when I had got more accustomed to the Italian manner, the declamation of a lady really afforded me much pleasure, whilst on this occasion I had a hard matter to restrain my laughter.

"After the improvisation of the baroness, the Marchesa M—, the last descendant of a renowned family that had counted many doges, recited a poetical complaint of the imprisoned Tasso, as long and as tedious as her own pedigree. Everybody yawned, but the 'bravos' were uttered as usual, with a sense of duty that was quite touching; but Monsignore L—, while he clapped his elegantly gloved hands together, in token of warm approbation, whispered 'that it was really almost more than one could bear; it was enough to kill one.'

“ ‘And yet you applaud’ I said. ‘It was horrible, signora, but what can one do. Do you think the lady would ever leave off till she had had her share of applause?’ It is a polite measure of self-defence, nothing more; but she’s a dreadful woman,” he added once more, as he rose and advanced to the lady to repeat his compliments.

“ ‘Is the vow of sincerity among the oaths which you have taken as a priest?’ I asked, when he came back.

“ ‘Oh no! that would be too much,’ he replied. ‘How could one live with sincerity in a world full of lies?’ One must speak to people in their own language; all missionaries do that you know:’ and therewith, he turned to a lady near us, who was talking of the approaching carnival, and proposed that we should visit the Corso on foot.

“ The lady, who was an Italian, scolded him for the proposal, and added what I had heard from others, that that was what no lady of the higher class of society would do.

“ ‘Bah,’ said an Abate, ‘they don’t confess it, but they do it.’

“ ‘That’s a very convenient kind of morality.’ ‘And for that very reason, one extensively practised,’ said Monsignore L—, laughing. ‘Women are so fond of the carnival, precisely because they have there an opportunity of tasting the forbidden fruit of liberty. Every one has a husband, a brother, or a friend, whom she would like to watch in secret, in order to know how to regulate her proceedings for the rest of the year.’”

One of the most efficient causes of demoralisation among the people is the lottery; and that it may lose no facility for mischief, the lottery-offices are allowed to remain open, even on Sundays and Saints’ Days, when in Rome all other shops, with one or two exceptions, are rigidly closed; and as the people are idler on these days than on any other, the temptation of the lottery meets with fewer obstacles. That no opportunity of seduction may be lost, in nearly every street there are two or three houses where tickets are sold, pointed out by large sign-boards; and before the door stands a table, with a figure of a conjuror, in robes of black and red, and the ninety numbers arranged, in the manner of organ-pipes, before him.

“ At night the tables are illuminated, and these lottery-offices remain open till a late hour of the night, when all others have long been closed. Since as little as a penny may be put in, the very poorest have it in their power to venture the hard earnings of the day, in the delusive hope of a vast return. The plan is to draw five numbers out of ninety; the player takes three, and should these three be found amongst the five drawn, he wins the great prize; should there be two, he wins twelve hundred *scudi*; but one is of no use.

“ Imagine a poor labourer going home wearily after his daily toil, often of ten or twelve hours’ duration, trudging towards his dark obscure dwelling, with the consciousness that the next day, and every succeeding day, will be one of equal fatigue and hardship. It is about the hour of Ave Maria, when the magnificent equipages of the rich make their appearance on the Corso. They stop, perhaps, before a cafe, and the poor man sees by the dazzling light that streams from within, the wealthy leaning back in their luxurious carriages, while richly-liveried servants are bringing them ice, or whatever can add to the enjoyment of the moment. Yet this momentary enjoyment is paid for with more than he can earn by a whole day’s unremitting toil. He and his wife and children have just as keen a taste for the indulgences of life, but he thinks bitterly that there is not the faintest chance of ever obtaining them. A dark cloud comes over his soul; but suddenly there is a gleam of light. The

lottery! He sees the enchanter who watches over the ninety fated numbers. What he could never obtain by honest labour, chance may yet afford him. Blind chance is his only hope, and for the vain dream of one day revelling in luxury he sacrifices his daily bread and that of his family.

"The lottery is a passion with the Italians, and in spite of the comic manner in which it often manifests itself, I could never see without shuddering how deeply their souls were moved by it."

Among the various encouragements afforded by the government to this destructive vice, is the licensing of a publication called the *Smorfia*, a dream book, which informs you what lottery-numbers are signified by the various objects which may occupy your nightly visions. This is no little shabby publication, sold for two or three pence, but a good-looking octavo volume of three hundred pages. The copy brought to the authoress was one of a sixth edition, and bore on its title-page the announcement that it was published by authority, and that all piracies would be prosecuted according to law. One of the chapters began thus:—"By means of this precious book every one may if he pleases obtain great riches, of which I am myself a striking example;"—and proceeded in a similar insane style throughout the book.

"I could not contain my indignation against the Italian government as I read! It is not enough that from their accursed avarice they plunder the subjects whom they call their children, and plunge them into the ruin from which it should be their care to preserve them; not enough that by their rigid censorships they shut out as far as possible every ray of mental illumination, they must bestow privileges forsooth upon books whose only purpose is to promote the more systematic carrying out of this system of plunder, and thicken the darkness of superstition in which the people are enveloped.

"Almost every article of merchandise passing between the Italian States is subjected to duty, as if they were foreign countries. The governments remain separate, when the question is of the welfare of the people, but to do them injury the Italian princes extend to each other the hand of fraternal affection. One cannot in Rome buy a piece of Florentine or Neapolitan silk without paying a heavy tax; but one may read at every corner, 'To-day the Lottery is drawn for Tuscany;' 'This day, until midnight, tickets may be purchased for the Lottery of Lucca;' 'Last Night of the Lottery of Naples!' &c. How the princes of Italy can reconcile these things to their consciences passes, I must own, my comprehension."

That a people thus carefully trained to folly should be the victims of many absurd superstitions will surprise no one. Amongst others, that of the evil eye exists, it appears, amongst all classes, especially of the Neapolitans; and the little hands and horns of coral continually offered for sale, which attract the attention of strangers, are intended as talismans to ward off its effects. The men wear them attached to their watch chains, the ladies to their brooches; the common people to ear-rings, or attached to a string round the neck. The people who have the reputation of this unlucky *Malocchio*, are called *Gettatori*, and are believed to have usually a peculiar physiognomy; and persons with thin strongly-marked features, curved noses, and piercing eyes, are very suspicious, and by no means to be encountered without proper precautions.

Should our readers meet any such one, it will be prudent to place the third and fourth fingers and the thumb in the palm of the hand, and present the first and little finger in the figure of a pair of horns, in the direction of the danger. In the fashionable world of Naples a certain Duke V—o, though by no means answering in appearance to the above description, has, it is asserted, on the authority of no less a person than Mrs. Grundy, the not very desirable peculiarity of these “witching glances.” He is known and esteemed for many excellent qualities, admired for his talents, having written several dramas of high pretension, but he is a *Gettatore*, and people dare not speak with him without placing themselves in the above mentioned posture of defence.

“A clever foreign lady in whose company I happened to meet a member of the duke’s family (for the evil eye is a distinction hereditary in certain families), immediately when addressed by him made, I noticed, the above sign. I laughed at her for it, and asked ‘if she were not ashamed to give way to such a superstition?’

“‘Well, it is foolish,’ she answered, ‘but really things happen so strangely! This family brings misfortune wherever it comes; and in spite of the amiability of some of the members of it, there is a certain something about them that makes one shudder. There are so many instances.’

“‘Tell me some of them, pray,’ said I.

“‘Well then,’ she replied, ‘only last year, when the Russian court was in Naples, and there was going to be a grand fête in their honour at the Prince of K—’s, he had sent for new furniture from Paris, and the finest piece of all was a splendid chandelier. It happened that the prince himself was standing to see it put up, when the Duke of V—o was announced. The Prince ordered that he should be shown into his private cabinet, but before the message could be delivered the duke entered, exclaiming, ‘what a magnificent chandelier!’ He had no sooner spoken than the hook in the ceiling gave way, and down came the fine chandelier, smash, upon the marble floor, and was shivered into a thousand pieces.’

“‘Well, what then?’ said I, ‘it was an accident.’

“‘Ah! but these accidents are always happening. One day the duke met in the street Count N—, and inquired after his son. “Oh!” was the reply, “he’s well as he always is.” No sooner, however, had the count reached home, than he found that this son had been taken ill, and was in bed. He had been seized with a sudden sickness, had fallen to the ground, and in so doing had broken his watch; the watch was sent for and indicated the precise hour and minute when his health had been enquired after by the *Gettatore*.’”

The fact of ordering the watch into court to give evidence, may be thought to denote something like a foregone conclusion on the part of the worthy count; but one need not be too exact on such occasions, and if our readers won’t believe that story here is another.

The beautiful sister of the duke is, it seems, as undesirable an acquaintance as her brother. One day she went to pay a visit to her niece, who was awaiting the birth of her first child. The lady was “as well as could be expected,” and all was going on as delightfully as possible; but no sooner did the Marchesa C—a make her appearance, than a sudden change took place in the position of affairs, and the hopes of a noble family were smashed, as completely as the above-mentioned chandelier. We recommend these very remarkable facts

to the attention of the voracious (not veracious) believers in Mesmerism, and the disciples of the illustrious Poughkeepsie Seer, of whom we have lately heard. In sober sadness, however, these and kindred traits in the character of rulers and people, must, necessarily, "give us pause," ere we indulge in too sanguine anticipations of the future prospects of Italy, or of the speedy realization of the bright hopes which are now in their first bloom. A long and, perhaps, painful probation must lie, we fear, before her; many poisonous influences must remain; the seeds of evil thus carefully sown will yet bring forth bitter fruits, ere that rich soil will prove as fertile in blessings, as we trust it is destined one day to become.

But to part from this pleasant book, with a more pleasant subject than these unavoidable misgivings, we turn back a few pages for the gay picture of a Mid-summer Night's Dream, in one of the loveliest spots of earth.

"Naples is the most animated, most splendid city of Italy: and shines the more brightly when compared with the solemn and dreamy Rome. We had been detained long at the custom house, and might had spread her wings over the earth as we drove along the quay to our hotel, the Villa di Roma, which is situated on the sea shore. Vesuvius was hidden from us, for no flame gave sign of its internal life; but along the sides of the harbour countless little lamps glittered in the booths, and gas lights flamed in the shops, and were reflected in their numerous looking-glasses, whilst high above the dark forest of masts, the revolving light of the lighthouse shone, now brighter, now fainter in the dark sky. Naples should be seen in the evening, by any one who wishes for a vivid idea of the people's life in the south. The whole population of the city seemed to have forsaken their houses, and the windows were everywhere wide open. All along the quay, cooking and roasting were going on; the booths of the dealers in provisions and lemonade were gaily lit and decorated, and men, naked to the waist, with white linen trousers, and large flat baskets on their heads, were crying various dainties. At about every twenty paces stood the tables where water-melons were sold, displaying whole fruit in its bright green covering, others cut through to show the glowing colour within, and some cut into little pieces for the lowest order of customers, who stood in troops around refreshing themselves with the wholesome juicy fruit; near them were men roasting the yellow cobs of the maize, also a favourite and agreeable article of diet; and by the sea shore were chairs occupied by amateurs of oysters, for whom the sellers were opening the *Frutti de Mare*, as they call them, and serving large bottles of the Neapolitan wine, which stood on the table along with heaps of green lemons; guitar players were pushing in as near as possible to obtain the reward of their exertions, and these again were elbow'd aside by the criers of *aqua gelata*, who appeared everywhere welcomed. Sometimes the lower class of people improve the ice-water by the introduction of a few drops of aniseed, but often they will merely take a lump of ice in their mouths, and even the babies will suck it eagerly. At almost every corner are tubs supporting a sort of stage, on which rope-dancers and conjurers are exhibiting their feats; here a juggler is plunging a knife into his throat—there Pulcinello is teasing a poor fisherman—further on, a pretty little girl is displaying her skill upon the rope, and others performing a little comedy; and all have a numerous audience. Fathers and mothers lift up the smallest of their children in their arms, great boys, nearly naked, force their way through the crowd with their vigorous arms, till

they reach the front row, soldiers, jesting with their fair ones, cast but half an eye to what is going on, and whichever way you look, you are sure to see monks—fat, jolly, sensual-looking fellows, laughing, chatting, and applauding like all the rest.

“Through the very midst of the throng drive numerous *Dioshikies* and *Calescini* towards the terminus of the railway, for the last tram from Castellamare is expected at ten o'clock. The *Calescini* are miniature types of the city of Naples, for they contain, on a narrow seat drawn by one gaily adorned horse, specimens of almost every class of the lower population—soldiers, monks, sailors, fishermen, women, and children—ten persons or more contrive to find room upon it, standing, sitting, or lying in the net attached to it, or perched upon the shaft as if the merry creatures had been rained down upon it. These *Calescini* dash along at a wild pace through the crowd, and past the wood-market, where the brown Neapolitan women are sitting in white chemises and coloured petticoats, with little babies asleep in baskets at their feet which the wheels of the vehicle graze as they pass. One trembles for the poor little creatures; and when they escape this danger one cannot help fearing that the vapours from the sea may injure them as they lie there naked and glowing with heat. But no harm seems to come to them, and the mothers laugh and talk all the time, appearing quite unconcerned.

“After passing the *Laigo del Palazzo*, or Castle Square, the scene changes; you leave the region of popular life and enter that of the Court. It is nine o'clock, military music is resounding beneath the windows of the castle, and this space also is filled with people. Countless carriages are driving slowly through them towards the Toledo, the fine long street which runs from the palace to the *Capo de Monte*; or they are standing before the doors of the confectioners where ice is sold, and beautiful and magnificent articles of luxury of all kinds are displayed through the great plate-glass windows of the shops. On the pavement stand tables, where ornamental goods of glass or papier maché are offered for sale, and men and women of the lower order stand around, intermingled with wandering dandies who are occasionally carrying on a little flirtation. Suddenly, perhaps, a bright light bursts out, flags wave above your head, and right and left streams forth the many-coloured radiance of an illumination. It is the festival of *some sant* whose church is situated in this quarter of the city; and bands of music perform opera melodies in his honour, while the rejoicing shouts of the people are sent up high into the heavens.

“But what a sight presents itself as your carriage slowly returns along the Toledo towards the sea. What red glow is that which we see in the distance where *Vesuvius* rises like the ruler of Naples? It is deep night; the sea is hidden from our eyes, but its hollow murmurs reach the ear; a few of the masts of ships are visible in the foreground, and the massive outline of the volcano is now faintly discernible; a fire, whose intense crimson has never been seen in a fire made by human hand, rises and sinks slowly in the crater, and then a stream of flaming red flows down the mountain, or a tongue of fire shoots high up into the air, and scatters far around showers of sparks and red-hot stones.

“The stranger gazes with a feeling of horror towards the spot where these destructive powers are ever busily at work; the ground beneath him seems undermined as this flaming sign-bears witness to their invisible might; you feel inclined to run somewhere, or sink down in prayer; but the people of Naples scarcely cast a glance towards this marvel of Nature; and even in *St. Lucia*, which is exactly opposite to the mountain, nobody concerns himself about it. In this quarter the fish and oyster dealers are peculiarly at home; and here are the magazines for shells, where the product of the sea and the mountains—corals, conchylia, and lava, elegantly wrought—are sold; and on the broad

flag-stones with which it is paved, buying and selling and feasting are going on. Amidst all the busy hum of life the Castle of St. Elmo rises silent and solemn; and at this hour even the convicts, who in their yellow dress are seen at work on the walls during the day, are confined within their cells. Imprisonment and solitude must seem doubly melancholy to those who know that beneath these still and gloomy walls the sounds of mirth and revelry are heard, and the luxuriant beauty of Nature is summoning all her children to enjoyment.

"Below, on the shore, at the foot of the rock on which the Castle of St. Elmo stands, lies the Castel del Ovo, built on the ruins of the villa of Lucullus. Along the road of Chiatamoni we followed the strand to the Villa Reale, whose dark, umbrageous alleys invited us to enter them. From amidst the deep green foliage there peeped out from time to time the most beautiful casts of celebrated antique statues;—the Medicean Venus, the Flora, the Apollo of Belvidere, the Antinous, and others which we see in museums, but which here stand about in the open air, and familiarise the lowest of the fortunate people of the South with lovely forms. There were gas lights beneath the trees, besides the light of the moon, and the crimson glow of Vesuvius, and the sounds of military music mingled with the soft murmuring of the sea.

"The gardens of the villa are only open to foot passengers, and a railing serves to protect them from the throng of carriages and horsemen on the Riviera di Chiaja, which is a line of palaces, on all sides were balconies, and open windows, and lights, and ladies in splendid dresses; whichever way the eye turned, laughter and pomp and play, and below, overhung with trees, the blessed blue sea, and perhaps many a pair gazing out upon it, and seeking in the infinitude a symbol for the full tide of love that was swelling within their hearts. Such is Naples!"

Or such at least is one of its aspects. There are others as painful and revolting as this is bright and full of enjoyment. Amongst others we may mention that of the burial-grounds, where the dead, who for a few hours have been exhibited in all the finery that could be mustered—the bodies of men in dress coats and waistcoats and lemon-coloured kid gloves, those of women with wreaths of flowers, &c.—are stripped and cast coffinless into a pit, one being opened for every day in the year, and into these hideous receptacles the departed are hurried, almost before there is time to ascertain whether they really belong to that number.

3.—*Von einem Deutschen Soldaten.* (By a German Soldier). Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1847. London: Williams and Norgate.

As the author of the volume before seems to have been unable even to find a name for his production, but has sent it into the world with such a miserable fragment of an appellation as the above, it can hardly appear surprising if we confess we find some difficulty in determining to what class it belongs. He might have called it a Lament for the Long Peace; or, a Humble Supplication for "Battle, Murder, and Sudden Death;" but here and there a notion seems to have hovered before his mind of making it a sort of Whole Duty of Man—Military; a sermon on the text of "Thou shalt have none other Gods than" thy—Commanding Officer.

"It may be a fine thing," he says, "to strive in the cause of humanity, to be the champion of the oppressed, of freedom and of faith, but to the true soldier the will of his sovereign makes the holiest cause; he troubles himself little with the occasion of the war; whether it be just or unjust is no matter for his consideration: he is first a soldier, and then a patriot, son, or brother?"

It will be a hard case if such sentiments as these do not find favour somewhere, though they are best adapted, perhaps, to the latitude of St. Petersburg. Among ourselves, even those who may secretly be inclined to the same way of thinking may be apt to be a little disconcerted by such very plain speaking. It was, indeed, once said, that

"—bring a Briton frae his hill,
Say, such is royal George's will,
An' there's the foe,
He has nae thought but how to kill
Twa at a blow."

But loyalty of this temperature is, we imagine, not very rife now, even in the army; if so, we might be apt to come to the conclusion that the army itself was a worse evil than any it could protect us from.

That war should be the object of fervent aspiration to the class to which the writer belongs is perfectly natural, for no man of honour likes to feel that his existence is merely useless and burdensome; it is our own fault if we sedulously, and at the cost of immense sacrifices, train up large bodies of men to have feelings and interests inconsistent with the welfare of the rest of the community. In Germany also such a wish is more excusable than anywhere else, for it is hard to conceive an existence more stupid and wearisome than that of military men during peace in countries where there is no more animating duty to be performed than such as are fulfilled by our policemen.

Our German soldier may be of good cheer, however, there is now but too good reason to fear that he will not long have to "rust unused." It may be that in the week or two that must elapse before these lines meet the reader's eye, it will no longer be matter of speculation. We have entered a new epoch. The changes that usually occupy years have been compressed into a few days; and there is much in the following passage, which though very truly descriptive of the state of affairs when it was written, has now a curiously obsolete and old-world aspect. We seem to have been suddenly, as by a hurricane, whirled to an immeasurable distance from the position which we occupied so quietly a few months ago. Our neighbours appear to have realised for us the Irishman's threat, of knocking his adversary into the middle of next week.

"War is the object of the young soldier's constant longing—and every soldier is young; be his chin beardless as that of the warrior-maid of Orleans, or grey as the hundred-years-old Otto of Hasslau, when he carried the Austrian banner on the Marchfeld against the Lion Ottokar of Bohemia.

"War! War! is the perpetual prayer of us Capuchins of the barracks, forwarded to heaven with the sound of drums and trumpets from every parade.

If a ministry totters in France or England; if a young Italian burns a pan of unlawful charcoal in the Abruzzi; if in Poland (that inoculated *Plica Polonica* of the Three Powers), a patriot happens to thrash a policeman; or, if the nail of a Turkish ship sticks to the northern magnet; we pop up our heads hopefully, like frogs out of a pond, and croak out, 'What's the matter?' 'Are we wanted?' 'Did anybody call us?' But there stand ministers and diplomatists on the shore, and pelt us back again into our mud, and whisper, 'For heaven's sake be quiet, ye wide-mouthed screamers! Croak softly, ye useless consumers, ye drones without any sting, ye lazy superfluous parade-loungers.' The ears of the five money potentates stretch all the way from London to Paris, and Frankfort, and Rome, and Vienna; they want no war; they have magnanimously formed an association against the spilling of blood; they can't endure your barbarous huzzas; and it is their pleasure that you should eat your victuals and hold your tongues, and that the old maids called armies should die out peaceably in their martial convents, the barracks.'"

But the German soldier warns these "financial tyrants and despots of the Exchange" that a time may come when their paper may be less in request than paper that will make cartridges, and when an enemy will be upon them before they know where they are; at which time they have his free leave to throw stones behind them, and see whether, like those cast by Deucalion, they will rise up again as armed men. He goes, however, a little too far for his cause when, in his fervour, he lets us into the secret of who the enemy is against whom his services are likely to be required.

"We need now-a-days dread no Turks or Mongols, but a ruler may require an army,—a moveable, ready, active, devoted army; it is well to be prepared for what the future may bring forth, and it would be a convenient thing to have the command of three hundred thousand men, accustomed to ask no question but, 'Sire, where is it your pleasure that we should die?'" *

No doubt it would be convenient, but for whom? A pistol is a convenient thing, if we can manage to keep hold of it. If it chances to be turned in the wrong direction, not so convenient.

Our readers, perhaps, may be inclined to take this for mere *badinage* on the part of our soldier, but he is quite in earnest, as the following passage on the next page will testify.

"As with the sultry oppression of an approaching storm, as with a mountain weight, the past thirty years of rest press upon us. We are sleeping upon a volcano. We dream of a hot and bitter strife; we start up, and look east and west, but from no distant quarter comes the foe; it threatens us in the demoralisation of the people, in their destitution of body and soul, in the national intoxication of many countries, in the presumption and the evil designs of your liberty and equality men, urging on a hungry rabble. And the noble has now no castle, the citizen no walls behind which he might secure himself. Suddenly, in the dead of night, like famishing wolves, they will climb up the terraces of your English county houses, or break into the bakers' and butchers' shops of your defenceless towns;—and how will matters stand with you then? Worse perhaps than they did when the triumphant Turk was roaming about the suburbs of Vienna, cutting off the heads of the worthy citizens, and dragging away their wives and daughters for pastime to his camp. Six thousand women and girls were carried off from Vienna and its environs alone, and many among

them were of noble rank, and though it is true that they did afterwards send word that they were very comfortable with the Turks, and that there need be no hurry about their ransom, it is not certain that your ladies would be equally content with the company of the *sans culottes*, nor might you feel perfectly satisfied if they should be even punctually returned the next morning."

For the social maladies to which he has alluded, the German soldier frankly confesses he knows no other remedy than cold steel, and he cannot therefore be blamed for his readiness to apply it. For himself he desires war, he assures us not for the sake of mere worldly interest, "as the corn-usurer desires scarcity, or the gravedigger the cholera;" but for the sake of exercise, or perhaps for what our esteemed friend 'Punch' calls "stunning enjoyment," as well as for the opportunity it affords for that most expensive branch of horticulture, the cultivation of laurels. But there is often a soul of goodness in things evil, and it cannot be denied that manifold and enormous as are the mischiefs, horrors, and abominations of war, the discipline by which men are trained to it runs parallel in many parts to that which should lead them to the highest virtue, of which the first lessons are self-denial, contempt of pain and death, and implicit obedience to the voice of duty. This is the wondrous spell that continually enables those whose trade is war to overcome all the evil influences of such an occupation, and even, not unfrequently, to bring a character of the noblest, purest humanity, unscathed from the midst of the fires of hell that are kindled on the battle-field.

In such cases, however, the character must originally have been higher toned than that of the author of the volume before us, who makes, as we have seen, no pretension to any nobler virtue than the professional one of blind obedience to the will of a superior. Yet even this obedience is, as he truly says, no easy virtue.

"It demands the renunciation of our own interest, of our personal ambition, for the good of the service; the instant control of the passions at the very moment of suffering injustice; the readiness to give our best exertions where no reward will follow, or even (which continually happens in war) when the distinction we have deserved falls upon another. . . . Blind obedience is for us a law of inexorable severity, which requires us to give blood and life unconditionally, and leave the estimate of our merits to those who are placed in authority over us. . . . It is a difficult art, and must be learned and practised in early youth; but it is the only school in which we can study the science of command, and the crown would be wanting to the union of all military virtues and talents if the soldier did not know how both to command and to obey."

In the following remarks, too, we find a lesson that may be studied with advantage in many situations, and which is susceptible of very various application.

"Should the soldier's services remain unacknowledged, should even his reasonable hopes of promotion be disappointed, he is exhorted to seek his consolation in the proud consciousness of duty fulfilled, of unsullied honour, and to shun the unworthy race for distinctions which, in Germany at least, are as often the reward of servility at court as of service in the field; and the very struggle for which is almost always fatal to manly energy of character.

"Console thyself with the thought of Columbus, who presented to his

sovereign half a world; and carried with him to the grave no other memorial than the fetters which envy and ingratitude had laid upon him; with the thought of Ariste, who declared that there could be no other reward for virtue than honour; of Thomas à Kempis, who pronounced that it was the highest grace of God to obtain nothing in this life. . . Fortune is a volatile worthless jade, to-day mine, to-morrow thine; if she smiles upon you, it is well; if she turns her back, be too proud to run after her. Stifle all ambitious desires with the consciousness of having passed your life as a man of honour, done your duty, and deserved a brighter destiny. Never forget that your oath as a soldier gives your country a claim upon you, not only for your life, but for fortitude and equanimity in all its relations. Envy, jealousy, and a too eager desire of advancement, have little place in the mind of a true soldier; he learns to present a calm front to shattered hopes, and to look with a tranquil indifference not only on riches, but even on outward honours; he has not served for that, but for a kind of honour that raises him above these considerations."

These are maxims which need not be confined to the camp. In some way they come home to all who have to fight the battle of life.

In the chapter on honesty (*Rechtlichkeit*), the German soldier is compelled to admit that "thou shalt not steal" is a commandment that will probably always have to be received by a soldier with a certain mental reservation; but he takes up the line of defence not uncommon in such cases, of showing, that if modern armies are not without reproach on this point, those of former days were a great deal worse.

"The privilege of plunder was regarded as nothing more than the natural and proper compensation of a soldier for all his toils and hardships, and was expressed by the indulgent phrase of 'measuring with the long ell,' and even defended by military writers. 'You may take everything,' said Christian of Brunswick, to his men, 'except red-hot pokers and mill-stones. Let them lie.'"

He reminds us of the storming of Rome by Charles of Bourbon, in 1527, when the plundering lasted five days, and was accompanied by all the horrors of the most brutal licentiousness, and the most diabolical delight in destruction. In these things the Spaniards and Italians played the chief part, but the German knights returned home laden with booty; and though one of them did boast that his great prize was a bit of the rope with which Judas Iscariot had hanged himself, the circumstance of his leaving a million of florins behind him makes it probable that he had pocketed some articles of greater exchangeable value.

Robbing merchants on the road was, as it is well known, considered, down to the middle of the sixteenth century, as a mode of adding to an income perfectly consistent with military honour; and the regulations made in the next age with a view to check the habits of inordinate robbery, our German soldier admits to have been adopted more from views of expediency than of morality. It was found that many a battle which had been only half-gained, was afterwards lost by the eagerness of the troops to disperse in search of plunder; and it was therefore determined that the signal for the plundering to begin should be given with drum and trumpet, and that the operation should be carried on with a certain amount of order and regularity, by which,

nevertheless, we may observe, the soldier was confirmed in belief that it was one of the established privileges of his profession.

But even in the time of the thirty years' war, when the soldier's sword was his sickle, and booty the harvest which it gathered in; when whole armies were maintained for years together by plunder, we can hardly find more atrocious examples of extortion than those of the French marshals during the wars of Napoleon. Some few, indeed, formed honourable exceptions to this rule—among others, General Serrurier, who, from his disinterestedness, incorruptibility, and purity of manners, received the name of "the Italian Virgin"—but others carried robbery to a point of really classic perfection. It is astonishing what mastership these leeches attained to in the art of sucking out the substance of all the countries they occupied, and how, when nothing valuable was to be had, they would lay their hands on whatever there was. Wood and salt—clothes and linen—sugar, coffee, and chocolate—nothing came amiss to them. In Gross and Barth's History of the War of 1812 and 1813, there is a circumstantial account of the provisions which one of these unbidden guests, Marshal Mortier, afterwards Duke of Treviso, required to be delivered daily for his own table; and he was by no means one of the worst—indeed, he has been, since his death, sometimes cried up as a pattern of military and civic virtue. The following is his bill of fare for August 4th, 1807:—1 lamb; 6 calves' heads; 2 calves' livers; 12 young fowls; 8 ducks; 2 pheasants; 12 pigeons; 84 young woodcocks; 200 crabs; 20 pounds of butter; 200 eggs; 20 pounds of lard; 2 hams; 6 pounds of truffles; *all kinds of vegetables*; 6 pounds of coffee; 1 pound of tea; 12 dishes of fruit; 12 dishes of sweetmeats; 20 bottles of hock; 20 of Bourdeaux; 12 of Vin-de-Grave; 12 of Madeira; 6 of Tokay; 6 of Champagne; 6 bottles of rum; 6 quarts of Rosoglio—besides pine-apples, nutmegs, cinnamon, vanilla, &c., &c.; and even paper and string for the convenience of the cook. Let it be remembered that proportional demands were made by the other officers, generals, colonels and sub-alterns, down to the common soldiers; and that all these things had to be delivered daily and gratuitously, and some idea may be formed of the burden that lay upon the country.

Such, nevertheless, are the blessings which naturally follow in the train of the one for which our soldier daily "swears a prayer or two" when he grows weary of the monotony of his parade.

"I honour the man who clearly knows what he would have," says the anointed sovereign of German literature—and if so, behold here the man whom the king delighteth to honour.

We cannot help suspecting, however, that some of the German States, with their professional defenders, may be likely to find themselves pretty much in the position of worthy Mrs. Pugsley, with her excellent house-dog, who was so sharp that he wouldn't let even one of the family go in or out after dark.

CORRESPONDENCE. .

WE give publicity to the subjoined letters at the particular request of M. Auguste Comte, well known to scientific readers as author of the profound and original work entitled, 'Traité de Philosophie Positive.' In one of the later volumes of that work, M. Comte, under the influence of certain recent circumstances, had introduced some unfavourable criticisms on M. Arago, the eminent astronomer and chief of the observatory at Paris. These reflections M. Comte has since seen much reason to deplore, and he has spontaneously testified his regret in a communication addressed to M. Arago himself, which the latter has received in a spirit of generous and friendly reconciliation. But M. Comte also feels, that since the criticisms have made their appearance in a published work, a mere private reparation addressed to M. Arago himself would not be sufficient for the case: he has already given public expression to his regret in a French journal, and he desires to do the same in an English periodical, in order that it may meet the eyes of English readers of his original work.

The two following letters from him—one, addressed to Mr. Grote, in London, and the other a copy (enclosed in that letter) of his communication to M. Littré at Paris—are intended by M. Comte to contribute to his present view of reparation to M. Arago, and are inserted at his request. On a matter so much connected with personal feeling, we think it right to give them in the original language.

"A. M. George Grote, à Londres.

"MONSIEUR, — Comptant, à tous égards, sur votre sympathie spontanée pour les vrais motifs de la double démarche caractérisée par la lettre dont voici une copie littérale, j'espère que vous voudrez bien m'aider à compléter son efficacité, en lui procurant toute la publicité qui dépendra de vous: mes démêlés avec M. Arago ayant retenti jusqu'en Angleterre, la réparation doit être aussi publique que le fut l'attaque.

"Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de la parfaite considération de

"Votre dévoué Serviteur,

"Paris,

"le Lundi, 28 Février, 1818.

"AUGUSTE COMTE.

"(10, Rue M. le Prince)."

"Mon cher Monsieur Littré,—Pendant ma prédication philosophique, je viens de faire deux importantes déclarations, naturellement connexes, dont je vous prie de compléter l'efficacité, en leur procurant, autant que vous le pourrez, une publicité plus étendue et plus durable que celle d'une simple exposition orale.

“ J’ai, d’abord, proclamé ma ferme résolution de ne jamais accepter aucune position politique proprement dite, même celle qui pourrait m’être conférée par la confiance directe de mes concitoyens : je n’ai point hésité à présenter ce solennel engagement comme né m’étant pas seulement personnel, mais aussi comme commun à tous les philosophes positifs qui veulent désormais vouer sérieusement leur vie au sacerdoce de l’humanité.

“ Ensuite, j’ai loyalement regretté d’avoir attaqué M Arago, auquel je me suis efforcé de rendre sommairement une exacte justice intellectuelle et morale. Le besoin social de ménager toute puissance réelle, surtout l’ascendant moral, plus rare et plus important qu’aucun autre, s’aggrave beaucoup, de nos jours, par le prix exceptionnel qu’acquière les personnes en un tems où il ne peut encore exister de véritables principes. Tel est le motif essentiel d’après lequel j’ai blâmé comme inconsiderée ma critique antérieure, même quand sa justesse serait supposée complète.

“ Vous savez que l’urgence spéciale de la concorde entre tous ceux qui peuvent aujourd’hui concourir réellement au bien public m’a seule inspiré spontanément cette sincère manifestation, afin de ne pas contrarier involontairement le bien immense que peut faire M. Arago dans son éminente position actuelle. Mais, malgré votre rare modestie, mon scrupuleux amour de la vérité m’a forcé d’ajouter que je vous dois l’indication du mode que j’ai adopté : je vous remercie toujours, et de me l’avoir proposé, et de m’avoir jugé capable de le suivre.

“ *Dimanche, soir,*
 “ 27 Février, 1848. (5h.)

“ Tout à vous,
 “ AUGUSTE COMTE.”

THE following letter, addressed to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and dated Feb. 8th, gives a pleasant representation of the tone of popular feeling in Rome ; it is Revolution in its holiday attire.

“ To-day, for the first time in my life, I have assisted at a revolution. I had just returned from a ramble among the ruins of that part of the Campagna on which the name of *Roma Vecchia* has been specially bestowed, when we were informed in a coffee-house into which we had entered, that ‘if we wanted to make ourselves acquainted with the progress of New Rome, we had no time to lose.’ To-day I had been told there was to be a revolution ! The people were to assemble, and to demand from the Pope a secular ministry. Now a revolution in Rome is always, at the same time, an illumination, which we could not think of losing ; so accordingly off we set. The coffee-houses poured forth their guests till they were empty, and every one rushed towards the Corso, for there was to be presented the first scene. The revolution had been announced, I understood, to begin at seven o’clock precisely ; but we traversed the Corso from one end to another, and could find nothing of the kind. At length towards eight o’clock some groups began to assemble opposite the Casino of the German Artists, and the cry of ‘a secular ministry,’ gave note of preparation. Torches began to make their appearance, and though the revolution was, I thought, a very poor one, it had really begun, and I soon found myself with some German friends in the midst of the crowd. Why I was drawn in to take a part in the performance I really cannot tell—first, because the matter was no business of mine—secondly, because I did not approve of the movement if it had been. To what purpose urge Pius continually with fresh importunities, especially with requests that might be trusted to time alone ? But I was now fairly in for it I thought, so on I went with the rest. I was well satisfied when we reached the Venetian palace, to find the procession

turning to the right towards the Tiber. The pope himself therefore was not to be worried; to whom then were we about to pay a visit. It might be a ticklish matter to ask, and it was very possible that thousands who helped to swell the crowd, were no wiser than myself. * As we moved on, the cry was *Lume, Lume!* (light, light); but soon the cry became unnecessary, for almost at one moment the dark street was suddenly illuminated by lamps held from windows, and candles with which the tradespeople hurried to their doors. 'A Secular Ministry'—'*Evviva Pio,*'—'*Pio solo!*'—'Live the Constitution'—'The Independence of Italy,' &c. In general these cries were uttered only by a certain number, but from time to time the whole multitude joined in them in chorus.

"As we passed by a certain great palace, the residence of an Ambassador, a Stentorian voice called out '*Silenzio e disprezzo,*' (silence and contempt); and immediately all torches were lowered, and the crowd rolled on in profound silence. Before the Jesuit college, however, the cries were loud and angry.

"I have already often spoken of the order, tranquillity and courtesy observable in popular commotions in Rome, and on the present occasion the people maintained their character in this respect. Whoever is acquainted with the ground, and knows the narrow crooked streets through which the procession had to pass from the Corso to the Ponte Cesto, will be astonished to hear, that notwithstanding the immense throng of people, there was no pushing, or disagreeable pressure. It was only like a great party taking a walk with smiling faces, and some with cigars in their mouths. Children even were not inconvenienced, or trampled upon; elegantly dressed ladies walked, leaning on the arms of their husbands, or peradventure their cicisbeos—acquaintances and friends called to each other from the windows to the street, and from the street to the windows; if a house obstinately refused to show any lights, there was a little grumbling and hissing, but no throwing of stones; and when sometimes a frightened female face made its appearance at a window, it was greeted with smiles and nods. Occasionally a firework was let off in our honour from a dark corner, and then there was no end of the applause and the 'Bravos;' but where else would such a mob as this, passing at night the houses of many persons excessively obnoxious to them, not have been tempted to indulge in some act of revenge; but in all such cases the Roman people marked their sentiments only by silence!

"The long-drawn procession proceeded to cross the narrow old Roman bridge to Trastevere. Here, at least, thought I, there must be some confusion, some necessity for the interference of the police. No such thing! Not a single policeman showed himself—the authorities had no occasion to stir as much as a little finger. The citizens, in the old houses on the shore, held out torches, that threw their light across the bridge, and the throng at length stopped before the majestic palace of the Prince Corsini, and here first I learned that all the serious business of the day had been got through at a great meeting of the people that had taken place at the Porta del Popolo, while I had been wandering about among the ruins of Roma Vecchia, and that all we were to do was to make a grand demonstration in favour of Rome's new senator, the Prince Corsini, whose carriage now rolled under the portal.

"This grey-haired favorite of the Romans soon made his appearance on the balcony. He is eighty-one years old, but from the vivacity of his movements, and his sonorous voice, he might pass for a man in the prime of life. His speech had something of diplomatic caution, but was delivered with true southern fervour. He warmly thanked the people for this expression of their attachment, but declared he knew no more of the intentions of the sovereign than they did themselves. Those, however, who had confidence in him, would certainly have no less in the Prince whom Rome and Italy had to thank for

all their reforms, and whose name all Europe was uttering with gratitude and astonishment.

"I can't say that I found myself much the wiser for the speech; but I could not help smiling when I looked round and thought of the panic that would have been excited in my native land of Germany by such a gathering. It was a striking scene. This vast palace of the Corsini, beside which most of our royal palaces would look mean and insignificant; the aristocratic pomp of the Prince; the Moor behind him in oriental costume; the pages and lacqueys glittering in gold lace; the secretaries and other attendants attired in black; standing round him on the balcony—all had such a middle-age aspect—the Prince seemed like a feudal lord addressing his vassals. Beside him stood, however, no less a person than *Ciceroachio*, in his Manchester jacket, which contrasted well with the flowing drapery of the Prince's mantle. When his Highness had none speaking, he addressed a few words to the people, adding, 'I'm thinking we shall not have now to trouble our good Prince so often;' at which there was loud applause.

"We returned home, tired enough, through the streets, that were now suffered to remain dark. On turning a corner, however, a window in a third story flew open, and a man in his shirt made his appearance, holding out a lamp, and calling out '*Evviva*,'—somebody—but he did not seem to know who—at all events he brought out a wrong name, and a very odd-sounding one. A mob in such a case with us, would have answered by a roar of laughter, but the Roman mob only corrected him politely, 'You mean Corsini?' 'Yes, yes! Corsini,' getting up his enthusiasm again, '*Evviva Corsini*;' and the people smiled and nodded and passed on."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

- 1.—NOTES ON HERODOTUS, Original and Selected from the Best Commentators. By Dawson Turner, M.A., late Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford; and Head Master of the Royal Institution School, Liverpool. Vincent, Oxford; and H. G. Bohn, London. 1848.

OF all modern writers, no one appears to us to have so thoroughly appreciated the peculiar genius of Herodotus, as Mr. Macauley, in his Essay on the Roman and Greek Historians. What a pity it is that the tale of the recitation at Olympia, on which he dilates so charmingly, should have no foundation in fact! We seek, however, in vain, either in the ingenious Biography of Dahlmann, or in the learned and accurate History of Bishop Thirlwall, for anything like a sketch, such as Mr. Macauley has drawn, of the *character* of the great work that has so often charmed us. That Herodotus is the Froissart of the old world is true, as far as it goes; but it is not enough: to call his work "a history" is to rob him of his well-deserved reputation as a political economist, an ethnographer, a geographer, a zoologist, a botanist, and above all as a philosopher. We might almost add, *mutatis mutandis*, as a sound divine too. A work that presents so wide a field for illustration, in every way, demands more than a mere critical knowledge of the language in which it is written, and we cannot but rejoice that the first attempt to present the student, and we may add, the English reader too, with a commentary at all proportioned and adequate to the work it purports to illustrate, has fallen into the hands of one apparently so fitted to the task as Mr. Dawson Turner. His work (undertaken, we believe, primarily at the suggestion of the late Mr. D. A. Talboys, of Oxford, one of the most learned and enterprising of English printers), presents in a compressed and readable shape the results of the labours of the great German commentators, Baehr, Schweighäuser, Wesseling, Valckenauer and others; as well as those of Gaisford and Rennell; with carefully selected extracts from most of the standard works that bear upon the subject, whether antiquarian or otherwise; such as Heeren's 'Researches,' Hermann's 'Political Antiquities,' Müller's 'Dorians,' that wonder of learning, Prideaux's 'Connection,' Boeckh's 'Political Economy,' Clinton, Professor Long's 'Chronology,' Professor Anthon's 'Contributions to the Classical Dictionary,' Ritter, Gatterer, and Niebuhr. On looking through the volume, which we have done pretty carefully, it would

seem that whatever in the course of the author's reading seemed to him to bear upon the subject, has been appositely introduced or referred to. We would particularly instance the quotations from Arnold's 'History of Rome,' Morier's 'Sketches of Persia,' Lowth's 'Athens,' Wordsworth's 'Greece,' the Travels of Shaw, Pococke, Browne, Muugo Park, Hornemann, Lane, and a host of others. The mythological works of Creuzer, Bochart, Ritter, Jablonski, &c., have been each laid under contribution. In illustrating Egypt, Champollion, Wilkinson and Prichard are quoted in explanation; and here and there, we meet with extracts from Guizot's 'Lectures on Civilization,' the American and English Quarterly Reviews, the Edinburgh, and others. In biblical and historical illustrations, selected from various standard works, such as Warburton, Townsend, and Michaelis, the work is very rich: in philological, we think, less so; but Herodotus is not an author that abounds with the difficulties that present themselves in the text of Thucydides: there are comparatively few obscurities in his work, and these, as for instance i. c. 3, iii. c. 6, v. c. 22, vi. c. 129, vii. c. 132 and 205, ix. c. 55 are thoroughly, and as far as we have seen, accurately explained by Mr. Turner; who, whenever the passage is of more than ordinary difficulty, presents the reader, in addition to his own English translation, with the explanation of the German, Italian and French translators. One thing has particularly struck us in looking through the book—the care the author has taken not to encumber his notes with an unnecessary display or parade of learning—a grievous fault of the present day; witness the ponderous school of German philologists, and, among ourselves, the otherwise admirable editions of the Greek Tragedians by Prile, of Aristophanes by Mitchell, of the Patres Apostolici by Jacobson—as well as the reference (in every case where reference alone is made) to such works as are in the reach of the English student; and, above all, the honourable scruples Mr. Turner plainly feels, not in any instance, however slight, to appropriate to himself, without due acknowledgment, the labour and the learning of others, or even the sources of his own knowledge. Matthiæ's Grammar is the one generally referred to: perhaps we would rather suggest that Jell's were employed for a future edition; it is at least less bulky than either Matthiæ or Buttmann. Smith's 'Biographical Dictionary,' when completed, we should recommend as far preferable even to the last edition of Anthon's *rifacciamento* of Barker's 'Lempriere;' and to some of Ritter's wild theories and Wilford's far-fetched oriental explanations, we object *in toto*. That Egyptian polytheism, if indeed it deserves the name, had its origin in Fetichism; or that the pyramids were fire temples; or that the bloody superstitions of the Scythians are to be traced in Hindoo mythology; we do not in the least believe. But let that pass: it was perhaps necessary at least to allude to the theories of "philosophers run mad"—*rarii suono*, as the pretty Italian proverb says, *degli uomini i capricci; a qui piace la torta, à qui pasticci*—and so let them rest. To descend to minor points, looking at the 36th chapter of the viith Book, the

famous passage in which Herodotus describes the bridges over the Hellespont, we have our doubts, in spite of the authority of Baehr and of Bredow, as to rendering *ἐπικαρσίας* *transverse*, i.e., *at right angles with the stream—queer gegen den strom*; nor do we acquiesce in Rennell's ingenious explanation either. Does not Herodotus rather intend us to understand that *both* bridges were "transverse with respect to the Euxine, and in the direction of the stream with respect to the Hellespont?" Again, with the interpretation of *πρόκροσσαι* in vii. 188, we do not feel perfectly satisfied, though it is hard to say what exactly is intended by the expression; and against Muller's explanation of *λευσσηρα* (quoted in 'Notes,' p. 278), we beg to enter our protest. *En revanche*, the translations Mr. Turner has given vii. 53, 158 and 169, in iv. 7, of the Scythian watch; in iii. 18, of the table of the sun; and in viii. 119, of the self-devotion of the Persians, are extremely good. Here and there, it strikes us, he is rather *too* much given to refining on his author's meaning, and to extracting a sense almost so to say beyond, though not perhaps altogether contrary to, what is intended. For an instance of this, see v. ch. 8, ('Notes,' p. 258,) where Herodotus, saying that "prizes are given *on the principle of single combat*," does not intend to convey the idea there propounded, of a *succession of trials of strength, by which the competitors are finally reduced to two only, who at last contend for the highest prize*; but simply that "the games are played and the rewards given on the duel principle; two competitors, and *only* two, standing up at the same time to contend in the several exercises of the Pentathlon," instead of starting, for instance, all at once in the foot-race, or chariot-race. The same charge of hypercriticism may also be brought against the explanations in v. 13, ('Notes,' p. 259,) and vii. 53 ('Notes,' p. 345). Grote's 'History of Greece' we conceive had not appeared till after the greater part of Mr. Turner's work was written, perhaps even printed. Whenever a second edition is called for, we hope to see the character of Herodotus in Grote, vol. i. p. 526, added to the otherwise well-chosen Introduction at the beginning of the volume. Another brief extract or two, additional, from the article there quoted from 'Blackwood's Magazine,' (particularly the section on "the non-planetary earth of Herodotus,") would not have been amiss. A good Index to the matter contained in the 'Notes' would very much have enhanced their value; and *one* map at least should be given of the world according to Herodotus, something on the plan of that in Neibuh's 'Geography.'

With these remarks we take our leave; believing the volume before us to be well calculated to supply a need long felt among the upper forms of our large schools and at the Universities, and to fulfil the object it proposes; and characterising it as the work, not so much of a profound scholar or an original thinker, as of a well-read and sound and practical teacher.

- 2.—THE MIDDLE KINGDOM; A SURVEY OF THE GEOGRAPHY, GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, SOCIAL LIFE, ARTS, RELIGION, &c., OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE AND ITS INHABITANTS. With a new Map of the Empire, and Illustrations, principally engraved by I. W. Orr. By S. Wells Williams. In Two Volumes. New York and London: Wiley and Putnam, 1848.

MR. WILLIAMS, in two portly octavos, whose interest flags not to the end, has achieved for the domestic manners, and religious and political characteristics of the Chinese, what Mr. Lane so successfully accomplished some years ago for the corresponding features of the modern Egyptians. In these days of book-making it is pleasant indeed to have our mind seized upon and irresistibly carried forward by a *real* book, a book made to be read and appreciated as well as to sell.

The author of the volumes before us, an accomplished Chinese scholar, having tested by personal investigation the value and truth of the accounts already current relative to this remarkable nation, in the works of D'Herbelot, Sir John Davis, the Chinese Repository, and similar publications, gives us the results of his own experience, in a methodical and attractive form. A brief summary of the principal matters treated on will give the reader a foretaste of the pleasant variety and orderly arrangement of the work. The Geography of the empire, its vast extent, the course and scenery of its mighty rivers, and boundaries, artificial as well as natural—for its wall of 1250 miles, and canal of not less than half that distance, are conspicuous features even on a map of the world; the statistics of its towns, counties, and colonies; the real and fabulous estimates of its population; its natural history; its legislation and plan of government; its language and literature, of which the analysis and critical examination extend over several chapters; dress, diet, and architecture; the characteristics of social life, and their analogies and contrasts to those of Christian and Mohammedan countries; the state of industrial art, agriculture, and manufactures; progress and present aspect of Chinese science, music, and æsthetics; the history and various religious phases of the nation; missionary influences and successes; its internal and foreign commerce; and, in particular, its intercourse, in peace and war, with the English; all these are discussed in a manner at once skilful and judicious.

The question so long and still unsettled as to the real amount of the population, and the obvious connexion of this subject with the means taken to adapt the number of mouths to the means of subsistence, or the means of subsistence to the almost half-a-myriad of millions which swarm upon the vast expanse of China Proper—by infanticide, emigration, and improved agricultural development,—is carefully analysed; and conclusions are suggested which have a vital interest at this moment to the statesman and philosopher of Europe and of America. The author inclines to the highest estimate, which gives to China half the population of the globe; and is yet of opinion that with more systematic development of resources, and more extensive facilities of

intercommunication, China would be found to be not over-peopled. Thus he observes, that

'The evil consequences resulting from an overgrown population are experienced in one or another part of the provinces almost every year, and drought, inundations, locusts, mildew, or other natural causes give rise to nearly all the insurrections and disturbances which occur. The inference from such events, as well as from the prevalence of infanticide, the custom of selling the poor into domestic slavery, the existence of swarms of beggars among a generally industrious community, and the bounty paid on the importation of rice, is confirmatory of a superabundant population. There can be no doubt, however, that without adding a single acre to the acre of arable land these evils would be materially alleviated if the intercommunication of traders and their goods, between distant parts of the country, were more frequent and safe; but this is not likely to be the case until both rulers and ruled make greater advances in just government, obedience, and regard for each other's welfare.'—Vol. I. p. 224.

Indeed it is matter of frequent observation that as respects the kingdoms of Europe, the ratio of population to the square mile, even of arable and productive land is the most uncertain criterion of the question of virtual or absolute over or under population. Lucca has 400 souls on a square mile over the whole; Belgium 320, Ireland 300, Lombardy 260, England 250, France 220, Holland 210, Prussia 130, Scotland 90, and Spain 70, for, in truth, the list of these is, socially speaking, the most underpeopled in relation to the natural capability and real territory, the most overpeopled in proportion to the artificially *available* land, that is *not available according to nature*, but available according to the arrangements of man himself. For in Spain, as formerly in Sardinia, one man owns a whole province, and neither cultivates nor allows it to be cultivated. Some valuable speculations on these points are suggested by the Chinese population question, in connection with the capabilities and prospects of the British Empire, to which we can only refer the inquisitive reader. The following extracts, however, we must find room for

"In England and Wales there are nearly 29 millions of acres under cultivation, 17 millions of which are pasture lands, and only ten millions devoted to grain and vegetables; the other two millions consist of fallow ground, hop-beds, &c. There are then on the average, about two acres of land for the support of each individual, or rather less than this, if the land required for the food of horses be subtracted. It has been calculated that eight men can be fed on the same amount of land one horse requires, and that four acres of pasture land will furnish no more food for man than one of ploughed land. The introduction of railroads has superseded the use of horses for transportation to such an extent, that it is estimated there are only 200,000 horses now in England, instead of a million in 1830. If, therefore, one-half the land appropriated to pasture should be devoted to grain, and no more horses and dogs raised than a million of acres could support, England and Wales could easily maintain a population of more than 400 to a square mile, supposing them to be willing to live on what the land can furnish.

"The Irish consume a far greater proportion of vegetables than the English, and it is estimated that of their eight millions of people, five principally depend upon the potato and two and a half on oats, leaving only half a million

who regularly use meat. Many of these live a beggarly life upon half an acre, and even less, and seldom taste meat or animal food; but the average of the whole country, including tillage only, is a little over two persons to an acre. In France the average of cultivated land is 1 3-4th acres, in Holland 1 1-5th acres to each person.

"If the same proportion between the arable and uncultivated land exists in China as in England, namely one-fourth, there are about 650 millions of acres under cultivation in China; and we are not left to conjecture in this case, for, by a report made to Kienlung in 1745, it appears that the area of the land under cultivation was 595,598,221 acres: a subsequent calculation places it at 610,579,381 acres, which is almost the same proportion as in England.

"Estimating it at 650 millions, for it has since increased rather than diminished, it gives one acre and four-fifths to every person, which is by no means a small supply for the Chinese, considering that there are no pastures or meadows for horses, sheep, or oxen in the country."—Vol. i. p. 218.

We had marked for digest or commentary several passages relating to that most interesting topic, the religious spirit and religious forms of China, embracing the character and objects of the State Religion—the Tao or Rationalist Sect; Budhism; and the really universal Chinese Religion, the Ancestral Worship; but our limited space forbids. The subjoined observations, however, with the spirit of which we entirely concur, will, we doubt not, help to stimulate the student to the more careful appreciation of this people and nation as a most important section of the family of humanity.

"A general survey of the world and its various races in successive ages, leads one to infer that God has some plan of national character: and that one nation exhibits the development of one trait, while another race gives prominence to another, and subordinates the first. Thus the Egyptian people were eminently a priestly race, a vast body of undertakers; the Greeks developed the imaginative powers, excelling all others in sculpture, poetry and art, the Romans were warlike, the Babylonians and Persians magnificent, like the head of gold in the vision, the Arabs pederacious, volatile, and imaginative; the Turks stolid, bigoted and impassible; the Chinese industrious, peaceful, literary, atheistic and conceited. The same religion and constant intercommunication among European nations, assimilates them more than any other races ever were before, but every one knows the national peculiarities of the Spaniards, Italians, French, English, &c, and how they are maintained, notwithstanding the motives to imitation and coalescence. The comparison of national character and civilization, with the view of ascertaining such a plan, is a subject worthy the profound study of any scholar, and one which would offer new views of the human race. The Chinese would be found to have attained, it is believed, a higher position in general security of life and property, and in the arts of domestic life and comfort among the mass, and a greater degree of general literary intelligence than any other Heathen or Mahomedan nation that ever existed— or indeed than many now calling themselves Christians, as Abyssinia. They have however probably done all they can do, reached as high a point as they can without the gospel and its introduction, with its attendant influences, will ere long change their political and social system. The progress of this Revolution among so mighty a mass of human beings, will form one of the most interesting parts of the history of the world during the nineteenth century, and solve the problem whether it be possible to elevate a race without the intermediate steps of disorganization and reconstruction."—Vol. i. p. 41.

3.—THE ANATOMY OF THE NAVIGATION LAWS. By John Lewis Ricardo, Esq., M. P. London : Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate St. Without. 1847.

AN able and searching inquiry into the operation and policy of the maritime code of Great Britain, based upon the evidence given before the Select Committee appointed in the last session of the late parliament. Mr. Ricardo commences with a sketch of the History of the Navigation Laws from the year 1354 down to the present time. In the former year—the date of the most ancient return of the exports, imports, and customs of England, the whole of the exports consisted of “wool, woofels (sheep-skins), hides, cloth, and worsted stuffs,” the total value being £212,338 5s., and the amount of customs paid £81,846 12s. 2d. “The imports were fine cloths, wax, wine, linens, mercery, grocery, and a few other less important articles, the total being £38,383 16s. 10d.” The first Navigation Act was passed in 1381, by which it was enacted “That no subject of the king should ship any merchandise outward or homeward, save in ships of the king’s allegiance, on penalty of forfeiture of vessel and cargo.” On this law Mr. Ricardo observes ;—

“This third chapter of the 5th of Richard II. was the first official announcement of the ever-since cherished delusion, THAT PARLIAMENT COULD MAKE THE NAVY GREAT. Richard II. believed that the protective system could make his little Dutch-built, open-boat fleet, into a great navy. Four hundred and sixty-six years have passed since then, but that wisdom of our ancestors has descended, with all its gatherings, to protectionist statesmen and ship-owners’ associations ; no more than Richard do they know that there is no way to make a great navy but by a great foreign trade. All increase of shipping they attribute to Acts of Parliament ; none to increase of population, and industry, and wealth ; according to them, all good is the result of restriction and protection, and only evil springs from enterprise and competition. Experience has taught them nothing ; the WORD PROTECTION has so mystified and deluded them, that they are martyrs to it, and let it bind them down to inferiority and decay. In vain is it shown unanswerably, that protected trades have never prospered, that in the race they luger far behind, whilst the unprotected make rapid progress. They refuse to acknowledge what is daily before their eyes, that the impulse of competition rouses into action the utmost energy and ingenuity, so that men invent, adapt, cheapen, seek out markets, and spread their trade in all directions.”—p. 8.

The preamble to the 1st of Elizabeth, c. 13, passed in 1558, when the Navigation Laws had been in operation a hundred and seventy-seven years, shows that instead of having increased the navy, as their framers had intended they should, they had only “created bad feelings abroad, turned our own ships out of work, and sorely grieved and endangered the merchants.” The prohibitory acts were accordingly repealed, but replaced by an enactment that imports on foreign bottoms should pay double duties. We cannot follow our author through his evidence drawn from history of the injurious effects of the Navigation Laws upon our commerce ; but must afford room for an amusing extract from Elizabeth’s ‘Constitutions for the Maintenance of the Navy.’

“Kings and Parliaments had for some centuries been nursing the fishermen, and it seems had made them correspondingly unenterprising and indolent, so that foreigners came half seas over, and caught the fish under the very noses of our fishermen; and King Edward’s fasts for the common good of mens’ souls and the fisheries, having like enough fallen into disuse, it was enacted in the Constitutions, ‘*That for the maintenance of shipping, the increase of fishermen and mariners, the repairing of port towns, and the increase of the flesh victual of the realm, it shall not be lawful for any to eat flesh on Wednesdays and Saturdays, under the forfeiture of £3 for each offence;*’ and to distinguish this from the former acts, and prevent all possibility of any misunderstanding, it was added ‘*that none shall presume to say this ordinance is for the good of the soul of man, or other than for the support of the fisheries, and the navigation of the kingdom.*’”—p. 15.

Mr. Ricardo quotes some curious passages from Sir Walter Raleigh’s ‘Observations concerning the Trade and Commerce of England with the Dutch and other Foreign Nations,’ laid before James I., wherein, speaking of the Dutch, he says;—

“Their own commodities would not lade a hundred ships, yet they sent annually to the east countries 3,000 ships. We but 100. To France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, 2,000 ships. We none. To Russia, they sent thirty or forty. We but three or four. We had great abundance of native commodities. They almost none; but they gathered and warehoused the produce and manufactures of all countries, and re-distributed them, and were the greatest carriers and the greatest shipowners in the world. We are told how they arrived at this pre-eminence, *by the privileges they allowed to strangers, by the lowness of their customs, and by the structure or roominess of their shipping, holding much merchandise, through sailing with fewer hands than our ships, thereby carrying their goods much cheaper to and fro from foreign ports than we can, whereby the Dutch gain all the foreign freights, whilst our ships lie still and decay, or else go to Newcastle for coals.*”—p. 18.

This is Sir Walter Raleigh’s comparison of the amount of trade done by the Dutch and English merchant navies after two hundred years of protection to navigation in this country; when the Dutch, by charging the lowest freights, had become the carriers for all Christendom.

Ten years of peace followed the war with the Dutch in 1652, during which they regained the ground they had lost during the hostilities under Cromwell, and in spite of our restrictions, now rendered more arbitrary, they “prospered in their commerce, kept the lead in the carrying trade, and increased their shipping.” Cromwell’s Navigation Act was adopted by Charles II., and christened “The Maritime Charter of England.” This act was subsequently somewhat modified; but, says Mr. Ricardo, “from the time of Charles II. to that of George IV., a period of one hundred and sixty-two years, that same 12th of Charles II., c. 18, was revered as the very perfection of human wisdom, and believed to be the stay of the maritime power, and security of England.” Yet in spite of the destructive war with Holland to which it gave rise, and the consequent heavy taxation imposed upon that country and England, thirty years afterwards the champion of the then Navigation Laws, Sir Joshua Child, declares

that, "the Dutch are gradually beating us in every quarter;" stating in support of his view, that the Dutch, in 1690, had twenty-two sail of great ships in the Russian trade, and the English only one; in the Greenland trade that the Dutch and Hamburgers had between them from four to five hundred ships, the English, in some years one, and in others none at all; and that the Dutch East India trade had increased manifold, the English declined. The secret of this seems to have been that the unprotected Dutch traded cheap, whilst the protected English charged high freights.

The protectionists point to the famed Maritime Charter as the cause which in the end crushed the Dutch and gave to England the empire of the seas: and deduce therefrom an argument in favor of the Navigation Laws. The Dutch themselves attribute their decline "to the increased competition of other nations, springing from the gradual acquisition of industrial knowledge." Upon this Mr. Ricardo has the following remark:—

"We have dwelt thus long upon the Dutch, to prove that their great shipping grew up without Navigation Laws, that they owed their pre-eminence to low freights, and lost it not by our Navigation Laws, but by being forced from their own principle of free and cheap trading."

In the section headed "Some of the Mischiefs that came upon us through our boasted Maritime Charter and subsequent sections," Mr. Ricardo traces the rebellion of America, the increase of foreign shipping, and the decline of our own shipping interest, to the operation of the Navigation Laws. On the other hand he shows, that owing to the partial suspension of the Navigation Laws and abolition of protective duties, ship-owning is more profitable than it was ever before known to have been. The importation of live animals and provisions, butter and cheese, grain and flour, coffee, cotton, has increased in a wonderful degree, the tonnage now employed in the India trade has increased tenfold, and the increase in tonnage in the import and export trade "from 1814 to 1846 was 6,125,948 tons of British, and 2,525,210 tons of foreign, the total being 8,615,158 tons;" this increase augmenting gradually according as protection has been withdrawn. We give the concluding section of the history, entitled "England of the old Navigation Acts, and England now," as a summary.

"The first of the long line of acts came into existence when the population was not yet 2,000,000, colonies not founded, America unknown, upon a trade the whole of which would scarce stock one Wood-street warehouse, and with a fleet that three or four of the Thames steam-tugs could haul away with more ease than Gulliver did the whole navy of a hostile nation of Lilliputians. There might be some excuse for the experiment of such enactments then. Looking at so small a marine, Parliament might with ease fall into the mistake that it could increase the English navy. But how comes it that such acts are sought to be continued, when experience has crowded facts against them? The population of these kingdoms is some thirty millions, our colonies are in every climate, and of every people. In America, twenty nations spring from our own race speak our own language. In India, our fellow subjects number more than 150 millions. Our machinery, a miracle of inven-

tion and of power, does the work of countless multitudes, and makes us rich with the produce of its labour. Our exports and imports are more than £1,30,000,000 worth annually, our own registered ships exceed 21,000, our colonies have 7,000. The tonnage of our imports and exports is 12,000,000. We have more than 900 steam vessels, our speed of transit by land and water has brought all places near, and makes time and life tenfold valuable. We owe all this not to laws made under the name of protection, but to our natural position, to our iron and coal, our persevering industry, our indomitable energy, and spirit of enterprise. We owe it to our Hargreaves, Watts, and Arkwrights, to such inventive genius as has made our productions cheap, brought them within the reach of millions, and so spread them throughout the world. These are the sources of this world-wide trade; it needs no help. *Our* has made its laws; it has forced its own way, conquered its own world, and fulfils its destiny in rousing everywhere the utmost energies of men, and spreading everywhere abundance and peace." p. 62

In the chapters on "The Navigation Law as it is," and "The Anatomy of Competition with Foreign Ships," Mr. Ricardo ably combats the arguments of the protectionist ship-owners, showing that these laws, while "professing to set British shipping above all other interests, have deranged half the trade of the world to accomplish the purpose." In regard to the question of competition, he demonstrates the fallacy of the suppositions that ships can be built at a cheaper rate by foreigners than in England, and that foreign vessels are navigated at less expense than our own; and thus concludes with a summary of the whole question at issue.

"In the year 1660, a compact was entered into between parliament and the shipowners which compact has been modified and confirmed by 114 other acts, all of which are now represented by the 8th and 9th Victoria, cap. 88, and the auxiliary Act, 8th and 9th Victoria, cap. 89

"Parliament, on the one hand, undertakes to give encouragement to the shipowners, by means of a monopoly of the carriage by sea, so far as other nations will permit. The shipowners, on the other hand, undertake to find men for the manning of the royal navy, and to that end to register their seamen, to carry useless apprentices, and to submit to have their crews abstracted from them by desertion or impressment, when and where to the Admiralty it shall seem fit

"However sincerely either party may have intended to carry out the contract, it is quite evident that both have most signally failed.

"The act of parliament does not encourage and increase the mercantile marine.

"The sacrifices of the shipowners do not tend a large, constant, and ready supply of seamen for the Royal Navy

"The Act of Parliament fails -

"Inasmuch as the mercantile marine has flourished least when it is most protected

"Inasmuch as monopoly has produced inferiority,

"Inasmuch as restriction has produced retaliation,

"Because, by restriction on the one part, and retaliation on the other, the field of enterprise is narrowed, the cost of transport is enhanced, and so fewer ships are required altogether

"The shipowners fail

"Inasmuch as by carrying apprentices they displace able seamen, and so drive them to seek employment in foreign navies

“Inasmuch, as by registering the sailors, they advertise to them their purpose; and these objecting altogether to fight for lower wages than they could earn by trading, when they are most wanted are least likely to be found; and,

“Because the seamen of merchant ships are not adapted for the Royal Navy, and are not such as modern naval warfare requires;

“And so the preamble of the Navigation Laws is not proved; and the preamble of the Registration Act is not proved.

“But there are other classes of the community, of whose interests the statutes take no note, to whom the arrangement is a source of unmitigated and admitted injury, who demand the demonstration of the necessity of the sacrifice they are called upon to make.

“The colonists must know why it is indispensable that they should be crippled in the competition which has been forced upon them.

“The merchants require to have satisfactory justification for the contraction of their commerce, and the vexations and impediments to their trade.

“The manufacturers require proof of the urgency of a law which limits their markets, curtails the supply of their raw materials, and forces the capital of their customers from barter, into competition with them.

“The working classes must be told what real ground there is for denying to them the freest possible import of the articles upon which their labour is expended.

“The merchant seaman asks of right, what paramount need there is, that he alone, of all skilled workmen, should be held to be at the disposal of the State, and to have no full property in his own skill.

“Finally, the whole community must be persuaded of the soundness of the policy which enhances to them the cost of every article for consumption or manufacture, which is brought from beyond the sea.

“And as a distinct advantage has not been shown, the colonist, the merchant, the manufacturer, the workman, the merchant-seaman, and every class of consumer, have a just claim upon Parliament for the repeal of the laws through whose agency the injury is inflicted.”—p. 221.

4.—ARTHUR FRANKLAND, OR THE EXPERIENCES OF A TRAGIC POLITICIAN. A Tale. London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street. 1848.

ARTHUR FRANKLAND, the hero of the tale, like many others, mistook his vocation. Believing himself destined to shine as a poet, he spoiled what would probably have attained eminence as a veterinary surgeon. For the latter profession he was educated, and liked it. Of his apprenticeship life he says:—

“A country practice is a most laborious and wearisome pursuit, and I was frequently half-starved, and almost jaded to death, still I liked the excitement and enthusiasm of it; a ride across the fens on a bleak tempestuous night, although I was nearly perishing with the severity of the weather, and my hands were chapped and bleeding from the effects of the cold, seemed to me so much like ‘real life,’—in my mind it partook so strongly of the romantic, that I really would not have exchanged it for the most delicate metropolitan life that could have been offered me.”—p. 172.

This enthusiasm continued, when, at the end of five years spent in the country, he came up to London to attend the Veterinary College for the remaining two years of his apprenticeship. At the appointed

time he applied for his diploma, but failing on some technical point in the examination, it was refused.

"This was a severe disappointment. I had looked forward to this day as the termination of a most unpleasant probation, and all that unwearied perseverance could effect towards ensuring success, I felt satisfied I had unrelaxingly exerted. But I failed; and in the eyes of my father this was a direct manifestation of negligence or incapacity. He was harsh with me, he accused me of selfishness and indifference, and he declared he would be burdened with my maintenance no longer."—p. 186.

After nine months more of study the diploma was gained; but with it came no immediate prospect of turning it to account, and Arthur returned to his father's house, "to await an appointment in the profession."

Here, as he confesses, he remained a burden and an incumbrance upon his parents' hands, "and that pride seemed so miserably misplaced which was too fastidious to labour for its existence, and yet made no scruple to live upon the industry of others:" and yet, though ashamed of such a life, he could not submit to manual labour, as a means of freeing himself from the degradation, because he "felt convinced there were qualities within him which would eventually win their way." In short, in his own words, resolving to be a poet,

"I felt at rest with the conviction that I had genius, but I could not help acknowledging how miserably deficient was that genius in cultivation and training for its duties. I had never studied the art of expressing what I felt. Man had been my only volume, and the subsided tempest of my youthful passions already supplied me with much varied matter for thought. But when I attempted the task of giving utterance to those thoughts, my verbal transcript seemed so feebly to express them, I embodied them in a manner so inadequate to what I felt, that I looked upon it but as the performance of a neglected duty to place myself at the beginning of my science, and learn to fashion my materials before I would arrange them in form.

"But, then, to go through this long course, I must have leisure, and the appliances of study. To engage myself in my former profession would have been to render impossible any progress in literary pursuits; one I must hold to, while I abandon the other; so I determined to tempt fortune by adhering to the profession of my choice, and trust to increased exertions during my present opportunity, for the indemnification of years that were irrecoverably lost."—p. 201.

At this juncture a new phase of existence opened to our hero,—he fell in love. And it happened in this wise.

"One evening I was standing at the window, revolving within myself what means were best adapted to extricate me from my present difficulties, when a young girl chanced to pass by, almost within reach of the precise spot where I was placed. She was a mere child, barely fourteen years of age, and her dress was of the plainest and most humble description. But there was an indescribable something in her that interested me. She raised her eyes to me as she passed, but seeing that my glance met hers, she timidly withdrew them, and hurried quickly on. I strained to look after her, but, concealed by the listless throng of passengers, she was immediately lost to my sight."—p. 219.

The hopes and fears attendant upon the course of his love are well

described in the midst of all, the pride of place and of *communi-ty* would intrude, to paint to the mind of the "highly Arthur" the consequences of his being "more intimately allied to this threadbare respectability!" And at last, after having told his love to the young girl, but resolving 'to put a finish to it which a finish yet was practicable,' he sought the house of her mother in order to enter into a full explanation, and then to renounce her for ever, because he could not afford to love! But alas for resolves! The interview ended in his devoting himself to the young girl with all his ambition and all his genius—

"And now I was inspired—those undefined perceptions of loveliness that had long agitated my soul began to resolve themselves into definiteness and tangibility—I had an object toward which my unsubstantial impressions could harmoniously congregate, and then compass and tendency were growing daily more palpable to my mind—My love entered into and identified herself with every function of my being, earth, heaven, and air were full of her—each tone I heard seemed a presentment of her own silver voice—and every form that floated by me embodied some of her spiritual traits—Like the prophet's rod this feeling ate up all others, and I revolved in an atmosphere of poetry—

"I felt it was a true inspiration—and I commenced the composition of a volume of poetry—p. 204

And all the time this unfinished volume was in preparation—and all these proud triumphs and anticipated glories—at the age of twenty-two, the would-be poet was dependent upon his father for bread—At length the volume was completed—but no publisher would run the risk of ushering it into the world—Advice was asked—among other it was shown to a noble lord—like comment for the soundness of his views and the elegance of his literary attainment—his lordship's letter concluded with the following pithy sentence—

Depend upon it—So that in the *literal* sense of the word much better verses than you or I can write—or have written—are not worth a farthing

The only alternative was to turn veterinarian surgeon—and, accumulating wisdom in youth, communicate it in maturer years—as had been suggested by an author to whom the MS. of the poem had been shown

There was my little sweetheart too—how dispose of her—I had been telling her of the glories that awaited her—how I would remove her from her present abject condition, and educate her at some foreign boarding-house—and prepere her to take station with the haughtiest dukes of the land—And now what a consummation!—I was hurled even further off from my landing place—and I was more powerless and miserable than ever

After taking leave of the young lady—in order to visit foreign shores, and mix with nations unfamiliar and unknown—our hero located himself at—Chatham—as assistant to a veterinary surgeon—where his duties being chiefly those of an errand boy—after six months probation he quarrelled with the master—returned home to London—and commenced a peripatetic essay on the anchoring of the human race

We pass over the meeting with his little sweetheart—nearly thirty—she had told him herself—recounting true—but I forbear

forbade the continuance of his visits; the essay which was to avenge him of all his many wrongs was rejected by the booksellers; and to complete the catalogue of miseries, a severe and lengthened illness spared him the pain of witnessing the fall of his family into comparative poverty. On recovering from this, a loan from an aristocratic acquaintance of his school days enabled him to purchase a business in the country, and, as he himself confesses, attention to its duties enabled him to feel as if "escaping from bondage and chains to revel in the glories of freedom." Here the narrator met with him only just in time to learn the particulars of his career from his own lips, and to see him die.

The lesson intended to be inculcated by this biography of Arthur Frankland is a useful one, but it is occasionally obscured by a manifest attempt at fine writing. Stripped of its verbiage it simply amounts to this—the man was self-placed in a false position, from which his pride did not allow him to rescue himself, as he might easily have done; he consequently had to pay the penalty of his folly; and all such miserable attempts at excuse as the following sound very like blasphemy. On throwing up his appointment at Chatham he says—"All that man could do I had laboriously performed, and if Providence perseveringly persisted in tormenting me, it was a folly to oppose myself to His omnipotent will."

We must, however, do the author the justice to state, that he does not extenuate the failings of his friend, for he freely confesses that he "was not, with all his rich intellectual endowments, and his vast and varied experiences, in this chiefest quality of wisdom [the proper pursuit of happiness] a wise man," for "his life was one successful warfare against fate, at once disastrous and profitless; and when he fell, as in early life he did fall, the only miserable reflection to console him was, that though he sunk destroyed before his opposeless destiny, at least he preserved his mind unconquered to the end." If for *fate* and *opposeless destiny* we substitute *duty*, the character will be complete.

5.—A VOICE FROM THE FAR INTERIOR OF AUSTRALIA. By a Bushman. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., Cornhill. 1847.

THE author's claim to be heard upon matters connected with the colonization of Australia, is legitimately founded upon his experience of a life in the Bush, extending over many years; in the course of which, he says, he "passed through every grade of colonial life;" having "arrived at New South Wales at seventeen years of age, fresh from school, with a hundred pounds in his pocket, a stout constitution, a good seat on horseback, and the best sort of English and French education that a lad up to that age gets, when he prefers hunting, shooting, and fishing to prizes and schoolmasters' praise;" and returned *home* in 1844, when sheep were reduced in price from £2 to 1s. 6d., bullocks, from £5 to 3s., and horses, from £80 to £10

The results of his experience are given in a concise and straightforward style, and his suggestions seem worthy of consideration.

The author attributes the failure of colonization in New South Wales to the paucity of labour, caused by the abolition of the assignment system, and the destruction of the emigrant fund by the price of land being raised to £1 per acre.

"As to raising the price of land," he says, "no one would, and no one will, buy land in New South Wales, where thousands of acres are not worth sixpence a year, at £1 an acre, unless in very choice situations, and for limited portions. In fact, since the change, land-sales have ceased. Before this enhancement of price took place, there was a large fund available for the importation of labourers, after paying a considerable proportion of the police expenses of the colony.

"The hope of obtaining a share of a cargo of emigrants to be landed in Sydney, three hundred miles from his station, would never induce a squatter to give £1 an acre for land not worth five shillings. In fact, the system of demanding £1 an acre for a block of at least 640 acres, has put an end to land-sales and the emigration fund,—has discouraged agriculture in those parts of the colony where a permanent supply of grain was most wanted, and has left no investment open for small capital except stock,—thus encouraging the wandering habits of the people—for who would venture to farm efficiently on an annual bush-grazing license?

"The best thing that our legislators can do for New South Wales is to encourage the tillage of land suitable for the plough, whether in large lots or in small, and to attract labour from those countries where it is a drug, to us where it is at a premium.

"Supposing, then, emigration renewed, the great object should be to distribute the imported labourers in those districts where they are most required, and to make them and keep them happy and civilized when they are in employment.

"Emigrant labourers are worse than useless, unless they have been accustomed to labour for hire. The sweepings of English workhouses and Irish beggars, who have never eaten a good meal or done a day's work in their lives, grow fat and saucy as soon as they exchange their rags and potatoes, or parish uniform and parish allowance, for our fine climate and Bush fare."

A concise code of law, applicable to the relations of master and servant, is much needed in the colony, "where, within the boundaries, labouring men are frequently most grievously oppressed; and, in the Bush, masters are almost entirely at the mercy of their free servants." The author suggests, also, an addition to the number of Bush magistrates, who should be men of colonial experience, and empowered to act as registrars of marriage, which might be solemnised before them "at an hour's notice, without bans or license." This latter suggestion seems particularly applicable to the state of affairs in the Bush, where, for want of some such facility, even if the bushman, whether master or servant, "is so fortunate as to meet with a girl willing to have him, he must make a long journey into the settled districts, and there sojourn three weeks for bans, or go to the expense of a license." And in order to supply the solitary bushmen with wives, the author further suggests that a number of young women should be periodically selected from the emigrants landing at Sydney, and then sent

“under the charge of a clergyman and matron to the districts of the colony where wives are in demand.” In addition to thus furnishing wives, steps should be taken to enable the Bush servant to locate himself in a permanent home of his own, for as the author justly says,—

“At present, shepherds, stockmen, and other hired servants in the Bush endure serious disadvantages which might easily be removed, with infinite benefit both to the colony and the mother country. The bush servant receives high wages, which often accumulate, from want of means of spending them, until they amount to from £50 to £200. This money, if waste lands were sold as they are in the United States, would, in many instances, be expended in the purchase of from five to fifty acres. On this land, a hut might be built, and corn and vegetables grown; a wife would be wanted, and, if possible, obtained, and a wandering vagabond would settle down into the permanent servant of the district. As it is, servants have no means of investment, and no tie to induce them to settle in one place, so they are always spending their wages, and wandering about. Savings banks do not exist. The nearest shop is a grog-shop, and after toiling for months or years, the fruits of praiseworthy industry are dissipated in a drunken debauch.”

“If, since 1832, the plans here sketched had been carried out, the thousands of single men introduced by emigration would have been paired off with a like number of women, and have produced by this time thousands of fine lads, from ten to fifteen years of age, fit for pastoral employments. A lad of fifteen is as good, if not better, than a man, either as shepherd, hut-keeper, or stockman. Permission to purchase small farms would be a great inducement to marriage, and, *vice versa*, marriage would be a great inducement to save money to purchase farms.”

There is no doubt that a great and permanent change for the better would be the result of some such measures as those above proposed—“The moral amendment of Australia lies in hearths and homes, and these must be founded in the wilderness.” Among the bush-dwellers, as at present constituted, there is truly a rich harvest ready for the gathering. The author thus points out another source of future good to the Bush men.

“Our Bush servants have a passion for reading and story-telling, which is a substitute for books in all wild countries. Nothing would be easier than to take advantage of this passion for working out good ends. I had a good many books, voyages and travels, novels &c., and, next to a glass of rum, the loan of a book was the greatest favour I could bestow. Night after night, especially in wet seasons, have I seen them sitting in a circle round a fire, smoking their pipes and basking their dampers in the wood ashes, each man with a pipe and a pot of tea before him, listening with the attentness of children while the ‘best scholar’ read the story. After my books had been read by every one on the river, I exchanged them for a complete set of Scott’s novels. This sort of exchange is common with us. I remember a shepherd who used to travel with a pack of books, that he bartered whenever he could.”

We may conclude our notice with an extract illustrative of the hospitality exercised in the Bush.

“Often and often,” says the author, “when chilled by the frigid cautious civility that meets a stranger at every turn in civilized England, do I recall the warm, the hearty hospitality of these dwellers in woods; how, after a weary day’s journey, they have received me into their huts, spread before me the best

fare they could afford, pressed me to stay as many days as would recruit me and my horse; when I departed insisted on re-filling my tea-bag and tobacco-pouch, if they chanced to be exhausted; and if by so doing, they could put me on a nearer track, they have mounted and ridden ten or fifteen miles on the way with me."

In conclusion we may say that though this book is but a little one, it contains many useful hints and suggestions on colonization, and that it is worthy the attention of all who feel an interest in that important subject.

6.—THE PENTAMERONE, OR THE STORY OF STORIES, FUN FOR THE LITTLE ONES. By Giambattista Basile. Translated from the Neapolitan by John Edward Taylor. With Illustrations by George Cruikshank. London: David Bogue, 86, Fleet Street; J. Cundall, Old Bond Street. 1848.

WE strongly suspect that but few of the *great* ones and *old* ones, having once set eyes upon this book, will feel disposed to let the "*little* ones" enjoy a monopoly of the fun it contains; and both great and small owe their best thanks to Mr. Taylor for so delightful an addition to their stores of light reading. Not that the Pentamerone is to be looked upon as possessing no higher claims to regard than as a book of mere amusement; on the contrary, beneath a sparkling liveliness of language, and a ludicrous combination of southern proverbs with imagery of strikingly oriental character, may be recognised, in the words of Dr. Grimm, "the wonderful and last echoes of very ancient mythes, which have taken root over the whole of Europe, and opened in an unexpected manner passages of research which were considered to be closed up, and given the clue to the relationship of fable in general."

Mr. Taylor quotes the character of these stories as given by Dr. Jacob Grimm, in the preface to Liebrecht's German translation, made almost simultaneously with Mr. Taylor's English version; and although above two centuries have elapsed since Basile wrote his Pentamerone, during which period ten editions of it have appeared in Naples, until the past year, it has "never been translated into any language out of Italy."

Dr. Grimm's observations so accurately describe the character of this work, that we can scarcely do better than quote them here.

"The reader of Basile's stories sees at a glance that the materials and the basis of them all are taken from existing tradition; and nothing proves the imperishable nature of these elements more than the circumstance, that even an extravagance of imagery, unsuited to their simplicity, fails to deprive them of their charm, or injure them in any way. Straparola had previously produced a number of similar tales, taken directly from the people themselves, which are more broad and less animated; but whenever he comes upon the same ground as the Neapolitan, we must give the palm of invention in all cases to Basile. . . . How inexhaustible is the imagery with which in every page day-break and sunset are described! And although these descriptions may often seem

forced and misplaced, they are yet full of ingenuity and strictly in keeping. In the most graceful and varied smiles is expressed the rushing of the stream, the murmuring of the brook, the depth and darkness of the forest shades, and the warbling of the birds; and in the midst of a torrent of Eastern imagery, the quiet and faithful observation of nature takes us by surprise. The language is rich to overflowing in similes, play upon words, proverbs, and rhymes, which our language is for the most part incapable of rendering; and we may notice here a peculiarity in these tales (which they share with all good ones of a similar character), namely, a continued recurrence, in the important and descriptive parts of the narrative, of simple but inimitable rhymes, which give animation to the narrator, and fix the attention of the listener."—*Preface*, vii.

Of the fifty tales contained in the original, Mr. Taylor has given thirty; these are admirably translated, their peculiarities of expression being rendered as closely as the difference between the two languages will allow. The license of style and expression of the original is of course avoided; nothing being retained that can offend the most fastidious English reader; and the inimitable illustrations by George Cruikshank embody the ideas of the text in such a way as no other artist could have rendered them.

Dr. Grimm alludes to the inexhaustible imagery with which day-break and sunset are described; and these descriptions are indeed highly poetical. Take for example the following.—“At the hour when the star of Venus appears, who awakes the Dawn, to strew the road along which the Sun has to pass;” “the next morning before the Sun, like a chief physician, went out to visit the flowers that are sick and languid;” “when the Moon, like a brood-hen, calls together the Stars to pick up the dew-drops;” “just at the time when the Sun, like a student expelled from school, has an hour allowed him to take his departure from the fields of the sky;” “as soon as the Night was come, when the stars in the sky and the glow-worms on the earth were to pass in review;” “as Night had just come forth with her black mask to direct the dance of the stars;” and many others: the allusions to scenery are equally beautiful. As a specimen of the tales we may quote

“VARDIELLO.

“Giannoma of Aprano, was a woman of great sense and judgment, but she had a son named Vardiello, who was the greatest booby and simpleton in the whole county round about. Nevertheless, as a mother’s eyes are bewitched and see what does not exist, she doted upon him so much, that she was for ever caressing and fondling him as if he were the handsomest creature in the world.

“Now Giannoma kept a brood-hen, that was sitting upon a nest of eggs, in which she placed all her hopes, expecting to have a fine brood of chickens, and to make a good profit of them. And having one day to go out on some business, she called her son, and said to him, ‘My pretty son of your mother, listen to what I say; keep your eye upon the hen, and if she should get up to scratch and pick, look sharp and drive her back to the nest; for otherwise the eggs will grow cold, and then we shall have neither eggs nor chickens.

“‘Leave it to me,’ replied Vardiello, ‘you are not speaking to deaf ears.’

“‘One thing more,’ said his mother; ‘look-ye, my blessed son, in yon cupboard is a pot full of certain poisonous things; take care that ugly Sin does

not tempt you to touch them, for they would make you stretch your legs in a trice.'

"'Heaven forbid!' replied Vardiello; 'poison indeed will not tempt me; but you have done wisely to give me the warning; for if I had got at it, I should certainly have eaten it all up.'

"Thereupon the mother went out, but Vardiello staid behind; and, in order to lose no time, he went into the garden to dig holes, which he covered with boughs and earth, to catch the little thieves who come to steal the fruit. And as he was in the midst of his work, he saw the hen come running out of the room; whereupon he began to cry, 'Hish, hish' this way, that way'! But the hen did not stir a foot; and Vardiello, seeing that she had something of the donkey in her, after crying 'Hish, hish,' began to stamp with his feet, and after stamping with his feet, to throw his cap at her, and after the cap a cudgel, which hit her just upon the pate, and made her quickly stretch her legs.

"When Vardiello saw this sad accident, he bethought himself how to remedy the evil, and making a virtue of necessity, in order to prevent the eggs growing cold, he set himself down upon the nest, but in doing so, he gave the eggs an unlucky blow, and quickly made an omelet of them. In despair at what he had done, he was on the point of knocking his head against the wall at last, however, as all grief turns to hunger, feeling his stomach begin to grumble, he resolved to eat up the hen. So he plucked her, and sticking her upon a spit, he made a great fire, and set to work to roast her. And when she was cooked, Vardiello, to do everything in due order, spread a clean cloth upon an old chest, and then taking a flagon, he went down into the cellar to draw some wine. But just as he was in the midst of drawing the wine, he heard a noise, a disturbance, an uproar in the house, which seemed like the clattering of horses' hoofs. Whereat starting up in alarm, and turning his eyes, he saw a big tom-cat, which had run off with the hen, spit and all; and another cat chasing after him, mewing, and crying out for a part.

"Vardiello, in order to set this mishap to rights, darted upon the cat like an unchained lion, and in his haste he left the tap of the bucket running. And after chasing the cat through every hole and corner of the house, he recovered the hen; but the cask had meanwhile all run out, and when Vardiello returned, and saw the wine running about, he let the cask of his soul empty itself through the tap-holes of his eyes. But at last judgment came to his aid, and he hit upon a plan to remedy the mischief, and prevent his mother's finding out what had happened, so taking a sack of flour, filled full to the mouth, he sprinkled it over the wine on the floor.

"But when he, meanwhile, reckoned up on his fingers the disasters he had met with, and thought to himself that, from the number of fooleries he had committed, he must have lost the game in the good graces of Giannonia, he resolved in his heart not to let his mother see him again alive. So thrusting his hand into the jar of pickled walnuts, which his mother had said contained poison, he never stopped eating until he came to the bottom; and when he had right well filled his stomach, he went and hid himself in the oven.

"In the meanwhile his mother returned, and stood knocking for a long time at the door; but at last, seeing that no one came, she gave it a kick; and going in, she called her son at the top of her voice. But as nobody answered, she imagined some mischief must have happened, and with increased lamentation she went on crying louder and louder, 'Vardiello! Vardiello! are you deaf, that you don't hear? have you the cramp, that you don't run? have you the pip, that you don't answer? Where are you, you gallows-

faced rogue? where are you hidden, you naughty fellow? Oh that I had strangled you when I brought you forth!

“Vardiello, on hearing all this hubbub and abuse, cried out at last in a piteous voice, ‘Here I am! here I am in the oven; but you will never see me again, mother.’”

“‘Why so?’ said the poor mother.

“‘Because I am poisoned,’ replied the son.

“‘Alas! alas!’ cried Grannonia, ‘how came you to do that? what cause have you had to commit this homicide? and who has given you the poison?’ They Vardiello told her, one after another, all the pretty things he had done; on which account he wished to die, and not to remain any longer a laughing-stock in the world.

“The poor woman, on hearing all this, was miserable and wretched, and she had enough to do and to say to drive this melancholy whimsey out of Vardiello’s head. And being infatuated and dotingly fond of him, she gave him some nice sweetmeats, and so put the affair of the pickled walnuts out of his head, and convinced him that they were not poison, but good and comforting to the stomach. And having thus pacified him with cheering words, and showered on him a thousand caresses, she drew him out of the oven. Then giving him a fine piece of cloth, she bade him go and sell it, but cautioning him not to do business with folk of too many words.

“‘Tut, tut!’ said Vardiello, ‘let me alone—I know what I’m about, never fear.’ So saying he took the cloth, and went his way through the city of Naples, crying, ‘Cloth, cloth!’ But whenever any one asked him, ‘What cloth have you got?’ he replied, ‘You are no customer for me—you are a man of too many words.’ And when another said to him, ‘How do you sell your cloth?’ he called him a chatterbox, who deafened him with his noise. At length he chanced to espy, in the court-yard of a house which was deserted on account of the Monaciello, a plaster statue; and being tired out and wearied with going about and about, he sat himself down upon the bench. But not seeing any one astir in the house, which looked like a sacked village, he was lost in amazement, and said to the statute, ‘Tell me, comrade, does no one live in this house?’ Vardiello waited awhile; but as the statue gave no answer, he thought this surely was a man of few words. So he said, ‘Friend, will you buy my cloth? I’ll sell it you cheap.’ And seeing that the statue still remained dumb, he exclaimed, ‘I’ant! then I’ve found my man at last! there, take the cloth, examine it, and give me what you will; to-morrow I’ll return for the money.’

“So saying, Vardiello left the cloth on the spot where he was sitting, and the first mother’s son who passed that way found the prize and carried it off.

“When Vardiello returned home without the cloth, and told his mother all that had happened, she well-nigh swooned away, and said to him, ‘When will you put that head-piece of yours in order? See now what tricks you have played me—only think! But I am myself to blame, for being too tender-hearted, instead of having given you a good beating at first; and now I perceive that a pitiful doctor only makes the wound incurable. But you’ll go on with your pranks, until at last we come to a serious falling out, and then there will be a long reckoning, my lad!’

“‘Softly, mother,’ replied Vardiello, ‘matters are not so bad as they seem: do you want more than crown-pieces bran new from the mint? do you think me a fool, and that I don’t know what I am about? To-morrow is not yet here—wait awhile, and you shall see whether I know how to fit a handle to a shovel.’

“The next morning, as soon as the shades of Night, pursued by the countesses of the Sun, had fled the country, Vardiello repaired to the court-yard

when the statue stood, and said, 'Good-day, friend! can you give me those few pence you owe me? come, quick, pay me for the cloth!' But when he saw that the statue remained speechless, he took up a stone, and hurled it at its breast with such force that it burst a vein, which proved, indeed, the cure to his own malady, for some pieces of the statue falling off, he discovered a pot full of golden crown-pieces. Then taking it in both his hands, off he ran home, head over heels, as fast as he could scamper, crying out, 'Mother, mother! see here what a lot of red lupins I've got! how many, how many!'

"His mother, seeing the crown-pieces, and knowing very well that Vardiello would soon make the matter public, told him to stand at the door, until the man with milk and new-made cheese came past, as she wanted to buy a pennyworth of milk. So Vardiello, who was a great glutton, went quickly and seated himself at the door, and his mother showered down from the window above raisins and dried figs for more than half-an-hour. Whereupon Vardiello, picking them up as fast as he could, cried aloud, 'Mother, mother! bring out some baskets, give me some bowls! here, quick with the tubs and buckets! for if it goes on to rain thus we shall be rich in a trice.' And when he had eaten his fill, Vardiello went up to sleep.

"It happened one day that two countrymen—the food and life-blood of the law-courts—fell out, and went to law about a gold crown-piece which they had found on the ground: and Vardiello passing by said, 'What jackasses you are to quarrel about a red lupin like this! for my part I don't value it at a pin's head, for I've found a whole pot-full of them.'

"When the judge heard this he opened wide his eyes and ears, and examined Vardiello closely, asking him how, when, and where he had found the crowns. And Vardiello replied, 'I found them in a palace, inside a dumb man, when it rained raisins and dried figs.' At this the judge stared with amazement; but instantly seeing how the matter stood, he decreed that Vardiello should be sent to a madhouse, as the most competent tribunal for him. Thus the stupidity of the son made the mother rich, and the mother's wit found a remedy for the foolishness of the son: whereby it is clearly seen that—

'A ship, when steered by a skilful hand
Will seldom strike upon rock or sand.'—p. 10.

7.—CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF IRELAND, AND THE EVILS ARISING FROM THE PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF LANDED PROPERTY: WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR A REMEDY. By Jonathan Pim. Dublin: Hodges & Smith. 1848.

THE IRISH RELIEF MEASURES; PAST AND FUTURE. By G. Poulett Scrope, M.P. London: Ridgway. 1848.

In the year 1789, just before the French Revolution (No. I.), Mr. Arthur Young described France as overpeopled with a wretched peasantry,—numbers dying of disease from deficient nourishment—and he declared that the country would be much more flourishing with five or six millions of people less. Mr. Scrope's comment on this is simply that the population of France is now nearly double what it then was, and enjoying comparative comfort and happiness: and the sum and substance of his conclusions is:—that as respects Ireland, where also, even now, we are daily informed that there are five or six

million guests *de trop* at Nature's scanty banquet, "the choice now lies between some such settlement of the great land-tenure question as that which, throughout the whole north of Europe, has been within the last century quietly and wisely accomplished by the sovereign authorities of the several states—and such a violent, perhaps sanguinary struggle, to effect the same end on the first favourable opportunity, as desolated France and annihilated her aristocracy in 1789."

Mr. Scrope, in a pamphlet of about 100 pages, gives us a picturesque enough *résumé* of the three gigantic errors which the British Parliament has perpetrated within as many years, in her maternal endeavours to feed her unhappy starveling, the sister isle. Mr. Pim's more elaborate volume goes deeply into all the possible and impossible causes and remedies of the anomalous condition of that country; presents one of the most searching analyses of the whole Condition of Ireland question which has been suggested by the crisis, and not inconsequentially points to a "free trade in land" as the most legitimate means of reconciling the contending claims of property and industry, of fostering and developing private and public enterprise, and, while least of all interfering with the natural scope of capital and labour, giving to capital and labour a fair field and no undue favor.

In 1846, millions upon millions of English money were irretrievably sunk in unproductive and useless works, to the temporary relief of the able-bodied poor, while impotent and aged paupers were left to die of starvation: in 1847, eleemosynary soup was doled out to young and old, sick and healthy, alike: in 1848, the penal relief of the workhouse is strictly and sternly established, from which the industrious and self-respecting labourer, who asks for employment under the eye of heaven, but cannot obtain it, recoils with fear and horror.

Thus it is that practical men rush into practice without asking for a rule or a principle of conduct; without regard to the ultimate tendency of their experiments, hastening perhaps to remedy an inward malady by removing an outward sore, and operating upon the souls and bodies of millions of human beings, as a barber's apprentice is taught to operate upon the chins of fortuitous customers.

That the great difficulty of Ireland is the want of security as respects the title to and possession of land; that the greatest boon which could be conferred on the Irish landlord himself, would be such a law as would render the land available for the production of food for twice its population, by making encumbered estates saleable, and so enabling the nominal owner to pay his debts and at the same time transfer his property to men with capital to draw forth the resources of that property, are points which, at the eleventh hour (we fear it may even be found to be the twelfth), English legislation is beginning to admit. We believe that no one can rise from the perusal of Mr. Pim's most valuable contribution to economical literature without a thorough conviction of those truths, and he will at the same time have acquired an amount of general information as to the resources and actual condition and capabilities of Ireland, which he would not carry away from the study of ten times the weight of Blue Books.

Both writers object to *emigration* on the score of its expense and its inadequacy to remove the vast amount of pauperism. We have elsewhere endeavoured to show that the adequate *preparation* of colonies, and, *thereafter*, their profitable development, are processes for which the eternal relations of land and labour may be adapted to supply all the requisite scaffolding; that colonization ought not to aim at the direct but the indirect removal of pauperism, by creating on new lands new British communities—the best of all customers to the British manufacturer;—and that emigration is not colonization; for that has not sole respect to distance—Ireland, perhaps, wants colonization as much as New Zealand.

Mr. Pim's work deserves a more careful and elaborate notice than our space at present permits.

8.—AN ESSAY ON THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM, with restored Plans of the Temple, &c., and Plans, Sections, and Details of the Church built by Constantine the Great over the Holy Sepulchre, now known as the Mosque of Omar, and other Illustrations. By James Fergusson, F.R.A.S. London: John Weale, 59, High Holborn. 1847.

IN this handsome book the author has endeavoured to settle four controverted points, namely, the size and situation of Herod's temple; the position of the Hippicus, and the course of the ancient walls; the true position of Sion; and more especially, the position of the Christian buildings erected by Constantine and Justinian. In his preface he candidly confesses the disadvantage under which he labours from never having visited the localities described, and consequently from being entirely dependent upon materials furnished by those who have been more fortunate. In explanation of this seeming anomaly he states, that while in India he devoted his leisure to the exploration and investigation of the antiquities of the country, which he found to contain within itself all the materials necessary for determining that the Hindu style of architecture was born and reached perfection within its boundaries, but that the style of the more numerous and equally beautiful Mahometan antiquities was evidently "imported full grown into India," after having, "for more than five centuries, been forming itself in another country," where alone could its origin and history be traced. Disappointed in his expectation, that "at least two centuries would be added to the Indian history of the Mahometan styles" by the researches of our armies in Afghanistan, the author turned his attention to the mosques of Syria and Egypt. Of these the so-called Mosque of Omar, at Jerusalem, puzzled him exceedingly, from its form and details; but the plan of the Harem in the 'Travels of Ali Bey' led him to form the conclusion that both this building and the Aksa "were Christian edifices, taken possession of by the Mahometans, as they had converted St. Sophia at Constantinople, and other churches elsewhere." This view received support from the fact

that the Akse is now generally supposed to have been so appropriated ; but nothing was said about the Mosque of Omar. The drawings of Messrs. Catherwood, Arundale and Bonomi, made in 1833, left no doubt in the author's mind of the correctness of his supposition, which has been still further confirmed by information subsequently furnished by those gentlemen in the most liberal manner. Numerous unpublished drawings and plans would, the author conceives, do much toward removing any remaining doubt as to the view he has formed being correct.

We cannot follow Mr. Fergusson in his arguments, which we confess appear to show the great probability that the site of the sepulchre is really where he places it, rather than at the spot on which the present church stands, respecting which Dr. Clarke and other travellers have expressed their doubts, and which certainly does not answer all the requisites required by the true site of the sepulchre. The author rests his case upon the Plates Nos. III. and VI., with their explanations, and the references to the authorities from which they have been constructed. These, of course, we cannot give ; but we would recommend the volume to the notice of all who feel interested in the question. It is beautifully got up, and contains several exquisitely executed engravings and wood-cuts, besides plans and diagrams ; so that merely as a handsome volume for the library it deserves extensive patronage, while to the topographer and the antiquarian its contents must be very valuable.

9.—A BOOK OF BALLADS FROM THE GERMAN. By Percy Boyd, Esq. Dublin : James McGlashan, D'Olier Street. 1848.

BEAUTIFULLY illustrated, beautifully printed, and splendidly bound, this handsome book must find a place on many a drawing-room table ; while the merit of most of the translations will be acknowledged to do no discredit to the shrine which encloses them. The following from Müller, we do not recollect having previously met with in an English dress.

‘THE SUNKEN CITY.

“The bells of evening, from the deep sea ringing,
Peal faint and hollow their melodious chime,
Strange tidings of a Wonder City bringing,
’Neath its waves whelm’d in the olden time.

And though the tide of ocean, ever streaming,
Lashes the place of that old city’s grave,
Its golden battlements are still seen gleaming,
At evening mirror’d in the lightest wave.

And once the boatman who has seen them glisten
In the clear twilight, with enchanted ray,—

He lingers, spell-bound, for those chimes to listen,
Though rocks rise, threatening, in his ocean way.

Thus to the heart, like those sweet chimes, comes often
 A strange sad voice from memory's phantom shore,
 And wayward thoughts the dreamer's vision soften,
 Of love long vanish'd—to return no more !

The faded ruins of a world once splendid,
 Now deeply buried in the Past's dim sea,
 With thoughts and hopes that long ago seemed ended,
 In dreams of midnight rise again to me.

Beneath the rays which memory's light was flinging,
 I long to vanish in those dim waves' foam ;
 And angel voices, to my spirit singing,
 Call me to memory's Wonder City home."

How like is this to the last stanza of Moore's "Let Erin remember the Days of Old !" The same tradition is perhaps referred to :—

"On Lough Neagh's banks, as the fisherman strays,
 When the clear cold eve's declining,
 He sees the round towers of other days,
 In the wave beneath him shining !

Thus shall Memory often, in dreams sublime,
 Catch a glimpse of the days that are over ;
 Thus sighing, look through the waves of time,
 For the long-faded glories they cover !"

10.—A MISSION TO THE MYSORE; WITH SCENES AND FACTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF INDIA, ITS PEOPLE, AND ITS RELIGION. By the Rev. William Arthur, Wesleyan Minister. London: Partridge and Oakey, Paternoster-Row. Glasgow: McCombe. Dublin: Orr. 1847.

ONE of the most interesting narratives of missionary labour we have ever read. The writer is evidently a well-informed, liberal-minded man, who while he looks upon the special object of his visit to India as demanding the chief place in his thoughts, is not above contemplating the things of earth, from the meanest of which his truly pious mind can draw instruction.

The narrative commences with the "dedication" of the missionaries and their embarkation at Gravesend; describing in a very pleasing manner the various incidents of the voyage until the arrival of the good ship in the Madras Roads. The description of a tropical night is highly poetical, and the incidents of a storm are very graphically delineated. The approach to the spice-islands gives occasion for the description of a "trick upon travellers."

"Some journals had led us to expect that that the shores of the spice-bearing isle, now beneath our eye, would greet us with aromatic gales. On naming this to Captain Foord, he smiled, and bade me ask the chief mate. My application to him also produced a smile; and, after a time, the explanation that in the earlier days of voyaging, sailors took great delight in imposing upon the less-travelled landsmen. Accordingly, on nearing the shores of Ceylon, a

few sticks of cinnamon were ignited, and carried to windward, so as to diffuse their incense over the whole ship. The delighted olfactories of sea-wearied passengers hailed, in this odoriferous gale, the promise of voluptuous festivity."—p. 27.

The loss of a shoe by one of the horses in the journey "up country," leads to an acquaintance with a native blacksmith, whose leisurely labours are thus described:—

"He came with ready-made horse-shoes, hammers, fuel, anvil, and bellows, all contained in one very portable bundle. The fuel was charcoal, and the anvil tiny, with a spike by which he drove it into the ground. But the bellows were the most elaborate and ingenious implement in his whole workshop. The pipe was an iron tube, about one inch in diameter, after a few inches it branched into two, each of which terminated in the corner of a leather-bag, where it was tightly tied. These bags were open at the top. The operator, placing the pipe under the fuel, sat him quietly down, and took the top of a bag in either hand. Thin slips of wood ran along the edges, to enable him to open and close them more readily. Spreading his right hand to its full extent, and raising it at the same time, he both opened and stretched the bag held by it, which, consequently, filled with air. He then closed his hand firmly, and, pressing down the bag, forced the air contained in it to escape through the pipe below. The left hand then performed the same duty, and the two plying in regular alternation, sustained a blast sufficient for his purpose. When the shoe was heated, he shaped it on his tiny anvil, still sitting on the ground, his easy quiet presenting a strong contrast to the sturdy manipulations of our Vulcans at home. This habit of sitting at work, gives the Hindus an air of laziness to English eyes. The bucklayer sits to build, the stonecutter sits to chisel, the reaper sits to reap, the potter sits to turn his wheel, and, from all appearances, the ploughman would sit to plough, but that the erect posture is more convenient for walking"—p. 131.

At Bangalore the monkeys seem to have established their headquarters; the numbers and impudence of these animals lead to the recital of an amusing native fable.

"Bangalore itself lies above two miles from the military centre, and is, on that side, completely hidden by a dense *tope* (grove), which stretches round it, and is penetrated at different points by roads leading to the gates. This grove is a perfect metropolis of monkeys. They swarm in thousands, chasing each other on the roads, capering on the hedges, chattering on the boughs, and ginning hungrily at every one who passes with any eatable. They are a constant pest to every housewife in the town; discovering unsuspected passages to their stores, forestalling the meal, and making hasty retreat. A native fable, in illustrating the danger of mischievous companions, tells of a man who took a journey, accompanied by his monkey and his goats, taking with him rice and curds for a refreshment by the way. Arrived at a tank, he resolved to bathe and dine. Laying down the bundle with the provisions, he tied the two animals to a bush, and went down to the tank. No sooner had he disappeared, than the monkey took the bundle, untied it, disposed of the good things, and then, wiping his hands on the head of the goat, so as to leave plenty of marks, sat down solemnly at the other side of the tree. The poor goat suffered the beating due to her such companion."—p. 145.

The author, in order to qualify himself for a more extended sphere of usefulness among the people to whom he was sent, diligently studied the Canarese dialect. His mistakes in the use of this when

he first began to preach, lead him to mention some pleasing examples of native politeness.

" Sometimes, when striving in vain to make myself understood, I have said ' How is it you do not laugh at me?' ' Laugh at you ' they would reply : ' you are a foreigner, and have only been a short time in our country ; the wonder is to hear you speak our language at all ; it would be rude to laugh at you ; but if one of our own people make a blunder, he deserves to be laughed at.' On one occasion, just after I had begun to attempt conversing in public, they charged us with being murderers, because we used animal food. In reply to this, I told them, that if to take away animal life were murder, that crime was chargeable upon them all ; for in walking along the roads they frequently trod insects to death ; and then, forming my hand into the kind of spoon-shape in which they use it to drink with, I added, ' in this much of your stagnant tank-water, you have often a great many thousand live deer,'—intending to say, ' living things ;' but, by one of those lapses which will happen to a beginner, using the word *yukigurlu*, instead of *jentugulu*. Supremely ridiculous as this blunder was, they did not even smile, but politely corrected me"—p. 252.

In the highly interesting chapter on India as a country and its people, the author gives us much information. With one more extract, taken from this part of the volume, we must conclude. He is speaking of the utter ignorance displayed by the Hindus of everything beyond the immediate sphere of their everyday experience.

" On one occasion, a Brahman, who had long resided in Bangalore, asked me to give him some account of England. Before doing so, I required him to tell me first what he had heard. He said ' The common belief among us is, that when you get beyond the sea, you find *Londonpatam* (London city), and that one city is the whole of England : it has eighteen streets ; each street is inhabited by one caste, each caste is distinguished from the other by a peculiar head-dress ; and over all these is the king-*darray* !' Though the word ' Company' is constantly on their lips, as designating the power by which they are ruled, scarcely any of them, beyond the limits of the Presidency, has the least idea of its meaning. Whether it be man, woman, or child, a county, king, or army, they cannot tell ; and very few of the millions who bow before that potent name are aware that it denotes a handful of peaceful merchants. Many in the neighbourhood of English settlements, are said to be under the impression that the company is an old woman, who never dies, but this is very likely to have originated with some wag among our own countrymen."—p. 295

These few extracts, culled at random, will give some idea of the contents of a most agreeable and instructive volume.

- 11.—GERMANY, ENGLAND, and SCOTLAND ; OR RECOLLECTIONS OF A SWISS MINISTER. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D. D. London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. Edinburgh : Oliver and Boyd. Dublin : Curry, jun., and Co. 1848.

THERE is so much of earnestness about everything that Dr. Merle D'Aubigné says and writes, that it is impossible not to admire the man, even when we do not entirely agree with his opinions. The volume before us is divided into parts ; Travelling Recollections, and Historical Recollections ; that is, reminiscences of the events connected with a journey into Germany, England, and Scotland, in the spring of

1845, undertaken "for the purpose of drawing closer the bonds of union between those countries and the Christians of Geneva, and in particular with the Evangelical Society of that town."

In the first chapter, the historian of the Reformation gives a brief summary of events connected with the rise and progress of *rationalism* in Germany; the revival of faith, and the probable tendency of German Catholicism: of which he says,—

"The most probable destiny of German Catholicism, is a union with the Protestant rationalism of the Friends of Light. The old Reformation and the new will thus cross each other. While the many rationalists in the Protestant Church will leave it to unite with the new Catholicism, the three or four Christian congregations of the new Catholicism will come out from it to join the Evangelical Church, then purified from the infidel elements it yet contains. There will thus be in Germany three great communions, with well-marked and well-defined characteristics,—Evangelism, or the religion of God; Popery, or the religion of the priest; Rationalism, or the religion of fallen man."—p. 61.

Dr. Merle D'Aubigné is pre-eminently the champion of the principles of the Reformation, and, as such, holds in utter abhorrence everything that has the slightest savour of Popery. Hence, in his chapter on England, he deplores certain recent diplomatic measures; though it appears to us that the very arguments used by the Dr. to dissuade from entering into a temporal alliance with Rome, may with equal propriety be put forward in support of that connexion. Repudiating every form of State religion, he would have "the soul of every individual, of every family, of every institution, and of the whole people," actuated solely by the essential principles of Christianity, believing that neither "the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, or the Congregational form, can impart a superior influence to the State; that is, taking the word in its widest sense, to the people at large." But while "the very essence of Christianity,—divine life, true evangelism," is the governing principle of a nation, whence arises the danger of admitting to equal temporal privileges those who may differ in certain forms of worship? Surely his own words furnish an answer to his fear that by allying ourselves to Rome in temporal affairs we may yet find in our new ally a master.

"Let but the Church be what she ought to be; let her draw from her stem a life of her own; let her develope herself with vigour and independence; let her remember that, like her master, she is come to minister; then will fairer days than those gone by be granted to the Church of Christ in England, and to all her people. Life will then proceed from the roots, and the tree will flourish once more."—p. 73.

The author's description of his approach to London is very graphic, and from this portion of his book we make the following extract, which has much truth in it, though from our familiarity with the fact we overlook it; it is a well-deserved compliment.

"Perhaps, one of the things that strikes a stranger the most on his arrival in London, is not the nobility but the common people; their strength, their energy, their quickness, their skill, their civility, and, above all, their calmness

and silence, during their unceasing activity. They are all alive to what they are about; and they are clever at it; you can see this in the carriages, the ships, and especially in the railroads. The skill with which an English coachman drives you through the streets of London, among thousands of vehicles, without ever jostling you, is inconceivable."—p. 75.

The author remarks, that in England he observed one thing, "that the people talk much less of liberty than we do on the Continent, but practise it more;" and truly says that "this is quite natural," for "when we possess a thing, we mention it less frequently than when we are in search of it;" and then goes on to observe that,—

"The French writers observe with pride that, while in England there is liberty but not equality, in France there is equality but not liberty. We cannot help thinking that England is right. God would have liberty for all; but equality, which would bring all men to the same level, is but an idle dream. No doubt the French writers do not claim equality in every respect, but we regret that they set such bounds to the principle of liberty.

"It is, nevertheless, in these very marked distinctions, which prevent equality, that one of England's dangers lies. If there is too much equality on the south of the channel, there may be too little on the north. The distinctions of rank and fortune are, perhaps, exaggerated in Britain; and were it not for that vital Christianity, which is a powerful remedy for this evil, the whole people would be seriously affected by it."

And amplifying this thought, the author thus poetically places before us some of the splendid scenery of our land, while he deploras the unequal distribution of wealth, which alone can give birth to the anomalies alluded to.

"I have to point out another of the dangers of grandeur and opulence. There is something patriarchal in the immense possessions of the English and Scotch nobility; in those estates covered with inhabitants, in those populations which depend almost entirely on their lords, and who might be their fathers. How much good has been done, and is still doing by these lords, by their wives, and by their daughters; how many churches and schools have been erected at their expense! How often have angels of Christian charity been seen gliding into humble cottages, carrying consolation, assistance, and even instruction! Nothing of the kind is to be seen to the same degree in other countries.

"Nevertheless, these large properties of the nobility, which sometimes entirely exclude the small proprietors, produce a melancholy impression. When I have been walking in one of those beautiful English parks, so fresh and verdant, so dotted with stately trees, so charming with the graceful undulations of the soil, and with their beautiful lakes, I occasionally felt an indescribable sadness. I saw nothing but foliage upon foliage; the only sign of life was the cawing of the rooks, necessary inhabitants of these velvet glades. 'Oh, who can restore me,' thought I, 'those smiling habitations, the delightful haulets, the lively villages of my own Switzerland'" I gazed anxiously around, trying to discover among the trees the appearance of a roof; and could I but perceive the slightest trace, I ran forwards that I might see some peasant, man or woman—some symptom of life!

"This is still more striking in Scotland. You may travel for miles through the Highlands, without meeting other inhabitants than thousands of sheep feeding in solitude. 'Were I in Switzerland,' I said to myself, 'these hillsides would be divided among several small owners; here would be a farm,

there a chalet, and every where the animation of a free people.' Yet there are some exceptions. When I drew near that charming site at the extremity of Loch Tay, close by the romantic Kenmore, on which rises the stately palace of the Breadalbanes (many Genevese will remember that the present Marquis of Breadalbane, then Lord Glenorchy, visited their city twenty-five or thirty years ago), I was delighted to find the country dotted with pretty cottages, covered with roses, and to see healthy, ruddy children, playing before their smiling homes. It was like an oasis created by the beneficence of a Christian lord. But in general there is a desert. It is not long since, instead of the system of small farms, the landlords have substituted large ones, and the unfortunate small farmers, finding themselves outbid, have been obliged to forsake their beloved mountains, and emigrate either to the Antipodes, to New Holland, or to throw themselves into the ever open and ever devouring gulf of the manufacturing towns of England or Scotland. It often happens that one lord is the sole proprietor of a whole county, from one sea to another, and he can, as has often been done within these few years, refuse the Christians who inhabit his estate a site of thirty feet square in which they may worship God. It would be a glorious task for the statesmen who preside over the destiny of Britain, and whom no difficulties can deter, to seek some legal means of establishing small properties in Scotland, and delivering the country from the oppression of a few lards."—p. 92.

These, it must be remembered, are the thoughts of a foreigner upon witnessing for the first time the results of our system in their full extent. Desirable as it might be to establish small properties, we do not see how such a measure can at present be carried out; even the statesmen whom no difficulties can deter would find themselves unequal to the task.

Another anomaly in our social institutions, observed by our intelligent author, is the absence of any adequate provision for the education of the people. He is evidently in favour of government interference.

"One of the greatest evils of England is the want of instruction for the people; an omission on the part either of the Church or of the State. There are, doubtless, christian efforts by which they endeavour to supply it; and these efforts, I say again, infinitely surpass all similar ones made elsewhere. Much, very much, has been done, and yet these are but insufficient palliatives. Even the rivalry of the different christian communions sometimes opposes the good they would wish to do. Every one feels that something ought to be done; yet, notwithstanding the most powerful means of action, and the most earnest and sincere desires, notwithstanding even the most valuable labours, the English have not yet succeeded in finding a sufficiently efficacious remedy for the physical and moral wretchedness of the poor."—p. 98.

To Scotland is devoted the larger part of this interesting volume. Scotland, with her picturesque capital, her historical associations, her romantic scenery, but above all her noble struggles for religious freedom, had peculiar charms for our traveller. He was welcomed to Edinburgh by the venerable Chalmers, and by Chalmers was he accompanied to the cabin of the steamer which conveyed him from the Scottish shores. The religious struggles in Scotland for the three last centuries are passed in review; the noble movement of 1843, leading to the establishment of the present Free Church, being of course more particularly dwelt upon; and instances are narrated of the complete

destitution of many of those high-minded ministers, who in separating from the State Church, literally forsook *all*, that they might worship God unfettered by the trammels of the civil power. In the introductory remarks to his "Historical Recollections," the author well observes, that—

"If there is one feature especially characteristic of our own age, it is the studies of thinking men upon the relations which should exist between those two great societies, the political and the religious. If there is any history fertile in lessons on this important subject, on the steadfastness, the vitality of the Church, it is that of Scotland since the Reformation"—p. 232.

We cannot follow the author through this portion of his volume ; but must here conclude our notice of an exceedingly interesting work.

12.—A HISTORY OF THE HEBREW MONARCHY, FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF SAMUEL TO THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY. London : John Chapman, 142, Strand. 1847.

THIS volume, which bears the stamp of much and deep thought upon the subject of which it treats, is an attempt to clear the history of the Hebrew Monarchy from the veil of mystery or fiction which the author conceives to have been cast around the prose facts recorded in the earlier and more simple narratives, by interested chroniclers of a later date: in short to reconcile the incoherences and contradictions met with in the Bible narrative, by a process similar to that adopted by Niebuhr in reference to Roman History. Looking upon the documents in our possession as bearing "plentiful marks of the human mind and hand,"

"We cannot," continues the author, "dispense with a free and full criticism of these. And in criticising, we have no choice but to proceed by those laws of thought and of reasoning, which in all the sciences have now received currency. We advance from the known towards the unknown. We assume that human nature is like itself, and interpret the men of early ages by our more intimate knowledge of contemporary and recent times, yet making allowance for the difference of circumstances. Much more do we believe that God is always like himself, and whatever are his moral attributes now, and his consequent judgment of human conduct, such were they then and at all times. Nor ought we to question that the relations between the divine and the human mind are still substantially the same as ever, until we find this obvious presumption utterly to fail in accounting for the facts presented to our examination. We explain all the phenomena by known causes, in preference to inventing unknown ones; and when one anomaly after another is found gradually to be cleared up by patient research, and a world of reality to evolve itself before the mind, fresh confirmation is added to the grand principles of modern philosophy, which experience proves alone to lead to self-consistent, harmonious results."—*Preface*, iii.

The above paragraph, and our next extract, which immediately follows, sufficiently explain the scope of the work before us.

"Cautious reasoners may need to be reminded, that although the mind of the Jews, as that of all nations, was hable to produce legends and *mythi*, under

circumstances conducive to these, yet the portion of history with which we are here concerned has little properly mythical in it. We are engaged with an epoch, all the great outlines of which were preserved by the prose chronicles of contemporaries. From King David downwards, court annals were kept, sometimes perhaps very div and scanty, yet not the less authentic. With these were combined, occasionally, the writings of prophets, or the traditions of prophetic schools. Where the originals have perished, we have nevertheless relics of them in the books which are now called Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. The actual compilation of the books of Samuel was probably earlier than that of Kings, but we do not know the exact date. The Kings, to judge by their closing words, were compiled in the Babylonian exile. The Chronicles are much later, and in an imperfect line of genealogy bring down the line of Jehoniah (who was carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar) to a very low period of time. Account must be taken of all such facts in balancing authorities; and when we find a wide difference of spirit between the two historians in treating the same subject—a difference conformable to the different eras in which they write—the great caution with which the later authority must be used will become evident”—p. iv.

Accordingly, the well-known discrepancies between the books of Kings and of Chronicles, are explained on the supposition that the latter books are the work of some one or more Levitical compilers, who, under the influence of zeal for their order, suppressed every occurrence that could tell against it; and added or magnified all that could add consequence to the institution and its benefactors. Thus, in a brief summary of the differences observable in the two narratives, the author says:—

“There is a marked contrast between the tone of the authorities on which we are dependent for the lives of David and Solomon. The books of Samuel and Kings show a general impartiality, in which the Chronicles are wholly wanting. All the dark events which sully these two reigns are carefully hushed up by the last work. In it we read nothing of David’s civil war, during his reign in Hebron over Judah, nothing of his cruelty towards Moab and Edom; nothing of his deeds of adultery and murder; nothing of Amnon’s brutality; of the fierce revenge and wicked rebellion of Absalom; nothing of the immolation of Saul’s sons, or of the revolt of Adonijah, and his slaughter by Solomon, nothing of the crimes and the punishments, either of Joab or of Shimei. On the other hand, we have a great deal in the Chronicles calculated to magnify the religious zeal, and especially the devotion to the Levitical system, displayed by David, of which the earlier history takes no notice. So too, the Chronicler suppresses all mention of the disgust of Hiram, of the idolatries of Solomon, and the reverse of his later years; of the insurrectionary movement of the prophet Ahijah, and the cause of Jeroboam’s flight into Egypt. In short, it will record nothing but what tends to glorify this prince, the great establisher of the priestly dignity. Accordingly, it imputes his building of his queen’s palace to a scruple of conscience as to this child of idolaters dwelling in the house of the pious David: ‘because’ (said he) ‘the places are holy wherewith the ark of Jehovah hath come.’ A few differences of this kind might be honourably accounted for; but a general review puts it beyond reasonable doubt, that the book of Chronicles is not an honest and trustworthy narrative, and must be used with great caution as an authority, where anything is involved which affects Levitical influence.”—p. 145.

In the following extract the author repudiates the idea, that in

endeavouring to clear the historical books of the Old Testament from the difficulties which have accumulated around them, he is actuated by any other motive than a desire to serve the cause of true religion.

“One sentiment the writer desires to express most emphatically. True religion consists in elevated notions of God, right affections and a pure conscience towards Him; but certainly *not* in prostrating the mind to a system of dogmatic history. Those who call *this* religion, are (in the writer’s belief) as much in the dark as those who place it in magical sacraments and outward purification. But while utterly renouncing both these false and injurious representations, he desires his book to carry on its front, his most intense conviction, that pure and undefiled religion is the noblest, the most blessed, the most valuable of all God’s countless gifts; that a heart to fear and love Him is a possession sweeter than dignities and loftier than talents; and that although the outward form of truths held sacred by good men, is destined to be re-modelled by the progress of knowledge, yet in their deeper essence there is a spirit which will live more energetically with the development of all that is most precious and glorious in man.”—Preface, vi.

The honest sincerity with which the author states his opinions, which are evidently the result of conviction, and the reverence with which he approaches his subject, must command the respect even of those who may dissent from his views. The matter is avowedly one surrounded by great difficulties; but we entirely agree with the author, that the cause of true religion is not likely to suffer from an honest attempt to remove those difficulties, and to reconcile the differences and contradictions which must have puzzled every reader of the Bible, even those most disposed to contend for the divine origin of every portion. That he has in all cases succeeded we will not say; but that his volume deserves, and will receive, attention, is our conviction.

13.—THOUGHTS UPON SOME IMPORTANT POINTS RELATING TO THE SYSTEM OF THE WORLD. By J. P. Nichol, LL.D., Professor of Astronomy in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 15, Princes Street, and 26, Paternoster Row, London. 1848.

THE STELLAR UNIVERSE: VIEWS OF ITS ARRANGEMENTS, MOTIONS, AND EVOLUTIONS. By Professor Nichol. John Johnstone, Edinburgh and London. 1848.

THE PLANET NEPTUNE: AN EXPOSITION AND HISTORY. By Professor Nichol. John Johnstone, Edinburgh and London. 1848.

The author has taken advantage of the demand for a second edition of his ‘Thoughts on the System of the World,’ which must now be considered a standard work on Astronomy, to introduce such modifications and additions as have been rendered necessary by recent revelations on the composition of our system. Sir John Herschel’s work on the Southern heavens has furnished “many important hints regarding the structure of our Galaxy;” and M. Struve’s survey of

the Northern hemisphere has likewise been advantageously consulted. In the chapter on the Telescope, the author takes occasion to explain more fully the difficulties to be contended with in the employment of high powers of the telescope, his explanations of which, in the first edition of this work, had been somewhat misunderstood in an article on Astronomy in a quarterly contemporary; and at the same time he acknowledges the candour with which his "attempts to expose science, so that its grand truths be understood and appreciated by the people, are received by the professional critics of our time:" certainly Professor Nichol's labours with the view of popularizing science deserve all the acknowledgment that can be accorded them.

This is eminently the case with the little volume whose title stands second at the head of this notice. In this book the sublime mysteries of the stellar universe, so far as they have been unfolded to human investigation, are explained in language at once eloquent and familiar; and we are glad to perceive from the preface, that the present volume is but the first of a series having for their object the further elucidation of the composition of our system. This series will be more especially devoted to the young; and that it is well adapted to command their attention, will be seen in the following extract from the introductory chapter.

"As I write, the Sun has descended into the West, and the glorious night-watchers are advancing from their retirements—seeming, as they increase in brilliancy, to approach us from afar. First, is HESPERUS, robed in gold—outshining even JUPITER, whose sway no other star disturbs. Applying my telescope to this orb, unexpected facts are revealed—the bright planet is changed into an irregular world. On its incomplete edge, strongly marked ruggedness appears, indicating that this star, notwithstanding its radiance, is broken on its surface like our globe, and has undergone similar convulsions. Observe the nature of the facts, and how clear and undeniable the inference.
 * Now, what is the character of a rugged part of our world as the sun declines? The shadows of the mountains fill up the valleys, and long lines, and even districts of land are clothed in darkness; while our great orb continues to send to the elevated peaks his rosy evening light. In the planet, then, which we discern as so untroubled and fair, harsh convulsions have of old broken its surface, and upheaved it, as in the case of our own Earth. From minuter investigations—the *clouds*, for instance, which speak so distinctly of oceans rolling below,—we desery that VENUS is about as large as the Earth, and that, in truth, she resembles our world in every particular; beaming, as she does, so brilliantly, because basking within the denser rays of the Sun. Can it be, then, indicated by the aspects of this special globe, that all these other stars are worlds likewise, and that our Earth is only one among myriads? The similitude, indeed, is not confined to Venus; other bright stars, for instance JUPITER, though ten times larger than the Earth, also show that they are opaque globes, shining, not by native, but reflected splendour. We discern as bodies of this description, a number, not large in comparison with the countless multitudes which environ them, but still considerable. These are MERCURY and VENUS, between us and the Sun; then MARS, and the group of small planets; JUPITER, the largest orb in the system; SATURN, URANUS; and now NEPTUNE. These bodies compose a class, and stand apart from the fixed stars. Their neighbourhood, and the similarity of their motions, bestow on them a family relationship, uniting them with each other;

but, at the same time, wholly dis severing them from the immoveable shining points amid which they lie. The stars, for instance, which compose the grand constellation of ORION, cannot, by any telescopic power, be made to appear other than specks, sending forth through space a large degree of radiance; and relatively they are so motionless, that the very collocation which delights us now shone over the shepherd Chaldeans;—while these other luminaries at once unfold, like Venus, their disks to the curious observer, and each, in its appropriate period, passes through a course encompassing the entire heavens. The nature, too, of their courses has been ascertained; and the largest series of intellectual labours that have yet been bestowed on any physical inquiry, has enabled us to discern that of these PLANETS, or WANDERERS, our globe is one; and that around the sun, their source of light and heat they roll in their several years—constituting, as a whole, a system most simple in its several arrangements; but, at the same time, more nice in the connexion and balancing of its parts, than any mechanism we know of, even the most refined, that has issued hitherto from the power and ingenuity of man.”—p. 19.

The volume entitled ‘The Planet Neptune,’ contains the history of perhaps the most remarkable event in the whole range of scientific investigation. The particulars of this discovery being now well known, it will be wholly unnecessary to enter into details; suffice it to say that Dr. Nichol has placed before his readers, in the clearest and most comprehensive manner, an account of the circumstances which led astronomers to suspect the existence of a large planetary body moving in an orbit beyond that of Uranus, and the manner in which the presence of such a body was ultimately verified. In this history the claims of the parties principally connected with the discovery are impartially discussed, and the simple facts of the question clearly stated without favor or affection; the author generously refuting the accusations which have been brought against Mr. Challis and Mr. Airy of a breach of duty in neglecting to avail themselves of the communications made to them by Mr. Adams in the autumn of 1845. The angry discussions to which the discovery of Neptune gave rise, but in which the principal parties took no part, all turn upon the assumption that had a certain course been pursued, certain results would have followed; but this course would perhaps never have been thought of had it not been suggested by the results obtained by another mode of investigation. In short, it is exactly a case in which the disputants lose sight of the fact, that their angry observations are merely what the Duke of Wellington pithily termed “criticisms *after* the event.”

14.—CHAMBER BIRDS: THEIR NATURAL HISTORY, MANAGEMENT, HABITS, FOOD, DISEASES, TREATMENT, BREEDING, AND THE METHODS OF CATCHING THEM. By J. M. Bechstein, M.D. Translated from the last German Edition, by W. E. Shuckard, M.E.S. To which are added Observations compiled from the Works of British Naturalists. London: Orr and Co., Amen Corner, Paternoster Row. 1847.

THE celebrity acquired by former editions of this work render it almost

unnecessary to do more than announce its reappearance in the present handsome and attractive form. This translation is made from the fourth German edition, which appeared subsequently to the death of the author, under the superintendence of his friend, Dr. Lehrmann, of Hamburg. It is beautifully got up, being illustrated by numerous well-executed wood-cuts, consisting of portraits of the birds and other subjects introduced as vignettes, with the frontispiece and title gorgeously printed in gold and colours. The additions to the text from the observations of British naturalists add materially to its value; and to every one in the habit of keeping birds, this new edition especially commends itself as offering a greater amount of information respecting these feathered favourites than any similar work previously published. There is something pleasing in Dr. Bechstein's description of the mode in which he qualified himself to write his 'History of Chamber Birds.' He says,

"From my earliest childhood, I have been surrounded by almost every feathered companion described in my work, and have so accustomed myself to them, that I cannot sit down to my desk with even ordinary attention, if my apartment be not enlivened by the choral music of these songsters, of which I have never less than fifty or sixty about me. I have, therefore, very naturally studied the readiest means of procuring them, as well as the cheapest mode of feeding and maintaining them in health; and in doing so, I soon accumulated materials for composing their Natural History."

15.—THE NIGHT SIDE OF NATURE; OR GHOSTS AND GHOST SEERS.
By Catherine Crowe. Authoress of 'Susan Hopley,' 'Lilly Dawson,' &c. Two Volumes. London: T. C. Newby, 72, Mortimer Street. 1848.

Few readers would suppose from its title that this book is a sort of extension or enlargement of Sir Walter Scott's 'Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft.' The term—"Night Side of Nature," Mrs. Crowe explains as being borrowed from the German, signifying "that side of a planet which is turned from the sun;" when

"O'er the one half world
Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse
The curtain'd sleep;"

"and as," continues Mrs. Crowe, "during this interval, external objects loom upon us but strangely and imperfectly, the Germans draw a parallel between these vague and misty perceptions, and the similar obscure and uncertain glimpses we get of that veiled department of nature, of which, whilst comprising, as it does, the solution of questions concerning us more nearly than any other, we are yet in a state of entire and wilful ignorance."

In plain terms, Mrs. Crowe is a believer in ghosts, warnings, wraiths, troubled spirits, haunted houses, *et id genus omne*; and her object is "to suggest inquiry and stimulate observation, in order that we may endeavour, if possible, to discover something regarding our physical

nature, as it exists here in the flesh; and as it is to exist hereafter out of it."

Mrs. Crowe's reasonings upon the nature of ghostly visitations are very ingenious, and she has collected from various sources a great number of curious stories connected with supernatural occurrences, many of which appear to rest on respectable authority. We perhaps are wrong in using the term *supernatural* in reference to these phenomena, since Mrs. Crowe does not consider them in that light, but declares her belief that "the time will come when they will be reduced strictly within the bounds of science." We are quite willing to avow our acquiescence in her assertion, that with regard to *ghosts*, as they are commonly called, "many more are disposed to believe than to confess." There is a lurking spark of superstition in most minds, not to be eradicated by all the teachings and revelations of science, which disposes them to think favorably of what is presented in the form of glimpses of another world—of another state of being—about which every one feels more or less of curiosity. Explain them away as we will, and laugh at them heartily as we may, there still will return the thought—there *may* be something in these alleged spiritual revelations which at present we are unable to understand. And this, we venture to say, no one will absolutely deny to be his own feeling, if honestly expressing his opinion.

Many of Mrs. Crowe's narratives are, it must be confessed, not a little startling. Perhaps the most curious is that relating to "the Haunted House at Willington, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne," referred to by William Howitt, in his 'Visits to Remarkable Places.' The house is, or was till lately, inhabited by a respectable Quaker family of the name of Procter. Mr. Procter, in a letter given by Mrs. Crowe, vouches for the "strict accuracy" of the account of the strange annoyances to which his family has been subjected, as quoted by Mr. Howitt from a local publication, but makes no attempt to explain them, evidently believing them to arise from supernatural causes. A gentleman visiting Mr. Procter, having expressed a wish that some natural explanation of the annoying sights and sounds might be discovered, Mr. P. "declared his entire conviction, founded upon an experience of fifteen years, that no such elucidation was possible."

Mrs. Crowe has collected from various sources a goodly number of ghost-stories, some of which few persons, we believe, could read with equanimity in a lone house, at

"The witching time of night,
When church-yards yawn,"

spite of all the professed scepticism of the nineteenth century in reference to such matters.

16.—THE ARITHMETIC OF ANNUITIES AND LIFE ASSURANCE, OR COMPOUND INTEREST SIMPLIFIED: explaining the value of Annuities, certain, or contingent on one or two lives, and the values of Assurances in single and annual payments; and comprehending the values of Leases, Pensions, Freeholds, and Reversionary Sums, in possession or expectation, immediate, deferred, or temporary; illustrated with practical and familiar examples. By Edward Baylis, Actuary of the Professional Life Assurance Company. London: Longman & Co.

THIS treatise upon one of the most important branches of economical science, although avowedly composed for the use of the student, and adapted to the state of knowledge of persons unacquainted with algebraic symbols and formulæ, will be found a most useful manual of reference for the actuary and solicitor. The character and attainments of the accomplished Actuary of the Professional Life Assurance Company, will, to many, be a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the calculations, and of the correctness and simplicity of the rules presented: and we may mention that the test of the value and applicability of each rule is afforded in a variety of examples bearing upon the social relations dependent on the contingencies of Life Assurance, Annuities, and Survivorships. To the young actuary we can recommend no more useful exercise than to translate the Laws of Calculation, methodized by Mr. Baylis, into the symbolic language of De Morgan, and reserve the result for constant use and reference.

The branches of the science are systematically classified and sub-classified, into 1. *Annuities Certain*, embracing the calculation of temporary and deferred annuities and perpetuities. 2. *Single Life Values*, and the calculation, on the one hand, of immediate, deferred and temporary annuities, and, on the other, of assurances and endowments and the value of policies; involving the contingency of single lives. 3. *Joint Life Values*, with analogous arrangement. 4. *Longest Life Values*; and 5. *Survivorships*.

The subject is more or less interesting to thousands of individuals in every class of society: and a popular and practical *vade mecum*, enabling every one interested in property dependent on the duration or survivorship of lives, to become his own actuary, was a *desideratum*, not only for the public, but for the Insurance Companies themselves: for nothing can so completely tend to insure confidence in the integrity and security of Insurance and Annuity Associations, as to see the actuaries of such institutions lending their zealous efforts to remove all mystery from their craft, and affording universal facility to test the accuracy and *rationale* of their calculations, and the sufficiency of their basis and constitution.

17.—KNAPP'S CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY; OR, CHEMISTRY APPLIED TO THE ARTS AND TO MANUFACTURES. Vol. I. Forming Vol. III. of the Library of Illustrated Standard Scientific Works. London and Paris: Baillière. 1848.

THE volume before us is one of a series of works of value issued at intervals in the various branches of science; the characteristics of which are, besides judgment in selection, extreme taste in the typography, and the most copious illustration by means of wood engravings. In a manufacturing nation such as England, the application of scientific research to the arts ministering to the requirements of the consumer, is the prime object of every practical employer of skilled labour, who would not be left behind in the race of improvement; and we need not insist upon the vast number of the arts involving in particular the processes of chemistry. Dr. Knapp, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Giessen, whose work is here ably translated by Dr. Ronalds, the Chemical Lecturer in the Middlesex Hospital, and Dr. Richardson, of Newcastle, and essentially enhanced in value by a profusion of admirable woodcuts, has conferred a vast boon on the capitalist artificers of England, which, it is to be hoped, may not be altogether counteracted in its effect by a continuance of those onerous government restrictions upon improvement and experiment hitherto operating so fatally to arrest the progress of discovery in the English arts and manufactures. Thus, as is observed by the editors of this translation—

“The little progress which has been made for a long series of years in the soap manufacture (a description of which closes the present volume), is one instance only, amongst many others, which all bear witness to the injurious tendency of government restrictions upon manufacturing industry. The individuals who are themselves exposed to the scrutinizing surveillance of the exciseman, can alone feel and properly appreciate the annoyance of official interference, and the limitation which it imposes upon their exertions; but the interests of the whole country are sacrificed when the excise laws interfere with the improvements of processes, and put a bar, as they do in many cases, to the development or progress of our manufactures.”—p 7.

The wasteful nature of some of our manufacturing operations, arising from deficiency or abuse of science, is made strikingly apparent in one example, viz.:—

“It is estimated that the sulphur wasted at Swansea, to the absolute destruction of all surrounding vegetation, would suffice for the manufacture of all the alkali produced in the kingdom, and this fact, coupled with the loss of 3,000,000 tons of coal in the smelting of iron alone, prove sufficiently that our practice is still sadly deficient. Wherever the fault may lie, it must be attributed in no small degree to ignorance; and this, again, doubtless arises from the difficulty attending the acquisition of sound scientific knowledge in this country.”—p 6.

The importance of the *desideratum* which the present work so amply supplies, will be apparent from these extracts and observations. In this first volume we are presented with an exposition of the nature and effective value of fuel in the production of heat, embracing the

preparation of wood charcoal, and the production of coke: and in an appendix, the Editors have described with minuteness the most approved methods of coking now in use, and also the mode of producing the new patent fuel. The ventilation and heating of buildings, also, and a description of the *modus operandi* pursued in private and public establishments for these objects, are presented under this head. Next we are made acquainted with the chemical processes concerned in the production of artificial light: the improvements in the manufacture of the different substances used for illumination, and more particularly those which have reference to coal gas, its purification, measurement, mode of consumption, &c. The remainder of the volume is occupied with the subject of earths and alkalis, the agents concerned in their manufacture, and their various applications in the arts.

The following historical account of the incidents which led to the discovery of the present mode of producing artificial soda—an invention which we owe to the first French Revolution—will interest the general reader. It may be observed that the importance of the discovery can hardly be over-estimated, seeing that native soda, which is met with in mineral masses, in Egypt, Mexico and in Hungary, bears a very small proportion to the enormous quantities consumed in the arts:—

“The present mode of carrying on this important manufacture, and now very generally adopted, was the invention of Leblanc, and first carried out on a large scale by him and his partners Dizè and Shee, in France. As is well known, this discovery created an era in the history of manufactures; but the manner in which it was made public does honour to the genuine and magnanimous patriotism which animated, in those times of danger, the flower of the French nation. Before the Revolution of 1789, no other kind of soda was known in France but that obtained from marine plants, and this, for the greater part, was imported from abroad, from the coasts of Spain. The wars of the Republic with nearly the whole of Europe, in annihilating trade, put a stop to this and other equally important resources for native industry—amongst others, the importation of potash was stopped. Although, in cases of need, soda may be replaced by potash in the manufacture of glass and soap, for the purposes of the bleacher, dyer, &c., yet the prosperity of these branches of manufacture, at a time when the very existence of the Republic was at stake, was of as little moment as the fall of a single soldier in a skirmish. All the potash, therefore, that could be obtained in France was immediately applied to the manufacture of saltpetre; for the expulsion of the enemy superseded all minor cares. Necessity is always the mother of great deeds: and the Republic mastered the difficulty by an unprecedented development of internal power. Thus the Committee of Public Safety, incited by the proposition of a manufacturer of the name of Carny, in the year II., called upon all citizens, in a special proclamation, to place in the hands of Commissioners, within two decades, for the benefit of the Republic and without regard to all private ends and speculations, whatever plans and methods of preparing soda might be known to them. The Report of the Commissioners upon all the numerous plans proposed by disinterested manufacturers declared the process of Leblanc to be the simplest and best calculated for an extensive scale of manufacture; a decision, the justness of which has been proved by fifty years' experience, no essential improvements having been made in the process. It consists in converting chloride of sodium into sul-

phate of soda (Glauber's salt), and in the further decomposition of that salt."—p. 274.

Thus, to the Revolution of 1789, and to the demand for the great element of destruction, we owe that great lever of manufacturing industry—the soda of commerce. We shall be content if the Revolution of 1848 bestow upon Europe an analogous instrument of moral elevation—if out of the present chaos France shall discover a new source of *Credit* as formerly of *Soda*.

18.—ELEMENTS OF GENERAL HISTORY, ANCIENT AND MODERN, to which are added a Comparative View of Ancient and Modern Geography, and a Table of Chronology. By Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, late Lord Commissioner of Justiciary in Scotland, and formerly Professor of Civil History and Greek and Roman Antiquities, in the University of Edinburgh. A new Edition, with considerable additions to the author's text, numerous notes, and a continuation from the Revolution in 1688 to the present time. Edited by the Rev. Brandon Turner, M.A. London: Adam Scott, Charterhouse Square. 1846.

WE have found this work extremely useful as a book of reference, and as such we can conscientiously recommend it. To give an instance. Suppose the reader of history meeting with the term "Pragmatic Sanction," an expression which is as far as some of the most technical terms of jurisprudence from carrying its own explanation along with it, wishes to obtain some definite idea of what the term stands for, he may search long enough in historical works of high pretension and considerable reputation, such for example as Smollett's 'History of England,' and Coxe's 'Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole,' without finding the precise information he wants. But on turning to page 501 of this most useful work, he will find the following passage: "The anxiety of Charles VI. (of Austria) Emperor of Germany, at having no male issue, led him to frame an order of succession, termed the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which he aimed at securing his dominions to his female heirs; this became hereafter a standing article in all foreign negotiations."

At page 505 again, there is a good and succinct account of that system of governing, whereof the leading idea is that of centralization, carried to such perfection by Frederic II. of Prussia, surnamed the *Great*.

The Chronological Table will also be found exceedingly valuable for reference.

Many of the notes added by the present editor are peculiarly valuable and interesting. Take for instance the following (pp. 369, 370, 371):—

"In the time of Henry VIII., the rental of England and Wales, in lands and houses, did not exceed five millions *per annum*; it is now (1844) above

eighty millions. The annual value of real property, as assessed to the property tax, exclusive of property in the hands of individuals whose income is less than £150 a-year, was in 1843, in

England.....	£79,020,995
Wales.....	3,212,848
	<hr/>
	82,233,843
Scotland*.....	9,284,382

The editor then gives some interesting statistics as to wages. After showing the rate of wages in earlier times, he thus proceeds: "In 1495, the statute fixed the wages of—

"A carter, without meat, at 5*d.* a day,—equal in weight of metal to 7½*d.*

"A mower of meadows, without meat, at 6*d.* a day.

"A reaper in harvest, without meat, at 5*d.* a day.

"And as the average price of wheat in the latter part of the fifteenth century did not much exceed 4*s.* the quarter, the wages of agricultural labourers had rather increased—that is, they obtained at least the value of four bushels of wheat for a week's labour (equal to about 30*s.* at the average price of the last ten years); whilst for the last fifty years they have seldom received the value of one bushel and a quarter of wheat for a week's labour (or 9*s.* 6*d.*), except when the price was below the average. The great increase in the rent of land has therefore arisen from the labourers receiving a less quantity of produce than before, as well as from the increased fertility of the land, and the increased price of the produce."

Again, at p. 43, "The republican parliament formed and executed great designs. These it was enabled to undertake by the effective system of taxation which it established, particularly the monthly assessments on real and personal property. £20 of stock, or other personal estate, being assessed at the rate laid on every *twenty shillings* of yearly rent, or yearly value of land, thereby taxing both descriptions of property alike, assuming that real property yielded 5 per cent."

And in a note to p. 433, the editor observes, "Before the Revolution, as the expenses of war was principally borne by the landholders, we find them always most desirous to terminate them; whilst in the subsequent reigns, when the naval and military expenses of the state were defrayed out of the general revenue, principally raised on articles of consumption, it will be found that the House of Commons, which was almost exclusively composed of landholders, and represented the interests of that body, was too much disposed to favour the continuance of war, and to increase the national expenditure."

Again, at p. 443, "The land-tax was granted after the Revolution, as a commutation for the abolition of the manorial profits formerly payable to the crown; and was fixed at 4*s.* in the pound, on the *full true yearly rent* at the time of making the *assessment*; but as no re-valuation has been made since 1695, the assessment is now very unequal. In some places it is still nearly 4*s.* in the pound, whilst in others it is less than *one penny* in the pound. If this commutation of 4*s.* in the pound had been as strictly levied for the benefit of the revenue, as the manorial profits payable to the lords of manors, it would have formed a principal item in the national income."

No extracts, however, that we could give, would convey an idea of the vast mass of information contained in this volume, which is small but most compact, both of print and historical facts.

19.—THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURE, HER DIVINE REVELATIONS, AND A VOICE TO MANKIND. By and through Andrew Jackson Davis, the 'Poughkeepsie Seer,' and 'Clairvoyant.' Two Volumes. London: John Chapman, 142, Strand. 1848.

WHATEVER may be the degree of credit accorded to the statement of the manner in which these volumes have been produced, there can be but one opinion upon Mr. Chapman's part in the affair. By that gentleman's enterprize have been naturalized many important literary and philosophical works, with which, but for his liberality, the mere English reader might never perhaps have become acquainted. So with the volumes before us. We entirely agree with Mr. Chapman, in believing that "there are, perhaps, few English publishers, occupying a respectable position in their profession, who would not shrink from the responsibility of issuing the present work." There is, at first sight, something connected with it, so utterly opposed to all our preconceived notions of the art and mystery of book-making, that we feel strongly disposed to apply to it a very expressive English term, and to characterize the whole affair as an attempt, on the part of brother Jonathan, to gull his would-be *cute* but really impressible (in other words *very soft*) brother John. We may, however, thank Mr. Chapman for adding to our list of the 'Curiosities of Literature,' two goodly volumes, consisting of "lectures upon a great variety of scientific and philosophical subjects," purporting to have been dictated, in a state of *clairvoyance*, by a young man, who in his normal state is described as ignorant and illiterate, and as "possessing absolutely no knowledge of the sciences with which, in his peculiar abnormal condition, he displays such an intimate and comprehensive acquaintance."

Of the incredible part of the circumstances connected with these volumes it is sufficient to remark that there is scarcely a single doctrine or fact propounded in them which may not be found in the pages of Oken, Mulder, Hegel, Fichte, Kant, Schelling, Swedenborg, the 'Bridgewater Treatises,' the 'Vestiges,' and other works of like character; in short they contain hardly an idea which has not in some shape or other been promulgated before: and yet we are expected to believe that Mr. Andrew Jackson Davis (who, by the way, possesses one of the most *knowing* heads we ever saw upon a pair of shoulders) never read a word of any one of these authorities, because, forsooth, he was only about nineteen years of age when he commenced the delivery of these lectures; that previously to, and during the period of their delivery, he had not read many books; and that for certain such books as those above named had seldom or never fallen in his way.

In support of this statement, Mr. Davis's *scribe*, or, as we should term him, *amanuensis*, who took down from his dictation these wonderful revelations, gives several letters from gentlemen of credibility who had known young Davis almost from his birth. Four of these letters represent him as having been in very humble circumstances; as not having had more than about five months' schooling; "during

which time he learned to read imperfectly, to write a fair hand, and to do simple sums in arithmetic." We of course have no means of testing his abilities in reading and arithmetic; but as to his writing, we can only say, that if in *five months* his writing master could teach a youth previously ignorant of caligraphy to write such an elegant hand as is given for Davis's signature beneath his portrait, he would soon make his fortune in London among "those whose hand-writing has been neglected," to the great detriment of the advertising improvers of the same.

Of the five testimonials to character and acquirements given by Mr. Davis's *scribe*, we are disposed to rely most upon that of his friend, the Rev. A. R. Bartlett. This gentleman says that Davis "possessed an inquiring mind—loved books, especially controversial religious works, which he always preferred, whenever he could borrow them and obtain leisure for their perusal. Hence he was indebted to his individual exertions for some creditable advances which he made in knowledge. He became a good thinker." We will be bound he did: his physiognomy shows it! But this evidence, which we believe to be trustworthy, and which relates to a period extending from the year 1842 to 1845, completely contradicts what we are told by others, who say that during that time Davis "was never known to frequent public libraries, and was seldom known to take up a book; and that his very limited reading was confined to a few juvenile productions, fugitive essays, and light romances, not, perhaps, comprising over four hundred or five hundred pages at most; and even this little reading was pursued in the most desultory manner." It is therefore evident, from the testimony of Davis's intimate friend, Mr. Bartlett, that the former really "loved books, and especially controversial religious works;" and from the testimony of his other friends it being equally evident that he contrived to read such books without the knowledge of those who certify to his ignorance and illiterateness, we need no further evidence that it was also possible to procure other works than those of controversial divinity, and to peruse them in like secrecy. We are expressly told that Davis became a good thinker; therefore such a mind as he possessed, taking pleasure in the perusal of controversial and philosophical works, would form and store away for future use a fund of ideas, which would be readily reproduced on any favorable occasion presenting itself.

And such an occasion was presented in the year 1845, when Mr. Davis, in the month of May, communicated to his chosen *scribe* and others, his intention to "commence a series of lectures and revelations upon subjects such as are embraced in this book:" and the reporter further states, that—

"On the 27th of November, 1845, residing at the time in New Haven, Connecticut, we received, per mail, a note from Dr. Lyon [the clairvoyant's chosen magnetizer], stating that we had been appointed by Mr. Davis, while in the clairvoyant state, as the scribe to report and prepare for the press his lectures, which were to commence immediately. . . . The next day, we embarked for New York, and in the evening wrote Mr. Davis's first lecture, at his dictation—subsequently agreeing to write and prepare the whole for the press."

After describing the process adopted for throwing the lecturer into his clairvoyant condition, and the manner in which the lectures were dictated, as well as the share taken by himself in their production before the world, the *scribe* continues:—

“Furthermore, the work was originally proposed by the clairvoyant himself; the time of its commencement was fixed upon by himself; and all under his authoritative direction. He has spoken only as directed by his interior promptings, and no portions of his work have been elicited by the interrogatories or suggestions of another. When he has spoken, he has spoken spontaneously; and at such times as his interior perceptions were not duly expanded, he has refused to proceed with his dictations. All persons around him, connected in any way with the production of the book, were therefore moved by him; he was not in the least degree moved or influenced by any of them; and it is owing solely to influences from the interior world as operating on the mind, that the book now makes its appearance.”

We cannot but admire the energy with which Mr. Fishbough, the clairvoyant's amanuensis, declares himself prepared “to sacrifice all things earthly, and even life itself,” in defence of his opinion that the book is really and truly a revelation from the spiritual world. But we must confess that we are by no means as yet convinced that it is anything beyond an emanation from the spirit of a clever young man, who, by dint of close application and intense thought has formed in his own mind the idea of a new revelation of the Principles of Nature, culled from such works as have fallen in his way, or from conversations in which he may have taken part. These he has cleverly contrived to reproduce, in such a way as to lead his followers to believe that like Mahomet, he has the power of ascending to the third or the seventh heaven, and there intuitively to attain a knowledge of such things as ordinary mortals are content to learn through the medium of patient study. But in this, no more than in the *secrets* he brings us from the world of spirits, is Mr. Davis original. Mahomet, in olden time, and Swedenborg, in modern days, did the same thing—indeed there is, if anything, a falling off in the sublimity of the affair as managed by Mr. Davis, who, unlike his prototypes, is unable to attain the extatic condition without the assistance of his chosen magnetizer.

A curious instance, as we understand it, of the mundane source of the clairvoyant's spiritual ideas, is given in a note to the word *diagnostic*, in p. 227. The scribe in all honesty, says—

“The contents of this section were delivered on the 29th of April, 1846. What is here said of the ‘diagnostic’ principle, was entirely new to me at the time, having never heard of the term. On subsequently asking the speaker for a more particular explanation, he replied, in substance, that an imponderable element had recently been discovered, the motion of which intersected the current producing the direction of the magnetic needle. On my inquiring the name of the discoverer, the clairvoyant passed off (*i. e.* spiritually, the body assuming the inclined position), and on returning he remarked, ‘It sounds like’—(hesitating and passing off again)—‘he is known as Professor Faraday.’ I mention this phenomenon, apparently unimportant at first view, as one which establishes the fact of the clairvoyant's receiving impressions of *sounds* as well as of facts and things. A paragraph in a newspaper subsequently fell under

my notice, containing a brief statement of Faraday's discovery of a principle which he terms 'dia-magnetic;' but of this it is *certain*, that the clairvoyant had no knowledge while in the normal state, when the above paragraph was dictated."—p. 227.

By no means *certain* to us, Mr. Fishbough, though we give *you* credit for believing so.

The believers in Mr. Davis's powers of clairvoyance refer to his age as an argument against the supposition that he acquired his knowledge by ordinary means; but this is not at all conclusive. Look at many of the greatest men of all ages—poets and philosophers—did not they live a lengthened mental life in a few years of physical existence? Newton had made most of his grand discoveries, and laid the foundations of all, before he was twenty-five; Burns was but thirty-seven years of age when he died; Mozart but thirty-five; Byron only thirty-six; and Chatterton,

"The wondrous boy who perished in his pride,"

whose ingenious forgeries offer a closer parallel to Mr. Davis's 'Principles of Nature' than anything at present occurring to us, had hood-winked the *literati* of his day, and passed from life by his own rash act, ere he had reached the early age of *eighteen*.

Whilst therefore we are willing to accord to this book the merit of being a clever compilation, we must confess that all the wonderful part of the business appears to us in the light of an equally clever attempt at what Mr. Davis's countryman, Sam Slick, would elegantly denominate, a *regular sell*.

20.—TOWN LYRICS AND OTHER POEMS. By Charles Mackay, LL.D.
Author of 'Voices from the Crowd,' 'Voices from the Mountains,' &c. London: D. Bogue, 86, Fleet Street. 1848.

MUCH as we admired Dr. Mackay's 'Voices from the Mountains,' the present *brochure* is well calculated to raise his reputation still higher. It overflows with pure genuine poetry, which, with the liberality of a great mind, is issued at a price so low as to come within the reach of all. As a true lover of the people, the author practises one of his own precepts, he tells *the people* all his thoughts, and they must be both wiser and better who lend a willing ear to his revelations.

In the 'Town Lyrics' before us, published early in January of the present year, Dr. Mackay shows that the prophetic spirit claimed by poets of the olden time is not quite extinct. In his 'Appeal to Paris,' the recent French Revolution, and consequent continental movements are clearly foreshadowed. We quote the closing invocation to the French capital.

"Come forth, Oh, Paris! freed from vice and stain,
Like a young warrior, dallying too long
With loving women, wasting precious hours
In base delights and enervating sloth,
Who, when he shakes them off, puts back his hair
From his broad brow, and places on his head

The plumed helmet—throws his velvets off,
 And swathes his vigorous limbs in glancing steel,
 To lead true hearts to struggle for mankind.
 Or if no more, soldier of liberty,
 Thou'lt lead the nations—stand upon the hill,
 And, like a prophet, preach a holy creed
 Of freedom, progress, peace and happiness,
 And all the world shall listen to thy voice ;
 And Tyranny, hyena big with young,
 Dreading the sound, shall farrow in affright,
 And drop, still-born, her sanguinary cubs,
 And many a bloody feud be spared mankind.
 Poland again, with desperate grasp, shall seize
 The neck of her enslaver, and extort
 Full justice from his terror. Hungary,
 Ermined and crowned, shall sit in her own seat
 In peaceful state and sober majesty :
 And Italy, unloosening her bonds
 By her strong will, shall be at last the home
 Of broadly based and virtuous liberty ;
 And in her bosom nurture evermore,
 Not the fierce virtues of her Roman youth,
 But the calm blessings of her later time—
 Science and art, and civilising trade,
 Divine philosophy, diviner song,
 And true religion, reconciled with man.
 Speak out, oh Paris ! purify thyself
 By noble thoughts, and deeds will follow them—
 The world has need of thee. Humanity
 Droops for thy dalliance with degraded things,
 Alien and most unworthy of the soul
 That sleeps within thee. Pyrenæes and Alps,
 And Apennines, and snow-clad Balkans, wait,
 With all their echoes, to repeat the words
 Which thou *must* utter ! Thou hast slumbered long—
 Long dallied. Speak ! The world will answer thee !”—p 47

We hope that the prophecy of the advent of the cholera in “The Mowers,” may not in like manner be verified. It is a strong appeal to the Sanitary Commissioners. “The Death Banquet of the Girondins,” versified from descriptions given by Lamartine and Thiers, is a splendid piece of poetry, also *à propos* to the times.

As it would be hardly fair to quote from so small a book more than we have already given, we must content ourselves with recommending it to the notice of all who love genuine poetry, especially when devoted to the cause of the best interests of humanity.

21.—THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HUMAN SPECIES; ITS TYPICAL FORMS, PRIMÆVAL DISTRIBUTION, FILIATIONS, AND MIGRATIONS. Illustrated by 34 coloured Plates, with Portrait and Vignette. By Lieut.-Col. Charles Hamilton Smith, K.H., &c., &c., &c. Edinburgh: Lizars. London: Highley. 1848.

THE varied researches and attainments of Col. Hamilton Smith, in

the several departments of physiology, language, history, and geology, have prepared and fitted his mind to exhibit the great questions of ethnology, and of the physical and moral progress of humanity, in a light at once philosophical and attractive. The present volume, while it will satisfy the most voracious appetite for *facts*, geological, zoological, and traditional, will be found at the same time eminently suggestive to the theorist.

Commencing with a historical and scientific review of the great physical changes which have taken place on the earth's surface since the commencement of the present zoological system; proceeding thence to inductions which have been made from the fossil discoveries of modern geology, in their relation to the possible co-existence of the human species with extinct animal races; the author finally discusses the structural differences and the intellectual characters of the typical stocks of humanity, and analyses the generally recognized types and sub-types of different systems.

The following extract embodies the geographical basis of the author's system of classification.

"The centres of existence of the three typical forms of man, are evidently—the intertropical region of Africa, for the woolly-haired; the open, elevated regions of North Eastern Asia, for the beardless; and the mountain ranges towards the south and west, for the bearded Caucasian."—p. 121.

This classification into three typical varieties, with essential elements of variety, may seem, at first sight, capable of expansion into a quinary distribution, from the fact of two intermediate species or genera occurring amongst the human family, with less precise, yet obvious, characteristics of dissimilarity.

"Whether we take the three typical forms in the light of distinct species, or view them simply as varieties of one aboriginal pair, there appear immediately two others intermediate between them, possessing the modified combination of characters of two of the foregoing, sufficiently remote from both to seem deserving, likewise, of the denomination of species, or at least of normal varieties, if it were not that the same difficulty obtrudes itself between every succeeding intermediate aberrance."—p. 125.

To the further investigations of physiology, and especially of foetal anatomy, Col. Hamilton Smith looks for the final determination of the question: but he evidently leans to the conclusion of a triple origin. It is possible that the course of investigation indicated by the author of the 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation,' may, in time, by a combination of inductive and hypothetical analysis, throw further light on this curious subject of inquiry: and even as geology and the Mosaic cosmogony are found not irreconcilable, on the basis of a liberal interpretation, so perhaps philosophy may reconcile the Mosaic mythus of the human creation with the startling deductions of a bold ethnology. The following quotation, which is all that, at this eleventh hour, our limited space will permit, is full of interesting speculation.

"It does not appear that a thorough research has yet been made in the successive cerebral appearances of the fetus, nor of the character the brain of infants exhibits, immediately after parturition, in each of the three typical forms. M. de Serres, indeed, has led the way, and already, according to him, most important discoveries have resulted from his investigations; for, should the conditions of cerebral progress be more complete at birth in the Caucasian tribe, as his discoveries indicate, and be successively lower in the Mongolic, and intermediate Malay and American, with the woolly-haired, least developed of all, it would follow, according to the apparently general law of progression in animated nature, that both, or at least the last mentioned, would be in the conditions which show a more ancient date of existence than the other, notwithstanding that both this and the Mongolic are so constituted, that the spark of mental development can be received by them through contact with the higher Caucasian innervation. Thus appearing, in classified zoology, to constitute perhaps three species, originating at different epochs, or simultaneously in separate regions; while by the faculty of fusion with the last, or Caucasian, imparted to them, progression up to intellectual equality would manifest essential unity, and render all alike responsible beings, according to the degree of their existing capabilities—for this must be the ultimate condition for which man is created. Fanciful though these speculations appear, they seem to confer more harmony upon the conflicting phenomena surrounding the question than any other hypothesis that rests upon physiology, combined with geological data and known historical facts."—p. 125.

22.—RAILWAY COLONIZATION AND A COLONIZATION CURRENCY. WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING A SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE BEFORE LORD MONTEAGLE'S COMMITTEE ON COLONIZATION FROM IRELAND. By William Bridges. Reprinted from 'The Monthly Railway Record.' 1847.

THE British colonies, rightly administered, are the national safety-valve. Call it what we may, a million and a half of paupers in England, and three millions of paupers in Ireland, a ninth and a third respectively of the population, constitute a "great fact," demanding grave and immediate consideration. Besides the £54,000,000 of taxes in Lord John's Budget, let it be remembered that we pay £8,000,000 to feed the compulsorily idle, to keep together the souls and bodies of starving fellow-countrymen; and moreover, that this absolute and professional pauperism does not stand on one side of a line of demarcation, with a comfortable yeomanry immediately on the other, but that between the two extremes of luxury and utter misery, there are such various gradations of discomfort and uneasiness, that we might as well attempt to pronounce "where the cheeks end, and where begins the chin," as to mark out the boundary line of pauperism and independence.

But out of this very nettle of danger and sorrow, the writer of this pamphlet proposes to pluck the flower of hope and national regeneration; out of the relations of our neglected colonial lands, and our miserable peasantry, to create at once, without antagonism to indi-

vidual rights, but in the spirit of a national duty—by combination and concentration—the instrument of their mutual redemption and development. Not upon gold at £3 17s. 10½*d.* an ounce, but upon colonial land carrying so many souls to the square mile, if we may so translate his language, are we to have a national currency, which, he supposes, will tend to a national salvation.

The no-principle of our present system is, at all events, fairly indicated.

“The real property of Great Britain is estimated at about 2,000 millions sterling; its personal property at 2,500 millions; its population at some 30 millions of souls; and all these vast elements of production and reproduction are sought to be combined, adjusted, and made available by a monetary instrument, of at the utmost 30 millions of national notes, which are not national; and 30 million pieces of gold, which are constantly flying off to other countries, and thereby disturbing all our commercial and social relations.”—p. 10.

The writer proposes to adapt colonial lands to the purposes of colonization by means of a preliminary investment in the supply of labour—in the construction of railways—in ordinary roads—in bridges, grist and saw mills, and other physical preparation—in endowments for schools and churches—in surveys of sites for villages, public parks and cemeteries.

It is further argued that the combination of land and labour involving the creation of a reproductive capital, of more or less determinable value, such capital may at once be disengaged and constituted into floating capital under the authority of the state, and such national currency made the instrument of colonization and civilization; and that the value of these symbols will ever be maintainable by the accruing interest in the shape of crown rents, contributed by yeoman settlers, on a system of moral feudalism; that these rents and the enhanced value of the lands may be made to replace the capital to the state, which will thus always have it in its power to increase or reduce the circulation, and at its option to cancel the symbols in whole or in part, or remit or lessen the annual contributions. In other words, that colonial land scrip, based upon the crown lands and under a proper system of concentration and combination of labour, be made a legal tender within the colony, being always convertible into stock bearing a certain interest, the fund for this interest to accrue from crown reserves upon lines of railway, and close to the proposed centres of civilization; such scrip being also advanced to English Railway Companies, as a bonus or inducement to English capitalists to invest English capital and energies in addition.

We have room for only the following quotations:—

“Land and population are the only true foundation of a currency; land, becoming rapidly enhanced in value by labour impressed upon it in the shape of railways and agriculture, is the proper measure and gauge, as well as basis, of all national wealth and greatness; and the value of the land and its superstructures, in the shape of railways, and buildings, and food, proportioned to the wants and numbers of the population, must determinate the amount and quality of a national currency.”—p. 9.

“Great Britain possesses hundreds, yea, thousands of millions of acres, of what Voltaire sarcastically and parenthetically referred to as the grand obstacle to a nation’s destruction by its Government—*good land*. It possesses thousands of square miles of territory, stretching over every line of longitude east and west of Greenwich. Within these islands the Crown owns a tax revenue of some £50,000,000 per annum—without and beyond our shores, in the *colony* of Ireland, as well as in the colonies of New Zealand and America, the proper combination of the elements of production would realise for the British nation an imperial rent-roll of immeasurable amount. But its lands are left in a state of unproductive wilderness, and what ought to be its greatest and most boasted treasure—its population—is for the most part wallowing in poverty, ignorance, and misery. So much for our land; so much for our labour; while our realized capital, in the same manner, is equally inoperative; for the instrument which should represent it, and aid its transfer from one person to another; its dispersion from the great stagnant reservoir to the cisterns of the community; is ludicrously inadequate.

“How to adjust the relations of these three elements; how to combine them for the national benefit; how to diffuse the results of their combination; is the prime province of the statesman.”—p. 11.

23.—THE SEPULCHRE. Painted by Marshall Claxton. Drawn on Stone by Bell Smith. London: Gambart & Co., 25, Berners Street, Oxford Street. 1848.

IT is not often that we give a notice of a work of art, but this print, notwithstanding sundry minor faults, exhibits so many proofs of progress in the right direction, that we can scarcely pass it over in silence. It represents the interior of the sepulchre, with the body of Christ in the foreground, the head reclining on the top of a high altar-shaped stone, which supports the upper portion of the body. The position is somewhat unnatural, but its choice has given the artist an opportunity of showing his mastery over the anatomical difficulties induced by it. The head is particularly good; the features, although exhibiting traces of recent suffering, wear a most pleasing expression of calm and placid resignation. The trunk of the body and the left arm and hand are well drawn. Two angels are represented floating in the air at the upper left-hand corner, and looking with an air of sorrow upon the recumbent figure; these, to our taste, rather injure the general effect than otherwise: they are “of the earth—earthy,” instead of being represented with that ethereal appearance we are accustomed in our mental vision to attribute to such celestial visitants. They may, perhaps, have been injured in the lithographing; at all events their general effect is much too heavy. As a whole, however, Mr. Claxton’s reputation will be enhanced by this meritorious production, which is a decided advance towards high art, such as we seldom meet with, and the more highly prized for its rarity, in these days of “Art-Union” prints.

THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
Review.

ART. I.—*Principles of Political Economy.* By John Stuart Mill. In 2 vols. Parker. 1848.

ONE of the most questionable acts of the late Provisional Government of the new French Republic was undoubtedly that of the suppression of the chair of Political Economy in the College of France. Its motive is said to have been the removal, by indirect means, of Michel Chevalier, the college professor, who, although a liberal of undoubted talent, had committed himself irreparably with the republican party, by accepting commissionerships under Louis Philippe, and by acting as one of the editors of the '*Journal des Débats*.'

We regret that the provisional government, which, whatever its faults, has not been wanting in courage, should have laid itself open to the imputation, through the indiscretion of M. Carnot, of seeking to attain a private object by roundabout methods, and of thereby sacrificing the interests of science. To do justice, however, to the members of the provisional government, we must express our belief that M. De Lamartine, and the majority of his colleagues, were not at all influenced by personal considerations when they ratified the project of the Minister of Public Instruction. On their part, at least, there has been none of that hostility towards Political Economy in every shape, which was manifested by Napoleon. The scheme they have adopted does not prohibit the science as a branch of study necessary to an university course, but, on the contrary, extends it, under another

name. "*L'Economie Politique*" is now to be taught under the title of "*L'Economie Générale*;" and five professorships are instituted in the place of the one superseded. "*L'Economie Générale*" is to be studied separately in its application to the statistics of population, agriculture, arts and manufactures, public works, finance and commerce. This kind of classification may, it is true, give rise to a suspicion that M. Carnot has need to enter himself as a neophyte in the College for the very course of instruction which he has undertaken to direct, since it will of course occur to every person who is familiar with the subjects most frequently discussed under the name of political economy—"price," "wages," "exchangeable value," "capital," "machinery" &c.—that the greater part of these, which apply to all branches of industry alike, have no especial relation to any one branch which they have not to every other. But let us not shut our eyes to the fact that philosophical writers, in confining the discussion to these subjects, have appeared to the public to narrow the province of political administration to technical definitions, and that the importance of "capital," and the evils of a redundant population, have been so frequently insisted upon to the exclusion of all practical questions of social amelioration, as to create a very prevalent belief in the public mind, both of England and France, that the object of political economists was to make out a case for the rich, and justify legislators in their oppression or neglect of the poor. Considering the embarrassment to the new republican government created by this prejudice, we must contend that M. De Lamartine was quite right in stating in his reply to the address of the political economists of Paris, that it was now time that science should apply itself to the discovery of the means by which wealth could not only be created and distributed, but better distributed than heretofore; and that he did well in repudiating, on the part of himself and his colleagues, the *laissez faire* policy of leaving every one to shift for himself, in a world in which the weak and ignorant have always gone to the wall, as not consistent with the doctrine of human brotherhood, upon which it was sought to found the new institutions of the country.

Much of the prejudice which M. De Lamartine was seeking to disarm, has arisen out of a misapprehension of the objects of the science almost unavoidable from its designation. And the truth is, that the term "political economy" is altogether a misnomer. The natural laws which govern production and determine the reward of labour concern the private citizen quite as much as the state, and that which is both individual and national cannot with propriety be called *political*, as if an affair exclusively of statesmen. Laws of health, rules of education, affect the interests of

nations, but we do not call them political sciences. Neither can we with propriety call the laws of production and distribution a science of "economy." It is true the statesman may learn from them how to avoid that waste of the national resources which is always the result of protective duties, but the doctrine of "rent," for example, or that of a "standard of value," has even less to do with the *oikos, nomos*, or thrifty management of a state, than the annual motions of Mr. Joseph Hume for a retrenchment of government expenditure.

The subject which political economists have really discussed, under a more inappropriate title, is *the science of industry*,—industry, in reference to the division of labour, the reward of labour, the exchangeable value of its products, and their distribution, generally, among other classes than labourers. One or the other of these heads might have embraced every chapter that has been written, in every volume of political economy that has yet issued from the press, and would have led educated working men to take a part in the discussion; an object in itself of no mean importance, if the truths of the science be ever destined to influence beneficially the whole frame-work of society.

We regret, on this account, that Mr. John Stuart Mill, in the treatise before us, did not at once set the example (one which, from his high reputation, must have been followed) of calling things by their right names, without regard to learned precedent. He condemns the old appellation but yet retains it. He shows that the proposed substitute of "Catalectics," or the science of exchange, for "political economy," a name still more pedantic, would not be logically correct; but he does not attempt himself to meet the difficulty, and, addressing himself to philosophers rather than to the public, he calls his treatise, with the philosophers who have been before him, a treatise upon the principles of political economy.

Mr. Mill, however, does a better thing than improve and popularize the name of the science of which he treats, however that may be needed; he applies it to the practical business of the day. This is the great characteristic of the present work; the one in which it differs the most essentially from the treatises of nearly all the author's predecessors. It is something to be able to say of such a book that it is not a Jeremiad. Mr. Mill is not content to explain and deplore the evils which afflict society, but fairly grapples with them for their correction; and without discarding Malthus, he speaks hopefully to the masses who, with no *malice prepense*, have committed the crime of getting born

into the world, as of an offence which may yet be forgotten and forgiven, and its fatal consequences by possibility averted.

The work is a careful and pains-taking summary of all the principles of the science as laid down by Adam Smith, Turgot, Jean Baptiste Say, Ricardo, &c., with those modifications and amendments to which later discussions have led; presented in a more systematized form than any in which they have hitherto appeared, and separately considered in their application to social philosophy.

It is divided into five books. The first book relates to **PRODUCTION**, and treats of its three agents, labour, capital, and land. Of labour as both productive and unproductive, individual and combined. Of capital as the result of the savings of labour, kept up by perpetual reproduction, and of its nature as both circulating and fixed. Of land as limited in quantity and fertility, and of the causes which affect the full development of its resources.

The second book relates to **DISTRIBUTION**; and under this head we have a definition of property; an examination of the principles of Communism, the doctrines of St. Simon, and the effects of competition; with an explanation of wages, profits, and rent. Perhaps the most valuable portion of this book is the comparison it contains of the condition of cottier tenants and peasant proprietors, to the advantage of the latter; a class the existence of which is advocated by the author as a necessary intermediate link between the rich and poor.

The third book relates to **EXCHANGE**, and discusses the questions of demand and supply, cost of production, &c., in their relation to *value*. It treats also of money as a measure of value; of convertible and inconvertible paper currencies; of the influence of credit upon prices; of foreign exchanges, and rates of interest.

The fourth book relates to the **PROGRESS OF SOCIETY**, and the influence of that progress upon production and distribution. It describes the effects of an increased command over the powers of nature; of increased security and increased co-operation as leading to a lowering of prices, except in regard to agricultural and money produce, and to a general denunciation of profits; and it discusses the probable futurity of the labouring classes.

The fifth book treats of **THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT**. It describes briefly the functions of government in general; proceeds to an inquiry into the general principles of taxation, and compares the relative inconveniences and advantages of direct and indirect taxes. It then discusses the effects upon production and distribution of national debts; the effects also of the law and

custom of primogeniture; of interference with government founded upon erroneous theories; and concludes with a chapter upon the grounds and limits of the *laissez faire*, or non-interference principle.

It will be seen that the range of topics is too wide to allow us to dwell upon each of them with a view of commenting upon every new position assumed by the author. Some of the more important, as, for example, the opinions of the author upon the functions of money, and various kinds of currency, require and may hereafter receive separate consideration. Confining ourselves, as we are obliged to do in the present instance, to one branch of the inquiry, we shall select that which relates to questions of social amelioration and administrative improvement.

The chapter upon "the probable futurity of the working classes," will probably win the approbation of M. De Lamartine; for, in the spirit of his own address, it begins with deprecating the inordinate importance attached by some to the mere increase of production, and by confessing that attention should now be chiefly fixed upon "improved distribution, and a larger remuneration of labour, as the true desiderata." Mr. Mill, however, separates himself from that class of politicians who have set up in this country as the poor man's patrons, and demolishes the theory upon which their pseudo-philanthropy is founded.

Considered in its moral and social aspect, the state of the labouring people has latterly been a subject of much more speculation and discussion than formerly; and the opinion, that it is not now what it ought to be, has become very general. The suggestions which have been promulgated, and the controversies which have been excited, on detached points rather than on the foundations of the subject, have put in evidence the existence of two conflicting theories, respecting the social position desirable for manual labourers. The one may be called the theory of dependence and protection, the other that of self-dependence.

According to the former theory, the lot of the poor, in all things which affect them collectively, should be regulated *for* them, not *by* them. They should not be required or encouraged to think for themselves, or give to their own reflection or forecast an influential voice in the determination of their destiny. It is the duty of the higher classes to think for them, and to take the responsibility of their lot, as the commander and officers of an army take that of the soldiers composing it. This function the higher classes should prepare themselves to perform conscientiously, and their whole demeanour should impress the poor with a reliance on it, in order that, while yielding passive and active obedience to the rules prescribed for them, they may resign themselves in all other respects to a trustful *insouciance*, and repose under the shadow of their protectors. The relation between rich and poor should be only partially authoritative; it should be amiable,

moral, and sentimental: affectionate tutelage on the one side, respectful and grateful deference on the other. The rich should be *in loco parentis* to the poor, guiding and restraining them like children. Of spontaneous action on their part there should be no need. They should be called on for nothing but to do their day's work, and to be moral and religious. Their morality and religion should be provided for them by their superiors, who should see them properly taught it, and should do all that is necessary to insure their being, in return for labour and attachment, properly fed, clothed, housed, spiritually edified, and innocently amused.

"This is the ideal of the Future, in the minds of those whose dissatisfaction with the Present assumes the form of affection and regret towards the Past. Like other ideals, it exercises an unconscious influence on the opinions and sentiments of numbers who never consciously guide themselves by any ideal. It has also this in common with other ideals, that it has never been historically realized. It makes its appeal to our imaginative sympathies in the character of a restoration of the good times of our forefathers. But no times can be pointed out in which the higher classes of this or any other country performed a part even distantly resembling the one assigned to them in this theory. It is an idealization, grounded on the conduct and character of here and there an individual. All privileged and powerful classes, as such, have used their power in the interest of their own selfishness, and have indulged their self-importance in despising, and not in lovingly caring for, those who were, in their estimation, degraded by inferiority. That what has always been must always be, or that human improvement does not tend more and more to correct the intensely selfish feelings engendered by power, I should be sorry to affirm. This, however, seems to me undeniable, that long before the superior classes could be sufficiently improved to govern in the tutelary manner supposed, the inferior classes would be too much improved to be so governed.

"I am quite sensible of all that is seductive in the picture of society which this theory presents. Though the facts of it have no prototype in the past, the feelings have. In them lies all that there is of reality in the conception. As the idea is essentially repulsive of a society only held together by bought services, and by the relations and feelings arising out of pecuniary interests, so there is something naturally attractive in a form of society abounding in strong personal attachments and disinterested self-devotion. Of such feelings it must be admitted that the relation of protector and protected has hitherto been the richest source. The strongest attachments of human beings in general are towards the things or the persons that stand between them and some dreaded evil. Hence, in an age of lawless violence and insecurity, and general hardness and roughness of manners, in which life is beset with dangers and sufferings at every step, to those who have neither a commanding position of their own, nor a claim on the protection of some one who has—a generous giving of protection, and a

grateful receiving of it, are the strongest ties which connect human beings; the feelings arising from that relation are their warmest feelings; all the enthusiasm and tenderness of the most sensitive natures gather round it; loyalty on the one part and chivalry on the other are principles exalted into passions. I do not desire to depreciate these virtues. That the most beautiful developments of feeling and character often grow out of the most painful, and in many other respects the most hardening and corrupting, circumstances of our condition, is now, and probably will long be, one of the chief stumbling-blocks both in the theory and in the practice of morals and education. The error in the present case lies in not perceiving that these virtues and sentiments, like the clanship and the hospitality of the wandering Arab, belong emphatically to a rude and imperfect state of the social union, and that the feelings between protector and protected can no longer have this beautiful and endearing character where there are no longer any serious dangers from which to protect. What is there in the present state of society to make it natural that human beings, of ordinary strength and courage, should glow with the warmest gratitude and devotion in return for protection? The laws protect them: where laws do not reach, manners and opinion shield them. To be under the power of some one, instead of being as formerly the sole condition of safety, is now, speaking generally, the only situation which exposes to grievous wrong; and wrong against which laws and opinion are neither able, nor very seriously attempt, to afford effectual protection. We have entered into a state of civilization in which the bond that attaches human beings to one another, must be disinterested admiration and sympathy for personal qualities, or gratitude for unselfish services, and not the emotions of protectors towards dependants, or of dependants towards protectors. The arrangements of society are now such that no man or woman who either possesses or is able to earn a livelihood, requires any other protection than that of the law. This being the case, it argues great ignorance of human nature to continue taking for granted that relations founded on protection must always subsist, and not to see that the assumption of the part of protector, and of the power which belongs to it, without any of the necessities which justify it, must engender feelings opposite to loyalty.

“Of the working classes of Western Europe at least it may be pronounced certain, that the patriarchal or paternal system of government is one to which they will not again be subject. That question has been several times decided. It was decided when they were taught to read, and allowed access to newspapers and political tracts. It was decided when dissenting preachers were suffered to go among them, and appeal to their faculties and feelings in opposition to the creeds professed and countenanced by their superiors. It was decided when they were brought together in numbers, to work socially under the same roof. It was decided when railways enabled them to shift from place to place, and change their patrons and employers as easily as their coats. The working classes have taken their interests into their

own hands, and are perpetually showing that they think the interests of their employers not identical with their own but opposite to them. Some among the higher classes flatter themselves that these tendencies may be counteracted by moral and religious education; but they have let the time go by for giving an education which can serve their purpose. The principles of the Reformation have reached as low down in society as reading and writing, and the poor will no longer accept morals and religion of other people's prescribing. I speak more particularly of our own country, especially the town population, and the districts of the most scientific agriculture and highest wages, Scotland and the north of England. Among the more inert and less modernized agricultural population of the southern counties, it might be possible for the gentry to retain for some time longer something of the ancient deference and submission of the poor, by bribing them with high wages and constant employment; by ensuring them support, and never requiring them to do anything which they do not like. But these are two conditions which never have been combined, and never can be, for long together. A guarantee of subsistence can only be practically kept up, when work is enforced, and superfluous multiplication re-streined, by at least a moral compulsion. It is then, that the would-be revivers of old times which they do not understand, would feel practically in how hopeless a task they were engaged. The whole fabric of patriarchal or seigniorial influence, attempted to be raised on the foundation of caressing the poor, would be shattered against the necessity of enforcing a stringent Poor-law."

This is sound philosophy, and admirably said. We agree with the author that the poor have now come out of leading-strings, and that it is to themselves and their own qualities that must now be chiefly committed the care of their destiny. Government may promote or impede the object of the moral and physical elevation of the working classes by wise or injudicious measures, but the only measures that can really assist the operative are those which must be addressed to him as an equal, and accepted with his eyes open. The prospect of his fortune must depend, not upon tutelage, but upon the part he may take as a rational being.

"There is no reason to believe that prospect other than hopeful. The progress indeed must always be slow. But there is a spontaneous education going on in the minds of the multitude, which may be greatly accelerated and improved by artificial aids. The instruction obtained from newspapers and political tracts is not the best sort of instruction, but it is vastly superior to none at all. The institutions for lectures and discussion, the collective deliberations on questions of common interest, the trades unions, the political agitation, all serve to awaken public spirit, to diffuse variety of ideas among the mass, and to excite real thought and reflection in a few of the more intelligent, who become the leaders and instructors of the

rest. Although the too early attainment of political franchises by the least educated class might retard, instead of promoting, their improvement, there can be little doubt that it is greatly stimulated by the attempt to acquire those franchises. It is of little importance that some of them may, at a certain stage of their progress, adopt mistaken opinions. Communists are already numerous, and are likely to increase in number; but nothing tends more to the mental development of the working classes than that all the questions which Communism raises should be largely and freely discussed by them; nothing could be more instructive than that some should actually form communities, and try practically what it is to live without the institution of property. In the meantime, the working classes are now part of the public; in all discussions on matters of general interest they, or a portion of them, are now partakers; all who use the press as an instrument may, if it so chances, have them for an audience; the avenues of instruction through which the middle classes acquire most of the ideas which they have, are accessible to, at least, the operatives in the towns. With these resources, it cannot be doubted that they will increase in intelligence, even by their own unaided efforts; while there is every reason to hope that great improvements both in the quality and quantity of school education, will be speedily effected by the exertions of government and of individuals, and that the progress of the mass of the people in mental cultivation, and in the virtues which are dependent on it, will take place more rapidly, and with fewer intermittencies and aberrations, than if left to itself.

“From this increase of intelligence several effects may be confidently anticipated. First: that they will become even less willing than at present to be led and governed, and directed into the way they should go, by the mere authority and *prestige* of superiors. If they have not now, still less will they have hereafter, any deferential awe, or religious principle of obedience, holding them in mental subjection to a class above them. The theory of dependence and protection will be more and more intolerable to them, and they will require that their conduct and condition shall be essentially self-governed. It is, at the same time, quite possible that they may demand, in many cases, the intervention of the legislature in their affairs, and the regulation by law of various things which concern them, often under very mistaken ideas of their interest. Still, it is their own will, their own ideas and suggestions, to which they will demand that effect should be given, and not rules laid down for them by other people. It is quite consistent with this, that they should feel real respect for superiority of intellect and knowledge, and defer much to the opinions, on any subject, of those whom they think well acquainted with it. Such deference is deeply grounded in human nature: but they will judge for themselves of the persons who are and are not entitled to it.”

We quote these extracts with much satisfaction, as not only just, but characterized by that strong sympathy for the humbler sections of the community, the apparent want of which, in the

writings of former political economists, was a reproach to the science, and an obstacle to its diffusion. We read in the '*National*' of the 6th of May, that Political Economy, in the form in which it has hitherto presented itself, is little more than a defence of the social system of constitutional monarchies; an argument for leaving the middle and upper classes in peaceable possession of all the enjoyments of life, and for removing the "compunctious visitings of conscience," with regard to the class beneath them, by which those enjoyments might be marred; demonstrating to the great satisfaction of the rich that a state of society in which "distribution should undue excess and each man have enough," is an Utopian dream; that the perfection of legislation consists in doing nothing, and in leaving the existing machinery of society to work as we find it; whoever it may crush.

Mr. Mill has destroyed the force of such objections. He is willing to go as far as the '*National*' in recognising the principle of Association as that of the most promise for the labouring classes; without, however, accepting the reveries of Louis Blanc, from which the '*National*' itself is a dissident. The problem is, how the efficiency of production can be secured with a mode of distribution more to the advantage of the labourer than that which now obtains, and without dividing the producers into two antagonistic classes, of employers and employed? It is thus solved by the author:—

"In the American ships trading to China, it has long been the custom for every sailor to have an interest in the profits of the voyage; and to this has been ascribed the general good conduct of those seamen, and the extreme rarity of any collision between them and the government or people of the country. An instance in England itself, not so well known as it deserves to be, is that of the Cornish miners. In Cornwall the mines are worked strictly on the system of joint adventure; gangs of miners contracting with the agent, who represents the owner of the mine, to execute a certain portion of a vein, and fit the ore for market, at the price of so much in the pound of the sum for which the ore is sold. These contracts are put up at certain regular periods, generally every two months, and taken by a voluntary partnership of men accustomed to the mine. This system has its disadvantages, in consequence of the uncertainty and irregularity of the earnings, and consequent necessity of living for long periods on credit; but it has advantages which more than counterbalance these drawbacks. It produces a degree of intelligence, independence, and moral elevation, which raises the condition and character of the Cornish miner far above that of the generality of the labouring class. We are told by Dr. Barham, that 'they are not only, as a class, intelligent for labourers, but men of considerable knowledge.' Also, that 'they have a character of independence, something American, the system by

which the contracts are let giving the takers entire freedom to make arrangements among themselves ; so that each man feels, as a partner in his little firm, that he meets his employers on nearly equal terms.' . . . With this basis of intelligence and independence in their character, we are not surprised when we hear that 'a very great number of miners are now located on possessions of their own, leased for three lives or ninety years, on which they have built houses ;' or that '£281,541 are deposited in savings' banks in Cornwall, of which two-thirds are estimated to belong to miners.'

"Mr. Babbage, who also gives an account of this system, observes that the payment of the crews of whaling ships is governed by a similar principle ; and that 'the profits arising from fishing with nets on the south coast of England are thus divided: one half the produce belongs to the owner of the boat and net ; the other half is divided in equal portions between the persons using it, who are also bound to assist in repairing the net when required.' Mr. Babbage has the great merit of having pointed out the practicability, and the advantage, of extending the principle to manufacturing industry generally."

Mr. Babbage proposed, that in the event of a number of persons agreeing to form a joint-stock association of labour, say, for example, a manufactory of fire-irons and fenders, the rule should be for each to draw only one half his usual wages, and leave the rest as dependent upon a division of profits. This rule is common enough in factories as applied to foremen and a few workmen of the higher class ; in fact, it is nothing more than the well understood principle of junior partnerships : but its application to the whole body of workmen engaged upon a large establishment is beset with difficulties. An instance is quoted by the author of its successful adoption in Paris, by M. Lecaire, a house painter ; but the result of one year's experiment only is given. The history of the various co-operative societies that have been founded in this country during the last thirty years, would supply many examples of similar first-year experiments, which yet ended in failure. The practical difficulty being, that the same workmen who are ready enough to divide profits while there are profits to divide, become naturally impatient at losses, and break up at once, from dissension, the moment bad debts, overstocked markets, or monetary panics (to which all trading or manufacturing enterprise is subject), place the fruits of their industry in jeopardy. It is the common mistake with theoretical writers to suppose, that because a manufacturer or tradesman may die rich, his life has been one uninterrupted career of prosperity. The contrary is so much the case, and bad times so generally alternate with good, that there are perhaps few commercial firms in the country that could not point to years of disaster, in which not only was there no profit

realized, but wages were only paid out of capital. It is such times as these which try the principle of joint-stock association; and as in the case of railway companies, with traffic decreasing and shares falling in the market, when we see directors called to account, managers summarily dismissed, and the proprietary wrangling; so with a joint-stock association for the manufacture of fire-irons and fenders, composed of Birmingham artisans, two or three years of commercial depression, during which fire-irons and fenders might be comparatively unsaleable, would be fatal to its existence.

This is a part of the subject which has been touched upon without being exhausted by the author. We believe with Mr. Mill, that however numerous the failures, joint-stock associations may be expected to increase, and that this increase among the working classes should be encouraged, as on the whole beneficial; but we have very serious doubts whether exclusive dependence upon *trade* can ever be rendered a perfectly safe foundation for associated industry. All trade is more or less of a lottery, and must necessarily remain so from the vicissitudes of markets, a few staple articles excepted; and there is scarcely any manufactured commodity that may not suddenly be depreciated 30 per cent. by causes which no man can foresee. The sudden death of the Queen, for example, and a court mourning in July, would at once be ruin to any firm or joint-stock company that had on hand a large stock of summer silks. Co-operative associations, to be placed upon a sound basis, should be rendered entirely independent of external markets for the necessaries of life. These secured, let the association trade with any surplus capital at its command for comforts and luxuries;—not allow its very existence to depend upon the result.

In fact, the principle of the communities proposed by Robert Owen twenty years ago was the right one, so far at least as it relates to the purchase of sufficient land for each community to support itself; and it is only to be regretted that Owen connected it with the impracticable and undesirable scheme of a total abolition of private property. It is not in manufacturing, but in land associations, that the greatest saving is to be effected by a new organization. A full third of the price of the food consumed by the working classes of London, consists of expenses of carriage and profits of retail dealers, which would be saved if the food could be consumed on the spot where it is grown; and for the attainment of this object there would be no necessity for giving up the economical advantages of large farms. These have been much over-rated by other political

economists ; and Mr. Mill takes some pains to demonstrate the error into which they have fallen. He shows, by a multitude of examples, that the productiveness of small farms, or farms of moderate extent, when cultivated by proprietors, or persons having a permanent interest in the improvements effected, greatly exceeds that of large farms held as tenancies. But to do full justice to the argument of the advocates of large farms, he should have compared the results of a large farm, cultivated, not by tenants-at-will, but by a resident joint-stock proprietary, with those of the same farm divided into fractions, and cultivated by the proprietors separately. Suppose the case of a freehold arable farm of 200 acres, with its full complement of farm buildings and agricultural implements, left by a nobleman at his decease to the cottagers of a village, it would be to their interest (and this is not denied by Mr. Mill) that the produce only should be divided, and that the farm itself should be cultivated in common. That the cottagers would not so hold it, but would each insist upon a separate field, is very possible, because the want of intelligence and organization might prevent their agreeing among themselves ; but these difficulties removed, there can be no doubt that the separate cultivation of the same land would be seen by all to involve comparatively a waste of time and means. Supposing the 200 acres divided into ten farms of 20 acres each, new buildings would have to be erected upon each, and new implements, horses, &c. procured, or the arable cultivation of the whole must cease to be attempted. A farm should be either sufficiently large to pay for the expense of a team of horses, or sufficiently small to be dug. A farm of 20 acres could not be cultivated with the spade by a single family. Labour would have to be hired for the purpose, and the hire of spade labour would only pay in the neighbourhood of large towns, where produce realizes a high price, and where a small farm becomes in fact a market garden. If there were no other advantage in farms of moderate extent over small farms, than the economy and convenience of ploughing a long furrow instead of the multitude of short turns the plough has to make in a small field, it would decide the practical man in their favour. In countries where the small farming system is the most successful, the cultivators being the proprietors of the land they occupy, the inconveniences of "*la petite culture*" are overcome by an extension of the principle of the division of labour. It is sometimes worth the while of a manufacturer of agricultural machines to let them out by the week (just as looms are let out to the weavers of Spitalfields), and a man having a team of horses will often be fully employed in ploughing the land of his neighbours at a stipulated price per

acre. Should the principle of home colonization be applied to the wastes of Ireland, and the land recovered be divided among a new class of peasant proprietors, as recommended by Mr. Mill, provision will have to be made for similar arrangements. The land enclosed with hedges should not be of greater extent than might be required for gardens and meadows. The land to be cultivated by the plough should be left in large tracks; and government should itself supply, on hire, the horses and agricultural machinery required, until superseded by private enterprise, or some voluntary association of the cultivators themselves, for the same object.

Mr Mill explains, with great force and clearness, the distinction between a cottier tenantry and a peasant proprietary in regard to the moral influence of the motives operating upon the minds of each of these classes:—the cottier, reckless and improvident, under the weight of engagements which he knows it to be impossible to discharge; a pauper himself, and bringing up his children as paupers:—the peasant proprietor poor, but thrifty, independent, hopeful, ambitious even of bettering his position, and deferring marriage till he has secured the means of subsistence for a family. We miss only the facts which might have been adduced to show that the creation of a class of peasant proprietors in Ireland need not in any instance involve the abandonment of cultivation on a large scale;—all the advantages of large farms being attainable by the co-operation of small proprietors.

On the subject of primogeniture, Mr. Mill draws a strong line of demarcation between himself and Mr. Peter McCulloch. He shows, from the case of America, where there are few or no hereditary fortunes, and yet where the industrial activity of the people is perhaps on the whole superior to that of England, that primogeniture is not an essential stimulus to exertion on the part of younger sons; and in fact that the stimulus of primogeniture is very far from being equal to the example of a man who has earned a fortune for himself, instead of being born to wealth. Condemning it on the score of justice, it being obviously wrong to make the treatment of one person and another dependent upon an accident, he proceeds to prove that a strong case may be made out against primogeniture, on economical grounds.

“It is a natural effect of primogeniture to make the landlords a needy class. The object of the institution, or custom, is to keep the land together in large masses, and this it commonly accomplishes; but the legal proprietor of a large domain is not necessarily the *bonâ fide* owner of the whole income which it yields. It is usually charged, in each generation, with provisions for the other children. It is often charged still more heavily by the imprudent expenditure of the proprietor.

Great landowners are generally improvident in their expenses; they live up to their incomes when at the highest, and if any change of circumstances diminishes their resources, some time elapses before they make up their minds to retrench. Spendthrifts in other classes are ruined, and disappear from society, but the spendthrift landlord usually holds fast to his land, even when he has become a mere receiver of its rents for the benefit of creditors. The same desire to keep up the 'splendour' of the family, which gives rise to the custom of primogeniture, indisposes the owners to sell a part in order to set free the remainder; their apparent are therefore habitually greater than their real means, and they are under a perpetual temptation to proportion their expenditure to the former rather than to the latter. From such causes as these, in almost all countries of great landowners, the majority of landed estates are deeply mortgaged; and instead of having capital to spare for improvements, it requires all the increased value of land, caused by a rapid increase of the wealth and population of the country, to preserve the class from being impoverished.

"To avert this impoverishment, recourse was had to the contrivance of entails, whereby the order of succession was irrevocably fixed, and each holder, having only a life interest, was unable to burthen his successor. The land thus passing, free from debt, into the possession of the heir, the family could not be ruined by the improvidence of its existing representative. The economical evils arising from this disposition of property were partly of the same kind, partly different, but on the whole greater, than those arising from primogeniture alone. The possessor could not now ruin his successors, but he could still ruin himself: he was not at all more likely than in the former case to have the means necessary for improving the property; while, even if he had, he was still less likely to employ them for that purpose, when the benefit was to accrue to a person whom the entail made independent of him, while he had probably younger children to provide for, in whose favour he could not now charge the estate. While thus disabled from being himself an improver, neither could he sell the estate to somebody who would; since entail precludes alienation. In general he has even been unable to grant leases beyond the term of his own life; 'for,' says Blackstone, 'if such leases had been valid, then, under cover of long leases, the issue might have been virtually disinherited:' and it has been necessary in Great Britain to relax, by statute, the rigour of entails, in order to allow either of long leases, or of the execution of improvements at the expense of the estate. It may be added that the heir of entail, being assured of succeeding to the family property, however undeserving of it, and being aware of this from his earliest years, has much more than the ordinary chances of growing up idle, dissipated, and profligate.

"In England, the power of entail is more limited by law, than in Scotland and in most other countries where it exists. A landowner can settle his property upon any number of persons successively who are living at the time, and upon one unborn person, on whose attaining the

age of twenty-one, the entail expires, and the land becomes his absolute property. An estate may in this manner be transmitted through a son, or a son and grand-son, living when the deed is executed, to an unborn child of that grand-son. It has been maintained that this power of entail is not sufficiently extensive to do any mischief: in truth, however, it is much larger than it seems. Entails very rarely expire; the first heir of entail, when of age, joins with the existing possessor in re-settling the estate, so as to prolong the entail for a further term. Large properties, therefore, are rarely free, for any considerable period, from the restraints of a strict settlement: and English entails are not, in point of fact, much less injurious than those of other countries.

“In an economical point of view, the best system of landed property is that in which land is most completely an object of commerce; passing readily from hand to hand when a buyer can be found to whom it is worth while to offer a greater sum for the land, than the value of the income drawn from it by its existing possessor. This of course is not meant of ornamental property, which is a source of expense, not profit; but only of land employed for industrial uses, and held for the sake of the income which it affords. Whatever facilitates the sale of land, tends to make it a more productive instrument for the community at large; whatever prevents or restricts its sale, subtracts from its usefulness. Now, not only has entail this effect, but primogeniture also. The desire to keep land together in large masses, from other motives than that of promoting its productiveness, often prevents changes and alienations which would increase its efficiency as an instrument.”

While enforcing these opinions, and giving his powerful support to a popular argument, Mr. Mill is careful to guard himself against the conclusion, that the only resource upon which he relies for improving the condition of the masses is the subdivision of estates and the conversion of cottier tenants into peasant proprietors.

“I indeed deem that form of agricultural economy to be most groundlessly decried, and to be greatly preferable, in its aggregate effects on human happiness, to hired labour in any form in which it exists at present, because the prudential check to population acts more directly, and is shown by experience to be more efficacious; and because, in point of security, of independence, of exercise for the moral faculties and for the intellect, the state of a peasant proprietor is far nearer to what the state of the labourers should be, than the condition of an agriculturist in this or any other country of hired labour. Where the former system already exists, and works on the whole satisfactorily, I should regret, in the present state of human intelligence, to see it abolished in order to make way for the other, under a pedantic notion of agricultural improvement as a thing necessarily the same in every diversity of circumstances. In a backward state of industrial improvement, as in Ireland, I should urge its introduction,

in preference to an exclusive system of hired labour; as a more powerful instrument for raising a population from semi-savage listlessness and recklessness, to habits of persevering industry and prudent calculation.

“ But a people who have once adopted the large system of production, either in manufactures or in agriculture, are not likely to recede from it; nor, when population is kept in due proportion to the means of support, is there any sufficient reason why they should. Labour is unquestionably more productive on the system of large industrial enterprises; the produce, if not greater absolutely, is greater in proportion to the labour employed: the same number of persons can be supported equally well with less toil and greater leisure; which will be wholly an advantage, as soon as civilization and improvement have so far advanced that what is a benefit to the whole shall be a benefit to each individual composing it.”

Looking at the various causes in operation tending to promote increased intelligence and love of independence among the working classes, and those which may hereafter be brought into action by government, Mr. Mill thinks that from the provident habits of conduct to which they will necessarily lead, population may be expected to bear a gradually diminishing ratio to capital and employment. He adds, that this most desirable result would be much accelerated by another change which lies in the direct line of the best tendencies of the time—*the opening of industrial occupations freely to both sexes.*

“ The same reasons which make it no longer necessary that the poor should depend on the rich, make it equally unnecessary that women should depend on men, and the least which justice requires is that law and custom should not enforce dependence (when the correlative protection has become superfluous), by ordaining that a woman, who does not happen to have a provision by inheritance, shall have scarcely any means open to her of gaining a livelihood, except as a wife and mother. Let women who prefer that occupation, adopt it; but that there should be no option, no other *carrière* possible for the great majority of women, except in the humbler departments of life, is one of those social injustices which call loudly for remedy. Among the salutary consequences of correcting it, one of the most probable would be, a great diminution of the evil of over-population. It is by devoting one half of the human species to that exclusive function, by making it fill the entire life of one sex, and interweave itself with almost all the objects of the other, that the instinct in question is nursed into the disproportionate preponderance which it has hitherto exercised in human life.”

We could have wished that Mr. Mill had enlarged upon this part of the subject. It is one of great importance, and he is almost the only writer of reputation of our own day by whom it

has been seriously discussed. Among the trades unions a very strong and mischievous prejudice exists against the employment of women in any branch of manufacture from which it is possible to exclude them. Tailors combine to deny them even the use of the needle in waistcoat-making, unless for City slopsellers; and it is well known that a selfish desire to exclude women from factories, that men might be employed in their place, was the origin of a great deal of the agitation for the 'Ten Hours' Labour Bill, the restrictions of which affect only women and children. Efforts made for the instruction of women in the different branches of medicine and surgery, which might improve their qualifications as nurses for attendance upon the sick, and especially those of their own sex, have been resisted and defeated by the medical profession; and among literary men the attempts have been numerous, but happily not equally successful, to deprive them of the pen; by depreciating their talent. We still notice, and with regret, in quarters that we had imagined to be better informed, a notion prevailing that literary women are to be written down; but the attempt may as well be given up. Women have gained a position in the walks of literature which cannot be taken from them; and may they use it for the benefit of others of their own sex, who have need of a better defence against the tyranny of society than that which they have hitherto received, in the name of protection from their stronger-limbed fellow-workers.

The chapters on taxation will be read with interest, now that a revision of the existing system by which the revenue is raised is becoming inevitable. Mr. Mill defends the principle of the income tax, as the fairest of all taxes; and denies the equity of excepting trading and professional incomes, and taxing alone incomes derived from realised property. He shows that in this case those who never realised their property, and lived up to their income all their lives (by no means an uncommon case among professional men), would escape taxation altogether; but he admits the propriety of taxing at a reduced rate incomes derived from trades and professions, to allow for an assurance of the lives upon which such incomes are of course dependent. The great objection to an income tax is the impossibility of a fair assessment; and this Mr. Mill feels to be so insuperable, that he would tolerate the tax only as a war tax, or a tax to be adopted in extreme emergencies. It is of course easy, by the present mode, to reach all incomes derived from real property; but not so with commercial or professional incomes. There are no means of ascertaining; for example, whether the fees received by a fashionable physician amount to £1,000 or £5,000 per annum. His own return must be accepted as correct, because if error be

suspected, it cannot be proved; and thus the tax really offers a premium to fraud, of which the dishonest are certain to take advantage, to the injury of their conscientious neighbours.

The difficulty of making a fair assessment of incomes, when not derived from real or funded property, is the strongest argument that we know of in favour of indirect taxation. A tax levied upon commodities—sugar, for example—has the disadvantage of being a burden in disguise; so that the public are not kept sufficiently on the alert to prevent the wasteful expenditure that may occasion the burden: but, on the other hand, it reaches all classes of consumers, without any inquisitorial or vexatious exercise of power, and in a mode more nearly proportioned to the means of the consumer than is perhaps attainable by any other mode.

“There is, however, a frequent plea in support of indirect taxation, which must be altogether rejected, as grounded on a fallacy. We are often told that taxes on commodities are less burthensome than other taxes, because the contributor can escape from them by ceasing to use the taxed commodity. He certainly can, if that be his object, deprive the government of the money; but he does so by a sacrifice of his own indulgences, which (if he chose to undergo it) would equally make up to him for the same amount taken from him by direct taxation. Suppose a tax laid on wine, sufficient to add five pounds to the price of the quantity of wine which he consumes in a year. He has only (we are told) to diminish his consumption of wine by £5, and he escapes the burden. True: but if the £5, instead of being laid on wine, had been taken from him by an income-tax, he could, by expending £5 less in wine, equally save the amount of the tax, so that the difference between the two cases is really illusory. If the government takes from the contributor five pounds a year, whether in one way or another, exactly that amount must be retrenched from his consumption to leave him as well off as before; and in either way the same amount of sacrifice, neither more nor less, is imposed on him.

“On the other hand, it is a real advantage on the side of indirect taxes, that what they exact from the contributor is taken at a time, and in a manner, likely to be convenient to him. It is paid at a time when he has at any rate a payment to make; it causes, therefore, no additional trouble, nor any inconvenience but what is inseparable from the payment of the amount. He can also, except in the case of very perishable articles, select his own time for laying in a stock of the commodity, and consequently for payment of the tax. The producer or dealer who advances these taxes, is, indeed, sometimes subjected to inconvenience; but, in the case of imported goods, this inconvenience is reduced to a minimum by what is called the Warehousing System, under which, instead of paying the duty at the time of importation, he is only required to do so when he takes out the goods

for consumption, which is seldom done until he has either actually found, or has the prospect of immediately finding, a purchaser."

Among the taxes enumerated by Mr. Mill as objectionable, on various grounds, are taxes upon contracts, in the shape of stamp-duties, or in other forms, as falling unequally upon necessitous sellers, and preventing a free circulation of commodities, especially in the case of land, which is now almost unsaleable in small portions, from the expenses of transfer. He objects, also, to law taxes, or the fees and other charges exacted by our courts of justice, as defeating the primary object of government, that of equal protection to all; it being obvious that those who have to buy justice at a heavy cost are rather punished than protected, as compared with the more fortunate class of their fellow-citizens, who have never been driven into the courts for redress. Mr. Mill condemns the old postage charges, as impediments to the interchange of thought and freedom of industry; and includes in the same censure the duty upon advertisements, but (and this we regret) in a more qualified tone of reprobation.

"A tax on advertisements is not free from the same objection, since in whatever degree advertisements are useful to business, by facilitating the coming together of the dealer or producer and the consumer, in that same degree, if the tax be high enough to be a serious discouragement to advertising, it prolongs the period during which goods remain unsold, and capital is locked up in idleness. In this country the amount of the duty is moderate, and the abuse of advertising, which is quite as conspicuous as the use, renders the abolition of the tax, though right in principle, a matter of less urgency than it might otherwise be deemed."

Mr. Mill is thinking of the advertisements of quack medicines, upon which we would observe that they are a fitter subject for suppression than a legitimate source of revenue; and we think a sanitary board would scarcely do its duty without prosecuting the authors of many advertisements of this class, as impostors trading upon the credulity of the public. The objection to a duty upon advertisements generally, is that which applies to taxes upon contracts;—it is a burden thrown, for the most part, not upon the prosperous, but the necessitous. A large proportion of them are advertisements of servants out of place; and although *1s. 6d.* is not much to a person in full employment, *1s. 6d.* to be paid in addition to the ordinary newspaper charge, and paid perhaps day after day and week after week, by a man who feels himself in danger of starving, and paid only for the privilege of saying "I seek bread, and am willing to work," is, to our thinking, one of the most unjust in principle and therefore obnoxious fiscal

exactions of which we have had experience in this country. And there is another objection to this duty, which Mr. Mill has omitted. The profit of newspapers depending upon advertisements, the restriction of advertisements by a duty is really an additional restriction to that of the newspaper stamp upon the circulation of political and commercial intelligence; and an additional protection to newspaper monopoly. A journal newly started, and of limited circulation, is prevented, by the duty, from lowering its charge for advertisements much below that of an established paper, such as the 'Times,' and of course the 'Times' carries off the lion's share.

"A tax on newspapers is objectionable, not so much where it does fall as where it does not, that is, where it prevents newspapers from being used. To the generality of those who now buy them, newspapers are a luxury, which they can as well afford to pay for as any other indulgence, and which is as unexceptionable a source of revenue. But to that large part of the community who have been taught to read, but have received little other intellectual education, newspapers are the source of nearly all the general information which they possess, and of nearly all their acquaintance with the ideas and topics current among mankind; and an interest is more easily excited in newspapers, than in books, or other more recondite sources of instruction. Newspapers do so little, and generally attempt so little, in the origination of useful ideas, that many persons undervalue the importance of their office in disseminating those ideas; in correcting many prejudices and superstitions, and keeping up that habit of discussion and interest in public concerns, the absence of which is a great cause of the stagnation of mind usually found in the lower and middle, if not in all, ranks, of those countries where newspapers of an important or interesting character do not exist. There ought to be no taxes which render this great diffuser of ideas, of mental excitement, and mental exercise, less accessible to that portion of the public which most needs to be carried, as it were, out of itself, into a region of ideas and interests beyond its own limited horizon."

Let us add that there ought to be no taxes of which the practical tendency is to give a monopoly in the direction of public opinion to a few great capitalists. The stamp duty upon newspapers is an evil scarcely second to that of a censorship. By limiting the market to the rich, competition is prevented, and free discussion suppressed. The news of the day is coloured to suit any interest that may be uppermost with the proprietors; and the public never learn that they have been deceived until the mischief occasioned is beyond remedy.

The direct taxes recommended by Mr. Mill are, 1, a prospective tax upon an increase of rent, as arising from natural causes, independent of labour and capital; 2, a land tax; 3, a tax upon

legacies and inheritances of every description—freehold estates of course not excepted,—a tax which might be made to yield a considerable sum; and a house tax, equitably assessed, chiefly as a substitute for the present window duties. The remainder of the revenue Mr. Mill proposes to raise by indirect taxation, or taxes upon articles of consumption; and the following are the practical rules by which he would have them adjusted.

“1st. To raise as large a revenue as conveniently may be, from those classes of luxuries which have most connexion with vanity, and least with positive enjoyment; such as the more costly qualities of all kinds of personal equipment and ornament. 2ndly. Whenever possible, to demand the tax, not from the producer, but directly from the consumer, since when levied on the producer it raises the price always by more, and often by much more, than the mere amount of the tax. Most of the minor assessed taxes in this country are recommended by both these considerations. But with regard to horses and carriages, as there are many persons to whom, from health or constitution, these are not so much luxuries as necessities, the tax paid by those who have but one riding horse, or but one carriage, especially of the cheaper descriptions, should be low; while taxation should rise very rapidly with the number of horses and carriages, and with their costliness. 3rdly. But as the only indirect taxes which yield a large revenue are those which fall on articles of universal or very general consumption, and as it is therefore necessary to have some taxes on real luxuries, that is, on things which afford pleasure in themselves, and are valued on that account rather than for their cost; these taxes should, if possible, be so adjusted as to fall with the same proportional weight on small, on moderate, and on large incomes. This is not an easy matter; since the things, which are the subjects of the more productive taxes, are in proportion more largely consumed by the poorer members of the community than by the rich. Tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, fermented drinks, can hardly be so taxed that the poor shall not bear more than their due share of the burthen. Something might be done by making the duty on the superior qualities, which are used by the richer consumers, much higher in proportion to the value (instead of much lower, as is almost universally the practice under the present English system); but in some cases the difficulty of at all adjusting the duty to the value, so as to prevent evasion, is said, with what truth I know not, to be insuperable; so that it is thought necessary to levy the same fixed duty on all the qualities alike: a flagrant injustice to the poorer class of contributors, unless compensated by the existence of other taxes from which, as from the present income-tax, they are altogether exempt. 4thly. As far as is consistent with the preceding rules, taxation should rather be concentrated on a few articles than diffused over many, in order that the expenses of collection may be smaller, and that as few employments as possible may be burthensomely and vexatiously interfered with. 5thly. Among luxuries of general consumption, taxation should by

preference attach itself to stimulants, because these, although in themselves as legitimate and as beneficial indulgences as any others, are more liable than most others to be used in excess, so that the check to consumption, naturally arising from taxation, is on the whole better applied to them than to other things. 6thly. As far as other considerations permit, taxation should be confined to imported articles, since these can be taxed with a less degree of vexatious interference, and with fewer incidental bad effects, than when a tax is levied on the field or on the workshop. Custom duties are, *ceteris paribus*, much less objectionable than excise: but they must be laid only on things which either cannot, or at least will not, be produced in the country itself; or else their production there must be prohibited (as in England is the case with tobacco), or subjected to an excise duty of equivalent amount. 7thly. No tax ought to be kept so high as to furnish a motive to its evasion too strong to be counteracted by ordinary means of prevention: and especially no commodity should be taxed so highly as to raise up a class of lawless characters, smugglers, illicit distillers, and the like.

“Among the excise and custom duties now existing in this country, some must, on the principles we have laid down, be altogether condemned. Among these are all duties on ordinary articles of food, whether for human beings or for cattle; those on bricks and timber, the former as being vexatious, and both as falling on the materials of lodging, which is one of the necessaries of life; all duties on the metals, and on implements made of them; the tax on soap, which is a necessary of cleanliness, and on tallow, the material both of that and of other necessaries; the tax on paper, an indispensable instrument of almost all business and of most kinds of instruction: but ornamental paper, for hangings and similar purposes, might continue to be taxed. The duties which yield the greatest part of the customs and excise revenue, those on sugar, coffee, tea, wine, beer, spirits, and tobacco, are in themselves, where a large amount of revenue is necessary, extremely proper taxes; but at present grossly unjust, from the disproportionate weight with which they press on the poorer classes; and some of them (those on spirits and tobacco,) are so high as to cause an enormous amount of smuggling. It is probable that most of these taxes would bear a great reduction without any material loss of revenue.”

The section of the work relating to taxation is followed by a discussion of the principles of government loans, and the national debt. Upon the propriety of a government borrowing money in anticipation of revenue, little need have been said. We have got a national debt, and the practical question is, what we are to do with it, especially in the times that are coming? Mr. Mill examines two modes of paying off the national debt which have been suggested by others. One, a general contribution, or rather confiscation, of material property to the amount, which he shows

would be unjust, because the commercial and professional classes would then wholly escape their present share of the burden; the other, and of course a right one, the gradual liquidation of the debt by a surplus revenue; but of which we do not see the remotest prospect. There is a third mode, which Mr. Mill has omitted, deserving of consideration, and we trust it will not be forgotten in another edition—that of transferring the stock of the fundholders from perpetual to terminable and life annuities. It is known from the history of the “Long Annuities,” which expire in 1860, that the difference in the market value of a perpetual and a terminable annuity is so slight, that if the three per cent. consols and other stock were to-morrow made terminable in sixty years, there would be little or no fall of price during the first ten years of the period. Here then is one means of providing for the ultimate extinction of the national debt, without injury to the present holders, and of a somewhat more hopeful complexion than that of gradual liquidation. We can hardly look forward to a time when a surplus of three millions shall be annually realized and devoted to the extinction of the debt; and yet at that rate the process would require nearly three hundred years for its completion!

Supposing the present stock of the national debt changed by Act of Parliament into long annuities having sixty years to run, the ultimate extinction of the debt might be further hastened by paying off from time to time a portion of the long annuities with money borrowed upon *life* annuities. This of course could only be done in a favourable state of the money market; but we have seen many opportunities present themselves to a Chancellor of the Exchequer without being embraced, when the operation might have been effected on a large scale, and with the utmost facility.

Akin to this question is the important inquiry whether some steps should not be taken to secure for government stock an approximate fixity of value; instead of leaving it, as now, entirely dependant upon political and speculative contingencies, often most disastrous in their action upon public credit.

We have a strong opinion that public credit in France would have been so far maintained by the provisional government of February, that a tenth part of the bankruptcies we have witnessed would not have occurred if a decree had been issued, making government stock in the 3 and 5 per cents., *a legal tender in the discharge of private debts* at the Bourse prices of the day preceding the revolution. Enabling the fundholder to pay his debts with the property held by him at the time his debts were contracted, would have prevented the forced sales by which the 3 per cents. were brought down from 74 to 36; and the funds thus

sustained, all other securities would have been sustained more or less with them, at their fair value, or near it. In this country the clouds are so fast thickening, that what is to be done with the fundholder in the event of successful insurrectionary movements on the part of the mass of the people against a government that does not understand its position, is really a practical question, which by-and-bye may become of serious moment: and let it be remembered that the ruin which would overtake the fundholder upon a fall of consols from 84 to 48 (the price in 1797, during the mutiny at the Nore), would involve in it the ruin of nearly all the manufacturing and commercial establishments in the kingdom. We would meet it beforehand by an act making the 3 per cent. consols a legal tender in the payment of taxes and all other obligations, public or private, at the average price of the past year, or something below it. Suppose the price determined upon to be 80, this would of course not be a maximum beyond which they could not be sold; and the act would be inoperative when the price was 81 and upwards; but 80 would be a minimum *below which consols could not fall*, so long at least as the fundholder could pay his rent, his taxes, or his promissory acceptances with consols at that price.

The objection of course is, that this kind of forced circulation could only apply to past transactions, and that in new bargains no seller could be obliged to part with his property for consols, if he determined upon having metallic money, as more valuable. The answer is, that metallic money would not be more valuable than consols, if consols were a legal tender at their average price, or if more valuable, but so slightly as not to affect the argument. The only reason that the most solid securities fall in value in reference to gold, is the necessity of parting with them at a moment of panic, by forced sales, gold being the only legal tender. If the securities themselves were a legal tender, at a fixed average price, this necessity would not arise. Panic would then have no influence upon the holders of securities, and the relative average proportions of value of securities to gold, and gold to securities, would continue to be maintained.*

We pray Mr. Mill, and all political economists who may glance over these pages, to examine this proposition in all its bearings. If it be open to no further objection than that we have noticed, its tendency to mitigate the evils in prospect, and

* It might be necessary, for the convenience of general circulation, to divide the transfer warrants representing £80 in consols into fifths and tenths. A transfer warrant for £10 in the 3 per cents would, upon this plan, be a legal tender for that amount, and would besides entitle the holder to a dividend of 7s. 6d. per annum, payable in metallic money if required.

maintain confidence in the midst of those political convulsions, from which it is hardly possible this country can otherwise escape, and during which the very foundations of property may be shaken, should ensure its adoption. To make property itself a legal tender at an agreed price (and the funds are the most convenient property for the object), is surely a wiser course than the only alternative open to us in times of financial difficulty, and to which every country in Europe has now been repeatedly driven,—that of making a legal tender of inconvertible paper promises.

We must here close our present notice of a work to which we shall have often again to refer; and in doing so, we need hardly pass more than a brief eulogium upon its general excellence. It is a book of all others the most required for the present time; certain to be recognised by all as the production of a master mind; pregnant with thought in every line, and perhaps unrivalled in modern literature for the comprehensiveness of its philosophical survey of the highest subjects of human interest.

ART. II. — *Eastern Life; Present and Past.* By Harriet Martineau. E. Moxon.

RECENT political revolutions have so far exhausted our passion for the marvellous, that any equally sudden and unexpected change among individuals less noted than Louis Philippe or Prince Metternich, is apt to escape our attention. Yet, if after all that has happened during the past six months, the capacity of surprise at any new event were left to us, we might feel it on the appearance of three volumes of Eastern travel by Harriet Martineau. A few years ago, and the public were informed by the press that the world would too soon be deprived of the services of this popular and useful writer,—the victim of a lingering and fatal disease. This was followed by the publication (confirmatory of the fact) of ‘*Life in a Sick Room,*’ perhaps the most gifted of Miss Martineau’s works; in which, in a fine, calm, and philosophical spirit, she seemed to bid her friends farewell. We next hear of her improved health, and faith in mesmerism,—the last remedy tried, and which (as in the case of all last remedies) enjoys the credit of her cure: and before we have time to inquire whether the cure has been perfected or not, we find Miss Martineau addressing letters to her friends from the top of the great pyramid, in Egypt,—smoking a

chibouque with Arabs in the desert,—ascending to the summit of Mount Sinai,—climbing the rocks of Petra,—bathing in the Jordan and the Dead Sea,—and performing a religious and philosophical pilgrimage to every place of Scriptural celebrity in the Holy Land.

The occasion was a visit to Liverpool, and an invitation, when there, to join a party about to make a tour in the East;—an opportunity of seeing objects of universal interest, in countries where ladies cannot travel without an escort, not likely often to present itself, and which was therefore eagerly embraced.

Miss Martineau, and three companions (a lady and two gentlemen), landed at Alexandria in November, 1846. After a brief delay, they were towed to the Nile through Mohammed Ali's well-known canal. A larger steamer took them to Cairo; which they soon left for Upper Egypt, in a boat with two cabins and a crew of fourteen men. An interpreter, cook, and assistant completed the party. According to the invariable practice in the ascent of the river, they sailed when the wind was fair, and had the boat towed by the crew when they could not sail. Most of the sights were deferred until the return voyage should give the current in their favour. On reaching the southern confines of Egypt, at the first cataract, they hired a smaller vessel for the shorter voyage through Nubia to the second cataract; and returned to Cairo in the same manner, stopping by the way to see the temples, caves, and pyramids. From Cairo they proceeded, on camels, donkeys, or horses, through the desert to Suez, Mount Sinai, Petra, Palestine, and Syria; returning home from the port of Beiroot, in May 1847.

Miss Martineau has a higher view than merely to make word pictures of foreign scenery, personal adventures, and peculiar manners and customs. Her work contains a vast deal of disquisition, moral, political, religious, and historical, which will probably be thought tiresome by those who read for amusement only: still this class of readers will find the greater part of the work quite as entertaining as other voyages and travels. The latter half strikes us as the most spirited; for more variety and novelty are experienced in the desert, Holy Land, and Syria, than in the narrow valley of the Nile, of which the main features and objects are monotonous, in description at least.

Of the disquisitions we must say, that, if they are occasionally somewhat forced, they are eminently characteristic of the writer, —always clever, and frequently eloquent, striking, and suggestive. The ground they go over is so vast, that it is impossible to characterise them otherwise than that they purport to give such historical notices of the countries visited, and such specu-

lations on life, external and spiritual, as shall enable the reader, in some degree, to enter into the spirit of the ancient people and monuments, and the existing races; and to show the progress of knowledge and religion, through Egypt to Palestine, Greece, Syria, and Arabia.

Miss Martineau has been preceded in her route through Egypt and Syria by so many recent travellers, not a few of whom have given their journals to the world, that the outside, at least, of the beaten track has been worn threadbare, and no common qualifications are required to throw freshness over the scenes. As regards Egypt, the number of boats with the British flag which ascend the Nile every season is now very considerable, and is always on the increase; and French, American, and even Russian boats, are by no means uncommon. Since Egypt has become the highroad to our Eastern empire, many of the civil and military officers of the Indian government deviate a little from the shortest route, to visit the cataract and Thebes; and many other Englishmen, to whom travelling has become a necessity, and who are tired of the continent of Europe, seek regions where nature, as well as man, offer novelty without privation or danger. For such persons Egypt and Mohammed Ali seem to have been expressly created. Egypt without Mohammed Ali would not do, as no powers of persuasion short of those possessed by the old Pasha could convince his subjects of the propriety of observing certain nice distinctions of property, regarding which the European traveller is as strongly prejudiced on the one side as the Arab is on the other. Nor would the Pasha alone be sufficient; notwithstanding that he is an admirable subject for Mr. Bull and his brother Jonathan to growl at perpetually, because, with all his sagacity, he has not yet discovered that Cairo and Alexandria are London and New York.

In truth, the old Pasha has not been fairly dealt with by these gentlemen. Europeans, as incapable of getting beyond the narrowest European notions, as they are of collecting evidence, or knowing it when they have got it, constantly judge him as if he were a European Prince, governing a civilized and long-established European community, according to fixed laws, and with the aid of a large body of well trained European public officers. Nay, he has even incurred this obloquy in consequence of being almost the only oriental ruler whose dominions are so governed that Europeans can travel safely in them. Miss Martineau does not aspire to the intuition of many travellers, for she ends her chapter, on the present condition of Egypt, by stating that, "she feels that she knows scarcely anything of the modern Egyptian polity, but the significant fact that nothing can

be certainly known:”—ii. p. 180. And she commences the chapter with the following remarks:—

“One pregnant fact here is, that one can get no reliable information from the most reliable men. About matters on which there ought to be no difference of statement we meet with strange contradictions; such as the rate and amount of tax, &c. In fact, there are no data; and there is little free communication. Even a census does not help. The present census, we are told, will be a total failure—so many will bribe the officials to omit their names because of the poll-tax. Thus it is that neither I, nor any other traveller, can give accounts of any value of the actual material condition of the people of Egypt. But we have a substantial piece of knowledge in this very negation of knowledge. We know for certain that a government is bad, and that the people are unprosperous and unhappy, in a country where there is a great ostentation of civilization and improvement, side by side with mystery as to the actual working of social arrangements, and every sort of evasion on the part of the people. We have a substantial piece of knowledge in the fact, that men of honour, men of station, men of business, men of courage, who have all the means of information which the place and time permit, differ in opinion and statement about every matter of importance on which they converse with inquiring strangers. I saw several such men. They were quite willing to tell me what they knew; and they assigned frankly the grounds of their opinions and statements; but what I obtained was merely a mass of contradictions, so extraordinary, that I cannot venture to give any details: and if I give any general impressions, it can be only under the guard of a declaration that I am sure of nothing, and can offer only what I suppose, on the whole, to be an indication of the way in which the Government of Mohammed Ali works.”—vol. ii. p. 168.

We must decline drawing the conclusion that the affairs of a foreign country must be going wrong because we can find out little that is certain about them. Miss Martineau might have discovered at home “that men of honour, men of station, men of business, men of courage, who have all the means of information which the place and time permit, differ in opinion and statement about every matter of importance on which they converse with inquiring strangers.” She might obtain from any two politicians, reviews, or newspapers of different parties, “a mass of contradictions so extraordinary,” &c., and she might even have heard that suspicion and evasion regarding the last census were by no means uncommon in this country.

Having first ascertained the facts regarding Egypt and Mohammed Ali, we may either compare the country with some ideal state conceived to be perfect, or with some other Mahomedan countries. According to the first method we should doubtless find it low in the scale: according to the second it would probably,

stand high. But, as the ordinary traveller knows no more of other oriental countries than he knows of Egypt, he finds it easiest to draw on his imagination, and to vituperate rather than to inquire and discriminate.

What is the bare outline of the case? A Turk is nominated Pasha of Egypt, a country in the hands of an unprincipled aristocracy, and ruined by centuries of misgovernment and oppression. A deadly contest for supremacy ensues: treachery and force are the weapons; and Mohammed Ali is the victor. Conspiracies, encouraged by his superior, always threaten him. In spite of these he reduces the country to order; conquers Nubia and part of Arabia; and acquires the government of Syria, where he puts down the sanguinary feuds that had long prevailed. The hostility of his nominal master places the Ottoman empire at his feet—the last chance of keeping that worn-out state from the fangs of Russia. We rescue his frail opponent—destroy the Egyptian army (as we had previously destroyed the fleet), and even turn the Pasha out of Syria. Yet he attempts no reprisals; though the destruction of his forces must cripple Egypt for many years: but allows us, all the while, free transit through Egypt, to our Indian empire, without even passports or custom-house examinations. Observing that nations prosper through knowledge, commerce, and manufactures, he has made all creeds equal in law, and done his best for education, in spite of the hostile fanaticism of the most powerful portion of his subjects. Manufacturers will not settle in a country when everything depends on the life of one man; hence he becomes the manufacturer of Egypt, and the principal merchant also; and, incited by European adventurers, and acting on imperfect knowledge, no doubt commits many blunders. But be his conduct good or bad (and it contains much of both), look at what he had to do, at the horrid tools he was forced to work with, the deadly opposition he has met with, and say if any other eastern ruler would have acted better. But his country is misgoverned! Possibly—though, after what we have done, it is not for us to speak of this: possibly—but we constantly say that all oriental countries are so. Yet his people have enough to eat.

Miss Martineau, who is by no means a partisan of the Pasha, makes the following observations on Syria:—

“On our way out of Damascus we passed the great military hospital begun by Ibraheem Pasha, when he was master of the country. The works were stopped when he retired; and now the stones are taken, one by one, from the unfinished walls, by any persons who find it convenient to use them. From place to place, in Palestine and Syria, we come upon, the deserted works of Ibraheem Pasha; and

everywhere we found the people lamenting the substitution of Turkish for Egyptian rule. The Turks, it is true, like the lightness of their present taxation, which is pretty much what it pleases them to make it; and every body knows that the rulers of Egypt impose high taxes: but the religious toleration which existed under Ibraheem Pasha, and his many public works, cause him to be fervently regretted; chiefly by the Christians, and also by many others. If there is at present any government at all in the districts we passed through, it is difficult to discern; and, of course, the precariousness of affairs is extreme."—vol. iii. p. 304.

At Nablous, in Palestine, "the bigotry of the people is so great, that, till of late years, no Christian was permitted to set foot within the gates. Ibraheem Pasha punished the place severely, and made the people so desperately afraid of him, that they observe his commands pretty much as if he had power in Syria still. One of his commands was that Christians should not be ill-treated; so we entered Nablous and rode through it to our encampment on the other side. During our passage I had three slaps in the face from millet stalks, and other things thrown at me; and, whichever way we looked, the people were grinning, thrusting out their tongues, and pretending to spit. My party blamed me for feeling this, and said things which were undeniably true about the ignorance of the people, and the contempt we should feel for such evidences of it. But, true as all this was, I did not grow reconciled to be hated and insulted, and I continue to this day to think the liability to it the great drawback of eastern travels."—vol. iii. p. 199.

On two points, namely, the "food question," and personal security, we are able to confirm Miss Martineau's testimony, after more minute observation, between Alexandria and Nubia, than would perhaps be possible for a woman, even as active and enterprising as Miss Martineau.

"We met fewer blind and diseased persons than we expected; and I must say, that I was agreeably surprized, both this morning, and throughout my travels in Egypt, by the appearance of the people. About the dirt there can be no doubt;—the dirt of both dwellings and persons; and the diseases which proceed from want of cleanliness: but the people appeared to us, there (at Alexandria), and throughout the country, sleek, well fed, and cheerful. I am not sure that I saw an ill-fed person in all Egypt. There is hardship enough of other kinds, abundance of misery to sadden the heart of the traveller; but not that, as far as we saw, of want of food. . . . I have seen more emaciated, and stunted, and depressed men, women, and children, in a single walk in England, than I observed from end to end of the land of Egypt.—So much for the mere food question."—vol. i. p. 9.

And much it is for a nation to get enough to eat.

In the winter of 1845, a traveller, in bad health, went from Alexandria, through Egypt, and the northern part of Nubia, and

back, frequently landing from his boat and walking long distances through roads, paths, fields, villages, and towns, sometimes alone, sometimes attended by an Arab boatman; and he never received the slightest insult. The case of Miss Martineau,—that of a woman acting in defiance of the customs of her sex in the East, is still stronger. She notices one petty insult only, which she brought on herself by joining in a religious procession, certainly not a discreet act. Some years ago such conduct would probably have cost her life. At that time no European could have ventured through Egypt without arms and an escort.

“While there (at a window in Cairo), no insult whatever was offered us; and our presence seemed to excite very little notice, except among those who wanted *Bakshesh* (*i.e.* beggars.) Afterwards, when we were riding after the *mahmil* (the Shrine of the Mecca Pilgrims), to the Citadel, and when the press of the crowd made the act a safe one, somebody spat a mouthful of chewed sugarcane at me; and I received a smart slap in the face from a mullet-stalk: and one or two other persons in the front group met with a similar insult. But the good behaviour on the whole, was wonderful, in comparison with former times.”—vol. ii. p. 133.

Alexandria is half European, half Mahommedan; and, neither element being good of the kind, it presents little to interest the passing traveller. Cleopatra's needle is the most remarkable relic. The fellow to it, once given to the British Government, now lies completely buried, not, as Miss Martineau says, in the sands, but in the rubbish of the ancient city, of which the patient pedestrian will find mounds extending mile after mile, until he thinks they will have no end. In 1845, many yards of this buried treasure were visible.

The *Mahmoodieh* canal to the Nile (nearly 50 miles in length) is a great work for a small prince, and quite essential if Egypt is to be a commercial country; for old father Nile has now closed all those mouths from which wisdom and theology, arts and sciences, as well as produce and manufactures, once went forth: and this Macedonian port is too far from the Nile to allow the profitable transit of goods by land. The haste with which the canal was executed (Miss Martineau also alleges the want of tools) occasioned great mortality among the workmen. We doubt if the number of deaths she puts down (23,000) can be ascertained, seeing that Mahommedan governments are not famed for statistics: and if she had witnessed Egyptians scooping soft mud into baskets with their hands, she would probably have doubted if any tools could be so efficacious.

The Nile delta is seldom examined by Europeans, though it would afford much to interest and instruct the learned antiquary.

A tuft of palms, and occasionally a minaret, a clay-built village, and a sheik's lowly tomb, are the objects that strike the eye above the river's deep brown banks. These are so bare in winter, that one exclaims, "can this really be the valley famed for its luxuriance above all regions?" Animated life (if we except clouds of pigeons) is not more frequent. The husbandman baling up water from the river's edge, boatmen tracking their heavy barges, a few travellers on foot or on asses, more rarely a camel and a flock of goats, complete the animated picture,—unless we admit the swift-sailing vessels, with their lofty, triangular, curved sails, whose ever-varying positions are extremely beautiful.

It is not until you get beyond the damp delta, some distance below Cairo, that you reach the true climate of Egypt, where everything depends upon the Nile, where rain is scarcely known, and where not a moss or lichen will grow beyond the limits of inundation. Woods, gardens, houses, and factories announce the approach to Cairo; and, glowing as are the accounts of travellers, the visitor finds it is difficult to overrate this most oriental of cities. Wandering about her streets and bazaars, he realises the bright visions of his childhood, excited by the 'Arabian Nights,' which his maturer age regarded as but dreams. All the dresses are picturesque, from the lordly Turk's to the poorest Fellah's, and the single robe and long depending head-shawl of the lowest female. But we must except the new dresses of the gentry and troops, who often discard the flowing robes, long beard, and imposing turban of their fathers, in favour of an ugly mongrel dress;—also the enormous black cloak and white veil which overwhelm the ladies, whether walking or riding.

The long procession of ladies thus accoutred, and astride on donkeys with lofty saddles, under charge of their black servants, is the hareem of some great man. Something stops the way; it is a camel laden with timbers slung on each side, or with large stones contained in rope nets hanging like panniers. Now an Arab runner is shouting and clearing the road for his master, a negro officer of rank, richly dressed, and mounted on a beautiful Arab steed; and now a dozen of East India cadets are dashing along towards the citadel at the utmost speed of their asses, regardless of whom they bruise or upset. And so the stream of life flows on, almost choking the endless, narrow streets of this immense city. Many rich bazaars, each appropriated to one kind of goods; also embroiderers, inlayers, smiths, tinnmen and carpenters, all working within sight and working well, but so differently from those at home;—these and innumerable other objects, are an incessant source of interest.

Proceeding to the outskirts, ruined tracts appear; for the city, though numbering between 200,000 and 300,000 inhabitants, is but the shadow of its former self; and the cathedral-looking mosques, with their lofty, well-proportioned, and richly-carved minarets more fully appear, making us long to exchange a dozen of them for as many of our modern steeples. The ancient Arab tombs without the city are also exquisitely beautiful, and are seldom appreciated or examined by travellers.

Miss Martineau really saw Cairo (which is not usually the case with Europeans), for she hired an active donkey, the Cairo substitute for a London cab, and rode about constantly. English travellers' ways in this city are marvellous: the citadel is once visited, one or two other lions are also examined, and the parties lie by, at their inns, till their time is up, because the weather is rather warm; and there they smoke cigars and drink London porter. Cairo, however, cannot be thoroughly seen and enjoyed excepting by the pedestrian; and walking in the streets is contrary to European etiquette.

Once afloat in her Nile boat, which, in the total absence of inns above Cairo, was to be her home for some months, Miss Martineau was necessarily brought much into contact with her interpreter and boatmen, the only natives whom the traveller has an opportunity of observing minutely in Egypt, owing to the difficulty of their language (the Arabic), and the impossibility of gaining admittance even into the poorest hovel, which is a hareem when there is a woman there. Her party were fortunate in their interpreter and cook, on whom so much of their comfort depended: and they were pleased with the Arab and Nubian crew—a merry, noisy, set, who worked hard on fare that would have excited the ire of an English pauper, and pilfered sugar-canes to improve their diet, regardless of European remonstrance. It seems they quarrelled among themselves, and some even went the length of keeping separate tables. We have known a similar crew in a similar voyage act very friendly together; and though they could never resist appropriating for fuel any canes that came in the way, their employer's property, however much exposed, was always held sacred. So far from their music being invariably of the mournful character noticed by Miss Martineau, they had several lively tunes, resembling the most spirited of our nursery ditties, which they were constantly shouting out, with the accompaniment of an earthenware drum.

It was with great pain that we noticed the readiness of our countrymen to resort to force against their Arab attendants. We frequently heard it said, "You cannot possibly manage the Nile boatmen unless you thrash them:" for he would do well to

make his will who should act on this advice towards an Arab of the desert. Even Miss Martineau's party threatened to bastinado their captain if he got aground (vol. i. p. 33), as if he had not already sufficient motive to preserve from injury a valuable vessel, for which he was responsible: and yet he is always spoken of in the highest terms. A union of mildness and firmness is infinitely preferable; and we have never known it to fail.

Nothing remarkable occurred to the party until they reached the first cataract, the ascent of which is one of the best pieces of description, coupled with some of the best moral disquisition, in the volumes.

"The rais (captain) of the cataract was to meet us the next morning, with his posse, at a point fixed on, above the first rapid, which we were to surmount ourselves. We appeared to be surmounting it just at dusk. Half our crew were hauling at our best rope on the rocks, and the other half poling on board; and we were slowly, almost imperceptibly, making way against the rushing current, and had our bows fairly through the last mass of foam, when the rope snapped. We swirled down and away,—none of us knew whither, unless it were to the bottom of the river. This was almost the most anxious moment of our whole journey: but it was little more than a moment. The boat, in swinging round at the bottom of the rapid, caught by her stern on a sand bank: and our new rais quickly brought her round, and moored her, in still water, to the bank."—vol. i. p. 115.

On the second trial, the party went on shore, and the "Rais put together three weak ropes, which were by no means equivalent to one strong one; but the attempt succeeded."

"It was a curious scene,—the appearing of the dusky natives on all the rocks around; the eager zeal of those who made themselves our guards, holding us by the arms as if we were going to jail, and scarcely permitting us to set our feet to the ground, lest we should fall; and the daring plunges and divings of man or boy, to obtain our admiration or our baksheesh. A boy would come riding down a slope of roaring water, as confidently as I would ride down a sandhill on my ass. Their arms, in their fighting method of swimming, go round like the spokes of a wheel. Grinning boys popped in the currents: and little seven-year-old savages must haul at the ropes, or ply their little poles when the kandjia approached a spike of rock, or dive to thrust their shoulders between its keel and any sunken obstacle; and after every such feat they would pop up their dripping heads, and cry 'Baksheesh.' I felt the great peculiarity of this day to be my seeing, for the first, and probably for the only time of my life, the perfection of savage faculty: and truly it is an imposing sight. The quickness of movement and apprehension, the strength and suppleness of frame, and the power of experience in all concerned this day, contrasted

strangely with images of the bookworm and the professional man at home, who can scarcely use their own limbs and senses, or conceive of any control over external realities. I always thought, in America, and I always shall think, that the finest specimens of human development I have seen are in the United States, where every man, however learned and meditative, can ride, drive, keep his own horse, and roof his own dwelling: and every woman, however intellectual, can do, if necessary, all the work of her own house. At home I had seen one extreme of power, in the helpless beings whose prerogative lies wholly in the world of ideas: here I saw the other, where the dominion was wholly over the power of outward nature: and I must say I as heartily wished for the introduction of some good bodily education at home, as for intellectual enlightenment here. I have as little hope of the one as of the other; for there is at present no natural necessity for either; and nothing short of natural compulsion will avail. Gymnastic exercises and field sports are matters only of institution and luxury, good as far as they go, but mere conventional trifles in the training of a man or a nation: and, with all our proneness to toil, I see no prospect of any stimulus to wholesome, general activity arising out of our civilisation. I wish that, in return for our missions to the heathen, the heathens would send missionaries to us, to train us to a grateful use of our noble natural endowments,—of our powers of sense and limb, and the functions which are involved in their activity. I am confident that our morals and our intellect would gain inestimably by it. There is no saying how much vicious propensity would be checked, and intellectual activity equalised in us by such a reciprocity with those whose gifts are at the other extreme from our own.

“Throughout the four hours of our ascent, I saw incessantly that though much is done by sheer force,—by men enough pulling at a rope strong enough,—some other requisites were quite as essential: great forecast, great sagacity, much nice management among currents and hidden and threatening rocks, and much knowledge of the forces and subtleties of wind and water. The men were sometimes plunging to heave off the boat from a spike or ledge; sometimes swimming to a distant rock, with a rope between their teeth which they carried round the boulders; then squatting upon it and holding the end of the rope with their feet, to leave their hands at liberty for hauling. Sometimes a man dived to free the cable from a catch under water; then he would spring on board to pole at any critical pass; and then ashore, to join the long file who were pulling at the cable. Then there was their patience and diligence—very remarkable when we went round and round an eddy many times, after all but succeeding, and failing again and again from the malice of the wind. Once this happened for so long, and in such a boisterous eddy, that we began to wonder what was to be the end of it. Complicated as were the currents in this spot, we were four times saved from even grazing the rocks, when, after having nearly got through, we were borne back,

and swung round to try again. The fifth time, there came a faint breath of wind, which shook our sail for a moment and carried us over the ridge of foam. What a shout there was when we turned into still water! The last ascent but one appeared the most wonderful,—the passage was, twice over, so narrow,—barely admitting the kandjia,—the promontory of rock so sharp, and the gush of water so strong: but the big rope, and the mob of haulers on the shore and the islets, heaved us up steadily, and, as one might say, naturally,—as if the boat took her course advisedly.

“Though this passage appeared to us the most dangerous, it was at the last that the ruis of the cataract interfered to request us to step ashore. We were very unwilling; but we could not undertake the responsibility of opposing the local pilot. He said that it was mere force that was wanted here, the difficulty being only from the rush of the waters, and not from any complication of currents. But no man would undertake to say that the rope would hold; and if it did not, destruction was inevitable. The rope held: we saw the boat drawn up steadily and beautifully; and the work was done. Mr. E., who has great experience in nautical affairs, said that nothing could be cleverer than the management of the whole business. He believed that the feat could be achieved nowhere else, as there are no such swimmers elsewhere.”—vol. i. p. 119.

The voyage between the first and second cataracts, which is wholly in Nubia, was more speedily performed in a smaller boat. As the party were to land on the return voyage, and visit the temples, caves, and pyramids, Miss Martineau has drawn up a long historical sketch, from Menes to the Roman occupation of Egypt, with the view of rendering her visits to the antiquities more intelligible to the general reader.

Most of the specimens of each of the three kinds of Egyptian antiquities, viz., temples, tombs, and pyramids, bear so strong a resemblance to others of the same kind, that the best descriptions must prove monotonous. These objects are also of a nature that does not readily lend itself to verbal description; nor do any of the drawings we have seen give a just notion of the size, beauty, and majestic bearing of most of these temples, and of their singular appropriateness to their respective localities. There is a heaviness and want of grace about the drawings,—qualities which are rarely felt when the buildings are seen—and which certainly do not characterize any of the finer and older temples. Our notions of the ponderosity of Egyptian architecture appear to have been derived from the temple of Dendera (sometimes written Tentyra), which has been engraved more frequently than any other, partly because that temple is in a singular state of preservation, and partly on account of the peculiarity (perhaps we might say oddity) of its principal columns,

which are ornamented with four female faces. The general effect of this temple is certainly heavy; and though not without beauty, it evinces less good taste than perhaps any of the built temples. But it cannot properly be considered as an Egyptian edifice, because it was mainly built by the Romans many centuries after the date now assigned to the magnificent temples that are found at Thebes. The ancient architects could not have endured this building. It is not the type of an Egyptian temple, but the exception to it.

Should Miss Martineau have failed in giving the reader a vivid, or even a clear impression of such of the temples as she describes, or of the emotions they excite, we think that she is not in fault, except, indeed, in attempting the task. The same remarks apply to the four sets of pyramids in Egypt, all of which, except the largest set, she examines very cursorily, and her account of this set is not better than several other descriptions that might be pointed out.

Mohammed Ali is now clearing the rubbish from the temples, and taking measures to preserve them, instead of continuing to convert their materials into sugar factories, rum distilleries, petty Pasha's palaces, and such like works. Not that he, or any oriental, has the slightest reverence or feeling for ancient art; but he is shrewd enough to see that the temples are the bait which allures wealthy Europeans into his trap; and that no small part of the visitor's expenditure finds its way eventually into his own coffers. Had the cruel devastation, which was more actively prosecuted under his rule than at any former period, still been permitted, scarcely a temple would have been left standing. Even now the traveller, on reaching many well known sites, has the mortification of discovering, that buildings which excited the admiration of his countrymen a dozen years ago, are no longer in existence.

The personal activity of Miss Martineau would put to shame most male travellers. She frequently landed and walked when the boat was being tracked against the stream. If an eminence were near, she was never satisfied unless she had ascended it. She groped through caves and tombs, clambered about quarries, temples, and pyramids; and investigated, admired, speculated, and moralized through Egypt and Nubia, and Nubia and Egypt. Does night come on?—nothing daunted, she proceeds with a lantern to the ruins of Philæ; and as the paintings in the rock temple of Beyt-el-Wellee are obscured by dirt, she sends down to the boat "for water, tow, soap, and one or two of the crew, and while the rest of her party went to explore the great modern temple, she tucked up her sleeves, mounted on a stone, and

began to scrub the walls, to show the boy Hassan what she wanted him to do."—(vol. i. p. 233). In the deserts of Arabia, she never could become reconciled to the motion of the camel, and therefore walked a considerable part of the way; yet was still fresh enough to ramble about in the evening after the tents were pitched, and at early dawn before the encampment was moving.

On her return to Cairo, she had opportunities of seeing something of high life in the hareems, which occasion a bitter attack on polygamy. Probably she attaches too much importance to this institution, which, like Tokay and Burgundy in England, can only be indulged in by the rich. Egyptian slavery also comes under notice—a very different thing from that which bears the name in America and the West Indies. So far as we could learn, Egyptian slaves are domestic servants in the families of the rich, and are not employed in agriculture. Being few in number, and often of the same creed and race as their masters and mistresses, the main causes of oppression and cruelty elsewhere do not exist. Miss Martineau considers that these two institutions are indissolubly connected, and that if slavery were abolished polygamy could not exist for want of attendants duly qualified. The captive ladies, it seems, are not aware of our feelings towards them, and even commiserate the fate of the European ladies, who appear to them to be shamefully neglected. We had understood that the feelings of Mohammed Ali and Ibraheem Pasha were much less rigid regarding polygamy than is usual in the East: but we are not aware if these feelings are extending; and we know that Europeans who settle in the East frequently set up a hareem, as a mark of rank ensuring respect.

While in Egypt, Miss Martineau is apt to strain a point for the sake of effect; at least her emotions sometimes have the appearance of being got up for the occasion. If they be not so, a writer of her experience should be aware that every agreeable scene will not make a picture; and that an emotion, without ostensible cause, will not produce the desired effect. For example, she first saw the pyramids from the Nile,

“Emerging from behind a sandhill. They were very small; for we were still twenty-five miles from Cairo; but there could be no doubt about them for a moment; so sharp and clear were the light and shadow on the two sides we saw . . . In a few minutes they appeared to grow wonderfully larger; and they looked lustrous and most imposing in the evening light. I admired them every evening from my window at Cairo; and I took the surest means of convincing myself of their vastness, by going to the top of the largest; but this first view of them was the most moving; and I cannot think of it now without emotion.”—vol. i. p. 25.

On reaching the temple of Edfou she says—"It was here, and now, that I was first taken by surprise with the *beauty*, the beauty of everything" (vol. i. p. 91): though she had then recently seen the temple of Luxor, at Thebes, usually considered a far superior structure. Again, she says, of a small tract of rocky ground between Syene and the head of the cataract, that "no one could conceive the confusion of piled and scattered rocks, which, even in a ride of three miles, deprives a stranger of all sense of direction except by the heavens." We allow that the scenery is very striking; but the road is so straight, and so distinct, that how any mortal, not lost to all sublunary things, could possibly miss it, quite passes our comprehension. Her emotions at the sight of the great Sphynx are not such as every metaphysician would undertake to unravel.

"What a monstrous idea was it from which this monster sprang! True as I think Abdallatif's account of it, and just as is his admiration, I feel that a stranger either does not see the Sphynx at all, or he sees it as a nightmare. When we first passed it I saw it only as a strange looking rock; an oversight which could not have occurred in the olden time when the head bore the royal helmet, or the ram's horns. Now I was half afraid of it. The full serene gaze of its round face, rendered ugly by the loss of the nose, which was a very handsome feature of the old Egyptian face; this full gaze, and the stony calmness of its attitude, almost turn one to stone. So life-like,—so huge,—so monstrous,—it is really a fearful spectacle."—vol. ii. p. 81.

And she goes on with an inconceivable jumble about a man riding its neck, some measurements, and some more exclamations, historical and ethnographical, and traces of red paint, and resemblance to Madame Malibran, &c., until at last we become bewildered ourselves, and will not dispute that she may be labouring under nightmare.

In February, 1847, the party left Cairo, and proceeded through a valley in the desert to the south of the usual route, which brought them to the coast of the Red Sea below Suez. Leaving that uninteresting town as speedily as possible, they crossed to the Arabian side, and again mounted their camels for Mount Sinai. Camel riding was found to be the only drawback on the pleasure of travelling in the desert.

"The motion of my camel became more and more fatiguing and disagreeable all the way; and being at home a great walker, I had recourse, more and more, to my own feet, little heeding even the heat and thirst in comparison with the annoyances of camel riding. I have often walked from ten to fifteen miles in the noon hours, continuously, and of course at the pace of the caravan—sometimes over an easy pebbly track, sometimes over mountain passes, sometimes cutting my

boots to pieces on the sharp rocks, but always giving up when we came to deep sand. . . . I was so far from being injured by my desert travelling, that I improved in health from week to week, after having been very unwell in Egypt."—vol. ii. p. 209.

The desert journey by the eastern shore of the Red Sea to Mount Sinai, and the ascent of Mounts Sinai and Horeb, are very graphically described. The party remained some days at the Greek convent of Sinai, making excursions to the tops of the mountains; and again pursued the course of the Israelites through the desert parallel to the Gulf of Akabah, to Mount Horeb and Petra, having first settled with the prior for their entertainment, whom they thought rapacious, "every regard being paid to his isolated position and the circumstances of his establishment." Thirty monks reside here; and their health appeared to suffer from the unhealthy position of the convent, and abstinence. One of them, who acted as guide, could not be induced to eat cold fowl, "but he took a brave pull at the brandy bottle."

The Arabs have seldom allowed travellers to pass the desert between Sinai and Palestine by the eastern route through Akabah and the rock city of Petra; and very few persons have succeeded in reaching Petra. But our party managed to secure the escort and protection of a powerful Sheik from Akabah to Hebron, near Jerusalem, though on very exorbitant terms; and, as this Sheik had undertaken duties that lay beyond his own jurisdiction without propitiating the neighbouring tribes, he was attacked, on his return, and a number of his party were shot in the encounter. A singularly wild and magnificent rocky desert brought them to the Gulf of Akabah, the rocky coast of which was traversed until they reached the town at its head.

"We were struck here, as everywhere along the shores of the Red Sea, with the vast quantity of shells thrown up in shoals along the beach,—from the minutest to some magnificent ones, as large as a man's head.

"Many varieties of little crabs were moving in all directions. Swarms of yellow locusts and handsome dragon-flies flitted about in the sun; and little fish leaped out of the waters in great numbers. There are no boats at Akabah, but men go out fishing on small rafts."—vol. ii. p. 307.

The party left Akabah with "forty armed guards, independently of the camel-drivers. Ten of them marched in front, and ten at a considerable distance on either hand—on a rising ground when there was any—and always on the look out. The remaining ten were with us, off duty;"—(vol. ii., p. 312.) In this desert they suffered from the Khamsin, or hot wind, and were delayed by

the neglect of the rapacious Sheikh to bring sufficient provender for the camels. At length they saw mount Hor, where Aaron was buried, and reached the extraordinary ancient city of Petra, which is entirely cut out of the rock, and has long been quite deserted.

“For nearly an hour longer we were descending the pass, seeing first hints at façades, and then more and more holes clearly artificial. Now red poppies and scarlet anemones and wild oats began to show themselves where there was a deposit of earth: yet the rocks became more and more wild and stupendous, while, wherever they presented a face, there were pediments and pilasters, and ranges of doorways, and little flights of steps, scattered over the slopes. A pair of eagles sprang out, and sailed over head, scared by the noise of the strangers; and little birds flew abroad from their holes, sprinkling their small shadows over the sunny precipices. . . . What a mixture of wild romance with the daily life of a city! It was now like Jinnec land, and it seemed as if men were too small ever to have lived here. Down we went, and still down among new wonders, long after I had begun to feel that this far transcended all I had ever imagined. On the right hand now stood a column, standing alone among the ruins of many; while, on the left, were yet more portals in the precipice, so high up that it was inconceivable how they were ever reached. The longer we staid, and the more mountain temples we climbed to, the more I felt that the inhabitants, with their other peculiarities, must have been winged. At length we came down upon the platform, above the bed of the torrent, near which stands the only edifice in Petra.

“This platform was sheltered on two sides by rocks; and, as my eye became accustomed to the confusion, I could make out, among the masses of building-stones which lay between it and the empty watercourse below, the lines of five terraces, and at last the piers of many bridges.”—vol. ii. p. 319.

On further examination, this city was found to lie in a basin completely closed in by rocks; and more and more objects of interest presented themselves:—among others, a theatre, with ranges of seats cut out of the rock, and a curious temple in a niche of the rock with a façade of between 60 and 70 feet.

“The main street is about two miles long. Its width varies from ten to thirty feet, and it is enclosed between perpendicular rocks which spring to a height of from 100 to 700 feet. . . . It is paved and drained, but badly lighted, for the rocks so nearly meet as to leave, really and truly, only that ‘strip of sky’ which one often reads of, but which I never remember to have seen before, except in being drawn up out of a coal-pit. . . . The pavement is of large slippery stones, worn in places into ruts by ancient chariot-wheels. A conduit runs along, and a little above the wayside—a channel hollowed in the rock; and, in parts, there are, at the height of 80 feet, earthen pipes

for the conveyance of water. On the face of the precipices, sometimes upright as a wall for 300 feet, are curious marks left by more ancient men than those who paved the street and laid the water-pipes;—shallow niches, and the outlines and first cuttings of pediments, and tablets begun and discontinued.”

This extraordinary spot was left with great reluctance; and the adjoining Mount Hor was then ascended, where Aaron was carried up to die. Scarcely any European traveller had been previously allowed to ascend, and examine Aaron's tomb—a Mahomedan structure; but the Arabs are now becoming less fanatical or more mercenary, 20 piastres a head being levied from the party at Petra, and Mount Hor being included in the show. Burckhardt, Laborde, Linant, and Robinson had been prevented from seeing this tomb, and the magnificent prospect of the desert which the mountain commands.

A further desert journey brought the party to the confines of Palestine, where a little verdure began to appear, and occasional patches of cultivation were seen.

“The first thought or impression which I remember as occurring on my entrance into the Holy Land, was one of pleasure that it was so like home. When we came to towns, everything looked as foreign as in Nubia; but here, on the open hills, we might gaze round us on a multitude of familiar objects, and remember to whose eyes they were once familiar too. Never were the rarest and most glorious flowers so delightful to my eyes, as the weeds I was looking at all this day; for I knew that, in His childhood, He must have played among them, and that, in His manhood, He must have been daily familiar with them. . . . So already I saw that vision which never afterwards left me while in Palestine—of one walking under the terraced hills, or drinking at the wells, or resting under the shade of the olives: and it was truly a delight to think that besides the palm, and the oleander, and the prickly pear, He knew as well as we do the poppy and the wild rose, the cyclamen, the bindweed, the various grasses of the wayside, and the familiar thorn. This, and the new and astonishing sense of the familiarity of His teachings—a thing which we declare and protest about at home, but can never adequately feel—brought me nearer to an insight and understanding of what I had known by heart from my infancy, than perhaps any one can conceive who has not tracked His actual footsteps.”—vol. iii. p. 53.

Palestine and Syria have been so frequently described by modern travellers, and our limits are so nearly reached, that we have only room for a few more extracts. This is the less to be regretted as the merits of the work entitle it to an extensive circulation. Few persons have started so well prepared by previous travel; by familiarity with the Old and New Testaments, and profane history, ancient and modern, including the works of

previous travellers ; few have had their heart and soul so completely in their work ; few have examined so carefully, conscientiously, and charitably, whatsoever has come to their notice ; and few have shown equal power in vividly calling up the past. To such a wayfarer in these regions, travelling is no idle pastime, no light and innocent amusement. Every step brings forth some deep significance ; every scene has its absorbing and mournful interest.

After giving a very disheartening account of the progress of the Protestant mission at Jerusalem, and the paucity and low character of the converts, arising from impediments in the very nature of the enterprize, and not from want of qualifications in the Bishop, or of sincerity in his clergy, Miss Martineau ascends the mission church, which presents the following prospect of the city.

“The extent and handsome appearance of Jerusalem surprized us. The population is said not to exceed 15,000 : but the city covers a great extent of ground, from the courts which are enclosed by eastern houses, and the large unoccupied spaces which lie within the walls. The massive stone walls, and substantial character of the buildings, remove every appearance of sordidness, when the place is seen from a height : and the clearness of the atmosphere, and the hue of the building material give a clean and cheerful air to the whole, which accords little with the traveller’s preconception of the fallen state of Jerusalem. The environs look fertile and flourishing, except where the Moab mountains rise lofty and bare, but adorned with the heavenly hues belonging to the glorious climate. The minarets glittered against the clear sky ; and the arches, marble platform, and splendid variegated buildings of the mosque of Omar, crowning the heights of Moriah, were very beautiful.”—vol. iii. p. 115.

The Mosque of Omar occupies the site of the Temple of Jerusalem.

“No Jew or Christian can pass the threshold of the outermost courts without certain and immediate death, by stoning or beating. It requires some little resolution for those who dislike being hated, to approach this threshold, so abominable are the insults offered to strangers. A boy began immediately to spit at us. We presently obtained a better view of this usurping temple from the city wall, which we climbed for the purpose. From hence the inclosure was spread out beneath us, as in a map, and we could perceive the proportion it bore to the rest of the city, and observe how much lower mount Moriah was than Zion. The Mosque was very beautiful, with its vast dome, and its walls of variegated marbles, and its noble marble platform, with its flights of steps and light arcades ; and the green lawn which sloped away all round, and the cypress trees, under which a row of worshippers were at their prayers. It was the Mahommedan

sabbath ; and troops of children were at play on the grass ; and parties of women in white, Mahomedan nuns,—were sitting near them ; and the whole scene was proud and joyous. But with all this before my eyes, my mind was with the past. It seemed as if the past were more truly before me than what I saw. Here was the ground chosen by David, and levelled by Solomon, to receive the temple of Jehovah. Here it was that the great king lavished his wealth ; and hither came the sun-worshippers from the East, to lay hands on the treasure, and level the walls, and carry the people away captive. Here was it restored under Ezra, and fortified round, when the people worked at the wall, with arms in their girdles, and by their sides : and here, when all had been again laid waste, did Herod raise the structure that was so glorious, that the Jews were as proud as the Mahomedans now before my eyes, and mocked at the saying, that it should ever be overthrown.”—vol. iii. p. 116.

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- ART. III.—1. *The Prose Writers of America.* By Rufus W. Griswold. Bentley.
2. *The Statesmen of America in 1846.* By Sarah Mytton Maury. Longmans.

AMERICAN literature, in the opinion of Mr. Rufus Griswold, has not received its due share of attention at the hands of the English public ; who remain in half-wilful ignorance of its merits, its progress, and in particular its growing nationality. To draw our attention to these things, Mr. Griswold has made a collection of choice passages from the most meritorious American prose writings, which he publishes, that they may speak for themselves, without any comment on his part, excepting a brief flourish of trumpets somewhat formally styled a biographical memoir, at the entrance of each fresh personage upon the stage. The body of the work before us, therefore, forms a sort of cyclopædia of American literature ; an accumulation so extensive and so miscellaneous that a reviewer may very well be excused from a detailed examination and commentary. But, in a preliminary essay, Mr. Griswold enters into a full discussion of the general state and prospects of his native literature ; and this portion of the work is suggestive of much reflection.

Mr. Griswold, we may premise, is not one of those Americans who displease their readers, and forfeit their credit at the outset, by indiscriminate and unbounded laudation of every product of

their country. His tone is calm and temperate, and he has not shrunk from the disagreeable duty of pointing out the blemishes and failings of that which, as a whole, is the subject of his eulogy. He lays his finger, though tenderly, upon the sores which a less honest advocate would have hidden out of sight. He acknowledges, for example, that American literature has sometimes been too humble a candidate for popularity; has stooped from its lofty station as the guide and teacher, to be the flatterer, of public opinion; and too often silencing its own doubts, has contentedly been the mouthpiece of popular fallacies. It is in some degree the same with ourselves. Literature, even in this country, can hardly be said to have yet attained a perfect independence; it has only changed patrons. If it is no longer dependent on the noble, the wealthy, the man of taste who affects the Mæcenas; if it does not now hang about the antechambers of the great, or debase itself for hire in dedications; if its masters are now more numerous, and less able to act in concert for the giving or taking away of reputations; and if the man of letters may so far stand more erect and fearless than of old: still, he has masters, jealous and exacting masters too, though affecting the posture of scholars; and he must often see before him the alternative of catering to the tastes, in other words, flattering the prejudices of the public, or writing works that nobody will read. America, in this respect, does but follow in our train: though it may be, as public opinion is more despotic and one-sided there than here, the mischief is more keenly felt. Here, certainly, the diversities of party and sect serve in some degree—so long as a writer has a party at his back—as safeguards for the independence of literature.

According to Mr. Griswold, the acknowledged inferiority, in certain branches, of American to English literature, is chiefly, if not altogether, owing to the absence of a law of international copyright. The system of legalised freebooty—that right of border-foray—which enables an American publisher to appropriate the labours of an English author, and defraud him of his hire, has been, by a most just retribution, the bane of American literature. Thanks to this system, authorship by profession is in America a career, if not impossible and unknown, at least one to which the entrance is fenced off by difficulties that must deter many from venturing upon it. On this point Mr. Griswold speaks with authority.

“A short time before Mr. Washington Irving was appointed minister to Spain, he undertook to dispose of a production of merit, written by an American who had not yet established a commanding name in the literary market, but found it impossible to get an offer

from any of the principal publishers. 'They even declined to publish it at the author's cost,' he says, 'alleging that it was not worth their while to trouble themselves about native works, of doubtful success, while they could pick and choose among the successful works daily poured out by the British press, *for the copyright of which they had nothing to pay.*' And not only is the American thus in some degree excluded from the audience of his countrymen, but the publishers, who have a control over many of the newspapers and other periodicals, exert themselves, in the way of their business, to build up the reputation of the foreigner whom they rob, and to destroy that of the home author who aspires to a competition with him.

"This legalised piracy," continues Mr. Griswold, warming as he proceeds, "supported by some sordid and base arguments, keeps the criminal courts busy; makes divorce committees in the legislature standing instead of special; every year yields abundant harvests of profligate sons and daughters; and inspires a growing contempt for our plain republican forms and institutions. Injurious as it is to the foreign author, it is more so to the American, and it falls with heaviest weight upon the people at large, whom it deprives of that nationality of feeling which is among the first and most powerful incentives to every kind of greatness."—*American Prose Writers*, p. 8.

Let us be careful, however, not to damage our argument by overstating it. Injurious as may be the effect of the present system, by spoiling the market for native American productions, it is not to be supposed that this circumstance will ever stifle or silence the voice of true genius, or rob America of one work of supreme and transcendent merit. High and rare powers of thought or feeling owe no fealty to publishers, are not the servants of the market, do not bloom or fade at the bidding of the book-trade, and ask no international copyright for their protection. The impulse that forces genius to utter itself is far different from that which induces men to work for a livelihood; and wherever that impulse—that is, wherever genius—exists, it will make its way through all obstacles, at a pace which no golden recompense can greatly hasten, no neglect greatly retard. It may be that genius thrives most under difficulty, that "singing birds should not be fed too well:" not, however, for the reason commonly assigned, that it needs the spur of hunger to keep it to its paces; but because the struggle with hardship strengthens and disciplines the mental powers, because the frosts of poverty prevent the mischief of a too early blossoming, because the absence of material and sensuous delights makes genius cling the more fondly to the delight it finds in its own utterance. Again, it may be that genius thrives most in neglect: for then, despairing and heedless of popularity, it seeks only to please itself, and is not seduced from its own true canons of taste by

any motive for conforming to the less pure tastes of the multitude. Thus much, at least, is certain : if discouragement is not, to high genius, a benefactor, it is no mortal enemy ; it will put it to the test, it will make it suffer, but will never crush or silence it. "When God commands," says Milton, "to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall forbear." But, though all this be true, there yet remains much truth in Mr. Griswold's complaint. The literature of a country is not composed entirely, nor even principally, of the products of high genius ; it does not depend on genius for its existence or utility ; and, if bound by fetters such as only genius has the strength to break, literature, more feeble, may invoke the aid of law to release it. Great poets and great thinkers appear at long intervals, and make the times they live in memorable for generations : they are too few to constitute, at any one period, a current literature. The ordinary fruits of a well-trained understanding,—readiness of adaptation, clearness of arrangement, judgment, good sense, and information—are the highest qualities one has a right to expect of a mere literary man, a member of that body whose accumulated labours constitute a literature of the day. And when we reflect what great things this current literature is doing and has done ; what a power it wields, in the newspaper and periodical press ; how it is the true sovereign ruler of the land ; how noble a warfare it wages with error, fanaticism, sordid neglect, and inhumanity ; when we see slavery abolished, commerce liberated, religions rendered tolerant, ignorance routed, by the patient united efforts of a current literature ; who shall deny that everything which tends to the fostering, training, strengthening, and purifying of this mighty engine, is of highest national concernment ? And certainly America, in thus cramping and stifling her native literature by an act of national dishonesty, uses a policy from which herself eventually must be the chief sufferer. It is no conclusive answer to this reasoning to say, that America has, unaffected by any law of foreign copyright, the practical part and net result of all literature, its application to the business of life, embodied in newspapers and political speeches ; and that all beyond this is merely ornamental, and altogether out of the sphere of nationality. By no means : to furnish matter for these newspapers and pamphlets there must first be books ; men's thoughts must first be freely developed, and spread open to their full dimensions, and in that shape studied and reflected on, before they can gain admittance to the public mind, and produce practical results, in that compendious and imperfect form that alone is possible to the pamphleteer. Besides, first principles and universal truths must not

be sullied by intermixture with the fumes of party spirit, or they can never hope to gain general acceptance and reverence due. The politician may avail himself of the labours of the political philosopher, but the philosopher must never dip his pen in the gall of the politician. It were equally far from the truth to say, that in all that portion of literature which lies beyond the sphere of politics there is no scope for nationality. Nationality is a thing too much interwoven with men's lives, too closely worked into all their ways of acting, judging, and thinking, to be put on merely for the political assembly or the debating-club: it makes itself visible nowhere more conspicuously than in this very portion of literature which we call ornamental. The difference between an Englishman and a Frenchman is not more strongly marked than the difference between an English and a French novel. In politics, in morals, in religion, the insinuating lessons of the lighter literature are often more effectual than any other teaching; and if a nation is to be great, its rulers should sedulously promote a healthful national literature. Herein, certainly, the model republic acts not more ungenerously than unwisely.

We are to consider, however, what things American literature, hampered as it is, has accomplished; and, for this purpose, our method must be, first to trace the several branches of the stream, and inquire what has been done in each department; and afterwards to turn our attention to the united current, and perhaps hazard a conjecture as to its course and destination.

The noblest domain of letters, without doubt, if we were to judge from the dignity of the subject, must be that which has reference to religion. But since most, if not all Christian sects, have agreed to divorce religion from reasoning, and exalt faith by debasing and contemning the understanding, works of controversial divinity, secluded of necessity from ethical and intellectual philosophy, debarred from the free use of argument, and degenerated into almost a bare citation of texts, are become, from the nature of the case, uninteresting and unprofitable reasoning, and by common consent are left in the hands of one class of writers and one class of students. In this field we shall not pause to inquire how the American clergy have acquitted themselves.

In philosophy, the second in dignity if we regard its subject, and the first, if we regard the powers of mind necessary for the treating of it, we are disposed to believe that Mr. Griswold's book gives a false and injurious impression of American proficiency. The author, whether from undervaluing that which the wisest of ancient and modern times have rated as the noblest employment of the human mind, or from believing the study unpopular at the present day, has not even named philosophy as

a distinct subject of American prose writing. The few philosophical works he deigns to notice, he distributes under the heads of theology or essays, — the latter with as much propriety as if we were to place the essays of Hume and Blanchard in the same class. From so ignominious a treatment of philosophy, one naturally concludes that it must be an object of study lightly esteemed in America, or unsuccessfully prosecuted. We have always understood, however, that this is by no means the case; that there is some sort of affinity, in this respect, between the American mind and the German, a certain proneness to abstract speculation, which, though benumbed in the many by the necessities and tendencies of a money-getting way of life, yet displays itself wherever there is leisure and scholarship. The philosophies of Germany, we believe, have taken root far wider and deeper in America than in England. Transcendentalism flourishes there. Kant has been twice translated into American English. Carlyle has more admirers across the Atlantic than at home: and, if all this amounts to no more, the very diseases and extravagances of philosophy prove at least its existence, not to say its diffusion, among the less cultivated classes. In no country where philosophical studies were not somewhat popular, and carried to some extent, could such a writer as Mr. Emerson have appeared as the only American philosopher with whose works we are at all familiar. The boldness, not to call it audacity, of his doctrines, and of the tone in which he propounds them; the way in which he takes for granted, and supposes his readers familiar with, the most recondite propositions of an ideal philosophy, propositions the most remote from general acceptance in this country; argue a high respect on his part for the philosophical attainments of his readers, a respect not unmerited, if we may judge from the popularity Mr. Emerson is said to enjoy in his own country.

This American school of ideal, or, as it is there called, Transcendental Philosophy, of which Mr. Emerson stands for us as the representative, affords some striking indications of a peculiar national spirit and turn of mind; germs, perhaps, of that nationality which Mr. Griswold so aspires after: and it is under this aspect alone that we are at present called upon to consider the subject. One is struck at first sight by the great lengths to which this school carries the notion of isolation and personal independence. Such a sentiment, perhaps, lies at the foundation of all idealism, and would seem to have attended Berkeley and his followers; who, marking a broad line of distinction between the evidence that proves to every man his own existence, and that which proves to him the existence of other beings,—magnifying con-

sciousness at the expense of perception,—declare each man to be for himself the centre of all things. Idealism, it is clear, must thrive most in self-poised and self-sufficient natures; the strong development of social feeling and human sympathy is hostile to it, as carrying the mind abroad from itself, and instinctively forcing it to believe that other beings have an existence as real as its own. We may conclude, perhaps, that the prevalence of idealism in America is one result of the extreme notions that prevail there concerning personal independence. And this seems the more probable, since the American idealist carries this favourite notion of man's self-poisedness more into practice than do the disciples of the same philosophy elsewhere. Mr. Emerson, for example, would have us all conform our behaviour to this ideal theory; and seems almost to forget that men are naturally gregarious, so strongly does he feel that man can stand alone.

"I like," he says, "that every chair should be a throne, and hold a king: I prefer a tendency to stateliness to an excess of fellowship. Let the incommunicable objects of nature, and the metaphysical isolation of man, teach us independence. Let us not be too much acquainted. . . . We should meet each morning as from foreign countries, and, spending the day together, should depart at night as into foreign countries. In all things I would have the island of a man inviolate. Let us sit apart as the gods, talking from peak to peak all round Olympus. . . . The height, the deity of man, is to be self-sustained, to need no gift, no foreign force. Society is good when it does not violate me; but best when it is likeliest to solitude."

We might notice, as another characteristic peculiarity in the tone of this philosophy, a certain hyperbole of speech, a straining after effect, a dissatisfaction with every doctrine or expression that cannot be wrenched into a paradox, which really seems akin to the Munchausen vein of exaggeration run mad, that distinguishes American humour from all other kinds. But, as this peculiarity belongs more or less to every branch of American literature, we shall here pass it by, and content ourselves with noticing one more national trait in this transcendentalism. Mr. Emerson is so great a republican that he would make nature a republican too. He maintains that all men, intellectually and morally, are by nature of equal capacity and altogether alike; that every man has within him the seeds of all genius, speculative or active, and only needs the ripening beam of circumstance to be a Shakspeare, a Newton, or a Cromwell. In this doctrine there is no doubt a considerable intermixture of truth. He is a very superficial student of humanity who dwells entirely on the peculiarities and differences of men, without penetrating to those properties which all share in common. Men's diversity

is in great measure the result of mere extraneous causes ; of difference of laws and institutions, of climate and mode of living, of physical structure and temperament, and the like. Men differ most in those things which are of least concernment ; in those which are regulated by custom, in which caprice and humour have free play, over which the bodily necessities tyrannise. Their peculiarities are most visible in the drawing-room or the market-place ; when they are idle, or busied in the common journey-work of life. In things that touch them to the quick, all men are alike. Let passion come into play—let them be touched by pity, struck down by a great sorrow, or animated with a lofty enthusiasm—their diversity vanishes : all wear one will, and use one common language. The most exalted poetry speaks in most familiar and household phrase to the soul of the meanest man. As tragedy, which bids us make the sorrows of great hearts our own, is superior in worth and dignity to comedy, which bids us mark the follies of beings unlike ourselves, so is the study of man's common nature better worth our following than the study of men's peculiarities. Still, when all this is allowed for, we cannot but believe that the order of the creation, as regards the soul and intellect of man, is an aristocratic order : that, as all the inferior creatures, from the reptile to the elephant, occupy a regular ascending scale, so do the natures of men ; and we suspect that Mr. Emerson's faith in man's natural equality is in some measure the insensible product of his doctrine of political equality ; a doctrine, however, which rests upon a very different basis, for inferiority of intellect is not a reason for permitting the strong to oppress the weak, but a reason for securing to the weak the protection of the law.

From philosophy we turn to history. In this department of letters, it was hardly to be expected that America should have displayed great proficiency. Cut off by the ocean from an interest in the movements and destinies of Europe, and by the revolution from an interest in her own past and that of the mother country, modern history, that portion which most nearly concerns and interests ourselves, has, to America, become almost a matter of indifference. Her own gigantic form of civilization is altogether so unlike any that has yet come to maturity, that its ultimate development can only be guessed at, and our conjectures can scarcely be assisted by any precedents which history furnishes. The study of history must naturally flourish most where it is most useful ; in states surrounded by powerful neighbours, whose policy has to be watched ; in times when revolutions appear imminent, when dynastic changes, and the grand movements that history chronicles, fill the minds and agitate the

passions of men ; in England, under the Stuarts ; in France, at present. Americans may reasonably wish the time to be far distant when history shall be studied with avidity by themselves. However, when this is taken into the account, it must be acknowledged that the historical literature of America is very creditable. The names of Prescott and Bancroft redeem their country from the reproach of barrenness in this field. Mr. Prescott has been so recently before the public, that it would be superfluous here to do more than simply to express our sense of his merit, as a spirited and dramatic narrator, a perspicuous and elegant writer, who has enriched the scantily-furnished shelf of histories in the English tongue with two or three volumes that posterity will not willingly let die. With Mr. Bancroft's 'History of the United States' we are little familiar, and can neither verify nor gainsay the judgment which Mr. Griswold passes upon it, as follows:—

“Mr. Bancroft's 'History of the United States' is one of the great works of the present age, stamped more plainly with its essential character than any other of a similar sort that has been written. The subject of the birth and early experiences of a radically new and thoroughly independent nation has a deep philosophical interest, which, to the historian, is instead of that dramatic attraction, of which the few incidents in the progress of many small communities, scattered over a continent, independent of each other, and all dependent on a foreign power, are necessarily destitute. This Mr. Bancroft perceives ; and entering deeply into the spirit of the times, he becomes insensibly the advocate of the cause of freedom, which invalidates his testimony. He suffers too much 'his passion to instruct his reason.' He is more mastered by his subject than himself master of it. Liberty with him is not the result of an analytical process, but the basis of his work, and he builds upon it synthetically.

“When Mr. Bancroft commenced his labours, the very valuable but incomplete history by Judge Marshall, was the only work on the subject, by a native author, that was deserving of much praise. Grahame's faithful history of the colonization, and the brilliant account of the revolution by Botta, were acknowledged to be the best histories of the country for their respective periods. This fact alone was sufficient to guide an American historian in the choice of his theme, had he been less deeply imbued than Mr. Bancroft with the principles which our history illustrates.

“Whatever may be the merit of some of Mr. Bancroft's opinions, there are, in the volumes he has published, no signs of a superficial study of events. His narrative is based on cotemporary documents, and he has shown remarkable patience in collecting, and in assorting, comparing, and arranging them. In this respect his work is singularly faithful. In regard to the character and adventures of many of the early discoverers, the principles and policies of the founders of several of the States, and the peculiarities and influences of the various classes

of colonists, the details are full, and the reflections eminently philosophical. The languages, religions, and rural and warlike customs of the Indians, are also treated in a manner that evinces much research and ingenuity. Mr. Bancroft's style is elaborate, scholarly, and forcible, though sometimes not without a visible effort at eloquence; and there is occasionally a dignity of phrase that is not in keeping with the subject matter. It lacks the delightful ease and uniform proportion which mark the diction of Prescott."—*Prose Writers of America*, p. 405.

If historical literature, in so young a nation as the United States, cannot reasonably be expected greatly to flourish; on the other hand, this same youthfulness, coupled with democratic institutions, imparts a great prominence to that portion of letters which has reference to "history in the making," *i. e.* politics. "Oratory, or public speaking," says Mrs. Maury, in her recent work,* "may be considered at the present moment as constituting, not only the best and most exalted, but the vital and essential portion of American literature." And certainly, if we consider how much more important a part oratory plays across the Atlantic than at home; how keen an interest, almost amounting to a disease and frenzy, almost every American takes in politics; and how the excitement is kept alive by elections, public meetings, anniversary festivals, and occasions of speech-making almost unintermittent; we may reasonably conclude that oratory must be as important a branch of letters (if we may call it so) among the Americans as it ever was with the Athenians. It would be too much to expect that it should be cultivated with the same success.

To estimate the merits of Transatlantic oratory, abundant materials have within the last year or two been placed within our reach. Besides all that Mr. Griswold has written and quoted on the subject, there is a collection of choice passages and beauties of modern American rhetoric, selected with taste, in Mrs. Maury's 'Statesmen of America,'—a work whose merits have had the misfortune to be buried under the unpopularity of certain tenets, very prominently put forward and energetically maintained by the authoress, on the subjects of slavery and catholicism. That the 'Statesmen of America' should have been severely criticised at the time of its appearing, does not surprise us; though there were one or two coarse and ungenerous attacks upon it, that did no credit to the writers: for it requires a rare mental integrity, at once strongly to dissent from an author's doctrines, to hold them pernicious and desire to check their diffusion, and at the same time, not merely to abstain from unfair weapons and

* 'An Englishwoman in America.'

methods of attack, but also frankly to acknowledge and do justice to the ability with which those doctrines have been supported. We regret, however, that Mrs. Maury's Puseyite and pro-slavery opinions should have been the means of materially detracting from the usefulness of a book which is written with much spirit, in a style of remarkable purity and elegance, bearing the stamp of a refined and highly cultivated mind, and which has at least this merit, the only one perhaps that is strictly germane to the present occasion,—that it furnishes materials, not previously to be found in this country, for appreciating American oratory.

From the perusal of these flowers of rhetoric we rise with feelings, on the whole, of disappointment. We expected to find a marked superiority over parallel passages from speeches in our own House of Commons; such as should correspond to the mental superiority of men, freely chosen from, and by, the great body of the people, and who for the most part owe their position to their own talents and exertions, over men placed in their seats by the accidents of birth, or fortune, or connexion. In this country, political eloquence is confessedly at a low ebb. The general indifference to party-politics, which men begin to look upon as a mere scramble for place; the practical and somewhat cold temperament of the English people; and the aristocratic prejudices which narrow the field of political competition, are unfavourable circumstances. The best speeches of our greatest orators are with difficulty read, and make but a feeble impression, even while the subject-matter of them retains its freshness. None of our statesmen can expect that, like Burke or Chatham, his words will live after him, and be studied, when the occasion that drew them forth shall be forgotten, for their wisdom or their eloquence. The interest of the subjects is not more short-lived and transient than is the oratory itself: it is not amber that encrusts these straws. But we are disappointed to find that the same thing is true with regard to America. Webster, indeed, is masculine and impressive; Clay, persuasive, winning, and pathetic; Calhoun, philosophic: all three speak like men of talents and information, but an air of common-place is upon even these, the princes of American rhetoric. As foreigners, we can pronounce with the impartiality of posterity. Divested of interest in the subjects, we should be able to judge whether the manner in which these speakers handle them is such as will bear the touch of time; and the insupportable weariness with which we read, proves, we think, that it will not.

The fact is, public speaking, far more than any branch of closet literature, requires for its development a correspondence

between the taste and temperament of the speaker and of the auditory. An author in his library can despise and forget the tastes of the day, and imagine himself the cotemporary of Plato, or Cicero, or Bacon, and tune his mind to their pitch, and write with weight and gravity, as addressing himself to hearers "fit though few." In the court-house or the senate, the powerful influence of man's presence puts such thoughts to flight: the speaker is forced to bring his mind into contact with those that he addresses; he is at the mercy of his audience; and, if he cannot raise their tempers to the loftiness of his own, his must sink to theirs. Erskine, it is well known, could not speak with effect if any one of his jurymen remained stolid and unmoved. And, if eloquence is cold and tame with a phlegmatic audience, with an uncultivated audience, greedy of coarse food and strong excitement, devoid of the mental temperance that with an Athenian was an instinct, and with an Englishman is the result of breeding,—with such an audience eloquence must needs grow meretricious, and sink into rant and fustian. This, we fear, seems the Charybdis of American rhetoric.

Eloquence, we are persuaded, will never flourish in America or at home, so long as the public taste is infantile enough to measure the value of a speech by the hours it occupies, and to exalt copiousness and fertility to the absolute disregard of conciseness. The efficacy and value of compression can scarcely be overrated. The common air we beat aside with our breath, compressed, has the force of gunpowder, and will rend the solid rock; and so it is with language. A gentle stream of persuasives may flow through the mind, and leave no sediment; let it come at a blow, as a cataract, and it sweeps all before it. It is by this magnificent compression that Cicero confounds Cataline, and Demosthenes overwhelms Æschines; by this that Mark Antony, as Shakspeare makes him speak, carries the heart away with a bad cause; by this that Lady Macbeth makes us, for the moment, sympathize with murder. The language of strong passion is always terse and compressed; genuine conviction uses few words; there is something of artifice and dishonesty in a long speech. No argument is worth using, because none can make a deep impression, that does not bear to be stated in a single sentence. Our marshalling of speeches, essays, and books, according to their length,—deeming that a great work which covers a great space; this "inordinate appetite for printed paper," which devours so much and so indiscriminately that it has no leisure for fairly tasting anything; is pernicious to all kinds of literature, but fatal to oratory. The writer who aims at perfection, is forced to dread popularity and steer wide of it:

the orator, who must court popularity, is forced to renounce the pursuit of genuine and lasting excellence.

From the troubled waters of politics, we move onward to more tranquil regions. In jurisprudence, America undoubtedly has done much that is admirable. No English law-book, we have understood, can be placed in the same rank with Judge Story's Commentaries—works which even in this country are much studied, and often referred to as authorities. The philosophical spirit in which these books are written, the perpetual recurrence to first principles, the absence of a petty technicality, contrast very favourably with some of the most admired productions of English lawyers. American law would seem to be less the slave of precedent than the English; a circumstance no doubt owing, in a great measure, to the diversity of laws in the several states of the Union, which, necessarily bringing an American lawyer acquainted with several systems of legislation, alike in their first principles, yet diverging in particulars of practice, forces upon him a perpetual attention to the distinction, so often lost sight of by English lawyers, between fundamentals and details. Jurisprudence, however, is a subject that hardly claims our notice, since it seems improper to treat it as a branch of literature.

The same thing may be said of natural philosophy, which Mr. Griswold likewise descants upon. We shall content ourselves with extracting what appears to us a judicious observation on the subject.

“The cultivation of purely mechanical and natural science has been carried much too far in this country, or rather has been made too exclusive and absorbing. It is not the highest science, for it concerns only that which is around us—which is altogether outward. Man is greater than the world of nature in which he lives, and just as clearly must the science of man, the philosophy of his moral and intellectual being, rank far above that of the soulless creation which was made to minister to his wants. When, therefore, this lower science so draws to itself the life of any age as to disparage and shut out the higher, it works to the well-being of that age an injury.”—p. 26.

Passing over the small wares of literature, as pamphlets, review articles, essays on manners, and fugitive pieces, serious or humorous, in which matters it may be that America neither can nor cares to compete with the mother country, there only remains for our notice the region of fiction. Considering how highly it is the fashion to prize this branch of letters, it may seem improper to place it at the bottom of the list. Undoubtedly, one or two great works in this department seem to prove that novel writing may be used as the medium for conveying almost all the lessons that formerly were only to be learnt from the

philosopher or the poet. The essential part of philosophy is its teaching us new truths concerning our own nature; and whether this be done by a didactic treatise or in the form of narrative, matters little: the young and indolent may prefer the more entertaining method, while graver minds will be for the more direct, complete, and systematic; but the nature of the instruction is the same for both. The essential part of poetry, again, is certainly not the versification; that—except so far as the dwelling upon the thoughts which it requires, or the delight which it inspires, may react upon the mind of the poet, and stimulate it to loftier flights—is but a form and accident of poetry. The essence of poetry, whatever it be—for it is a thing hard to define—may, and often does, exist in conjunction with the form of prose narration. It would be unreasonable to deny that some of Mr. Dickens's works, for instance, contain much poetry. Considering, then, that a novel may be a philosophy, that it may be an epic, it seems hard to treat this as the lowest species of composition. But, on the other hand, it may be said with justice, that in assigning rank to any large and miscellaneous class of things, we must be guided, not by its possibilities, but by its ordinary and average products; and, viewing the matter in this light, novel writing, a field that lies open to all, and whose fruits may be gathered with less of labour and previous tillage than any other kind, is so overrun with the poorer sort of labourers, that it seems impossible to set much store by it. The first and obvious business of the novelist is, to tell an amusing or interesting story; this alone is his peculiar province; and if certain gifted minds have embellished and dignified this task with jewels borrowed from the wardrobe of poetry or philosophy, it may perhaps be said that in so doing they have wandered out of their sphere, and ceased to be mere novelists. Now, without being ungrateful to those who tell us interesting stories, nay, while acknowledging that to be thus carried out of ourselves may sometimes be useful and improving, we must still maintain that the story-teller is not our best and most honourable preceptor. We value one original reflection above twenty original tales, as well for its intrinsic usefulness as for the power of mind which it evinces. Novel writing, then, whether we consider its ordinary fruits, or its distinctive end and purpose, must, as compared with other departments of letters, rank low.

Of American labourers in this field, two only can be said to have an European reputation,—Washington Irving and Cooper. The author of the 'Sketch Book,' whom Hazlitt contemptuously calls "a mere filagree man," frequently pleases by touches of quaint humour and a natural sentiment at times bordering on the

pathetic. Of Cooper's earlier works we have a grateful remembrance, which a maturer judgment strives against in vain. Mr. Cooper has in a high degree, we think, two of the chief excellencies of Sir Walter Scott; his writings affect the imagination like pictures, and he has the rare art of carrying the reader's attention forward with a lively and vigorous movement; while, on the other hand, his judgment is the slave of prejudice, his moralizing very common-place, and we read without growing the better or the wiser. As for the illustrious obscure whose names have not crossed the Atlantic, it must suffice to notice their existence in the following extract from Mr. Griswold's book:—

“The field of romantic fiction has for a quarter of a century been thronged with labourers. I do not know how large the national stock may be, but I have in my own library more than seven hundred volumes of novels, tales, and romances, by American writers. Comparatively few of them are of so poor a sort as to be undeserving of a place in any general collection of our literature. Altogether they are not below the average of English novels for this present century; and the proportion which is marked by a genuine originality of manner, purpose, and feeling, is much larger than they who have not read them are aware.”—p. 28.

Having thus glanced through the several departments of American literature, we have but a few words to say on its aspect, considered as a whole. We find in it two conflicting tendencies. The one, setting up foreign standards of excellence, imitating with exaggeration the prominent features of English literature, careful above all things to shun extravagance, leads writers, in their admiration of precision and elegance, to the verge of tameness. The other, which seems the natural expression of the American character, is a tendency to admire all that is high-flown and energetic; and hence to run occasionally into an “Ercles’ vein,” more amusing than edifying. This latter tendency, with all its dangers, appears to us the more native, spontaneous, and likely to thrive; and we must look to this as the germ of a true American literature. We are to recollect that America has some predominance of Irish blood in its veins; and even were it not so, every people, in the earlier stages of their development, possess more of enthusiasm than refined taste. An Æschylus must always precede an Euripides. And, though it is true that America is open to all the influences of Europe, and has the means of imbibing the most modern fashions as they spring up, in literature, as in other things, it is not the less necessary that her native literature must go through the process of a growth from the first bud. The literature of every independent nation, it would seem, is so bound up with all its national peculiarities,

that it must have a root of its own; and though it may emulate the full-grown plants around it, and spring up the faster for their shelter, and be enriched by the drippings from their sprays, yet must it derive its sustenance from its native soil. In England, the necessity for such an internal development, gradually proceeding from a crude and feeble infancy, has not been obviated by the continual presence of classic models, though made the chief study of our youth. In America, the masterpieces of modern English letters can scarcely be expected to produce a more powerful influence over the literature of the land, than have the writings of Cicero or Xenophon over ours; though the language be the same, the tone of mind is equally foreign. The literature of the United States, then, must grow up with the national character of the United States, and its nature must be the counterpart of that. And as we are not disposed here to enter upon the wide and perhaps insoluble question, What is to be the destiny of the United States, and what the national character?—we must be content to leave the prospects of her literature in obscurity. At present we discern nothing, whether in the public acts of the Union, or its literature, but the petulance, the crude energies, the inharmonious blending of strength and weakness, which characterise an immature age; together with a certain gigantic expansiveness, that seems to promise one day to outgrow everything European, and leave us far behind. It would be unreasonable, then, to deduce an unfavourable omen for American literature in times to come, from the comparative poverty and scantiness of its products as exhibited in the volume before us.

R. L.

ART. IV.—1. *The Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke: with selections from his Correspondence, Diaries, Speeches, and Judgments.* By George Harris, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 3 vols. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street. 1847.

2. *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England.* By John Lord Campbell. Second Series. Vol. V. *Life of Lord Hardwicke.* London: Murray, Albemarle Street. 1846.

FEW public men have been so much misrepresented as Lord Hardwicke. By partial friends, even his faults have been

eulogised; and by enemies his good deeds have been attributed to the basest motives. Unfortunately for his fame, Horace Walpole and Cooksey, the representatives of the latter class, have hitherto been the chief authorities whence the biographers of Lord Hardwicke have derived the principal portion of their materials; but though Walpole's hatred of the Chancellor, from whatever source it sprang, is now well understood, and Cooksey's accuracy, as in the case of Lord Somers, is considered more than doubtful, even Lord Campbell, with every wish to do full justice to the subject of his memoir, and aware that implicit reliance could not be placed upon his authorities, did not possess the means of correcting their errors. It is indeed not a little extraordinary that almost the only means of clearing away much of the uncertainty enveloping the character of this great man, should not have been earlier resorted to. The archives of the house of Hardwicke have often been advantageously consulted for some special purpose; but Mr. Harris seems to have been the first to refer to them with the view of gaining a clearer insight into the character of the founder of that house; and even with this advantage there yet remain some doubtful points, which, from the lapse of time and the absence of collateral testimony, Lord Hardwicke's latest biographer has been unable to clear up.

The materials from which Mr. Harris has drawn up the life of Lord Hardwicke, consist of his extensive correspondence, both official and general, with the leading personages of his day, as well as with the members of his own family and his personal friends; his diaries; manuscripts of various kinds, including the notes of his speeches and judgments, both as Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor; reports of the state trials; and the diary of his eldest son, the second Lord Hardwicke; besides numerous other documents and records of the highest value and interest: the whole of these have been unreservedly, and with the greatest liberality, placed at Mr. Harris's disposal by the present Earl, "unfettered by any restrictions or conditions as to the mode of their application." Amidst this *embarras des richesses* it must have been a very difficult task to select such portions as were most suited to the object in view: but on the whole Mr. Harris has performed his task in a satisfactory manner; and has produced a work no less interesting to the general reader than to those who may consult it for its historical value. He has judiciously allowed the great lawyer to become in a great measure his own biographer, by printing a considerable portion of his private correspondence with his own family and personal friends; this was previously almost unpublished, as was the greater part of the official correspondence.

Lord Hardwicke commenced his official career while still young, being only in his twenty-ninth year when he was made Solicitor-general, after practising at the bar four years; from this time almost to the end of his lengthened life he continued to take an active part in the government of the country. Lord Campbell gives an eloquent and impartial summary of his career, which may appropriately be here quoted.

“Notwithstanding his failings, and the censure to which some parts of his conduct may be liable, he is certainly to be considered a very eminent and very meritorious personage in English history. Entering public life very early, he lived to a great age in very interesting times, and he acted an important part in many of the events which distinguished the century in which he flourished. He had heard speeches delivered from the throne by William III. and George III.; he had seen the reins of government in the hands of Godolphin and in the hands of Pitt; he had witnessed the rejoicings for the victory of Blenheim and for the capture of Quebec; his ears had been split with cries of ‘Sacheverell and High Church!’ and with cries of ‘Wilkes and Liberty!’ He had been acquainted with Bolingbroke and with Burke; he had marked the earliest burst of adulation called forth by the poetry of Pope and by the poetry of Churchill; he himself had been fifty years a member of the legislature, holding a most distinguished station in either house of parliament; he had filled various important offices with singular ability, he had held the highest civil office in the kingdom longer than any of his predecessors (one excepted) since the foundation of the monarchy, and with greater applause than any of his predecessors had ever gained, or any successor could hope for; he had been mainly instrumental in keeping the reigning dynasty on the throne, by the measures which he advised for crushing a dangerous rebellion raised to restore the legitimate line; he was the great legislator for Scotland, freeing that country from the baronial tyranny by which it had been immemorially oppressed; in England he was the finisher and almost the author of the great code of equity to which his name might justly be attached; though of low degree, in his own lifetime his blood was mingled with that of the Campbells and the Greys, and he established one of the most potent families in the nobility of Britain. Unceasing good luck attended him throughout life; but along with that luck such results required lofty aspirations, great ability, consummate prudence, thorough control of temper, rigid self-denial, and unwearied industry. His chief glory is, that, as a public man, he was ever consistent and upright. Compare him with preceding and with succeeding Chancellors, who started by making themselves formidable as the ultra-zealous champions of freedom, and who rose by renouncing and by persecuting the principles which they professed. He was, from boy to old man, a sound Whig; loving our monarchical form of government, but believing that it exists for the good of the people, and that for the good of the

people the prerogatives of the crown are to be restricted, and are to be preserved. The heaviest charges I find brought against him by impartial writers, are love of money, and arrogance of manner in common society. 'He was undoubtedly an excellent Chancellor,' says Lord Waldegrave, 'and might have been thought a great man, had he been less avaricious, less proud, less unlike a gentleman.'—p. 163.

There is ground for the belief that had Lord Campbell enjoyed the advantages so liberally bestowed on Mr. Harris, he would have seen reason to withhold, or at least to mitigate, the charges conveyed in the few last lines of the above quotation, which with these trifling drawbacks must be looked upon as praise of the highest description. Numerous documents in the Hardwicke collection go far to clear the Chancellor from all suspicion of an undue pursuit of riches, while they establish his character for generosity and liberality. The charge of pride and an arrogant demeanour in society rest chiefly upon the authority of Cooksey, who, although a relative and an obliged one, seems to have imbibed certain illiberal prejudices against the Chancellor and his lady, which more impartial testimony tends to allay. Both these charges we shall have occasion to notice hereafter.

It has been the custom with previous biographers of Lord Hardwicke, to represent his family, at the period of his birth, as being in very needy circumstances; for this opinion, however, there seems to be but a slight foundation. His father, at that time, was town-clerk of Dover, of itself an important and lucrative office; in addition to which he appears to have been in extensive practice as an attorney; his connexions were evidently influential and numerous, and all circumstances seem to warrant the conclusion that the home of the young Philip Yorke was one at least of comfort if not of affluence. The future chancellor, as appears from an entry in his own journal, was "born at Dover, the 1st day of December, 1690, and baptized the 9th day of the same month." At an early age he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Samuel Morland, a personal friend of Dr. Samuel Clarke, and who then kept a school of some note at Bethnal Green. Mr. Morland is described as "a man of learning, taste, and great classical acquirements," and from him his pupil derived that love for classical study which he ever after retained. Two Latin letters from this gentleman to his pupil, after the latter had left his establishment, show the esteem entertained for him by his former instructor; and, as Mr. Harris well observes, they "serve to convey an impression that he had the highest opinion of his late pupil's talents, but very considerable doubts of his industry and assiduity; that he felt persuaded he was capable of attaining dis-

tion, but that he entertained very extensive misgivings as to whether he would really exert himself to gain it."

When rather more than sixteen years old, Philip Yorke left Mr. Morland's school, and was articled to Mr. Salkeld, a solicitor of eminence, in whose office, in Brooke Street, Holborn, were engaged about the same period "two future lord chancellors, a future master of the rolls, and a future chief baron. Of these were Jocelyn, subsequently Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and founder of the titles and fortunes of the house of Roden; Strange, afterwards Sir John Strange, and Master of the Rolls in England; Parker, who became Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in England; and Yorke, the subject of the present memoir."

This arrangement with Mr. Salkeld seems to have been brought about through the intervention of a Mr. Meller, a relative of the Yorke family, to whom Philip Yorke the elder applied for information and assistance in getting his son placed "with an eminent attorney in the Common Pleas for three years, that by the practice of the law, he may be better qualified for the study of it." Mr. Harris thus refutes a common opinion in regard to this transaction with Mr. Salkeld:—

"It has been erroneously stated that Mr. Salkeld was an intimate friend and the agent of old Mr. Yorke, and that he was induced to take his son without any premium. For this assertion, however, there appears to be no foundation. In neither of Mr. Yorke's letters does he mention Mr. Salkeld, or any desire to get his son into an office without paying a premium for him, which he of course could not expect to do if he was articled to one who was an entire stranger to him. His only request to Mr. Meller is, to find out for him a solicitor of eminence and respectability, who was a householder, who would take his son. If Mr. Salkeld had been previously well known to him, or had acted as his agent, all these inquiries would have been unnecessary."—vol. i., p. 30.

However desirous Mr. Yorke might be to get his son qualified to succeed him in his own practice and appointment, his wife seems not to have approved of the step, since she is said to have "opposed the project with considerable vehemence, declaring that she wished Philip to be put apprentice to some 'honest trade,' as she expressed it." Her husband, nevertheless, carried his point, and Philip was articled to Mr. Salkeld, in whose office we are told "he applied himself to business with great diligence, and gained the entire good will and esteem of his master;" though his mistress seems to have thought the clerk ought to be made useful in a domestic as well as a professional capacity. Mr. Harris thus repeats an amusing anecdote related by

Cooksey, and founds upon it an argument against the received opinion that no premium was paid with young Yorke :—

“Mrs. Salkeld, who considered herself as his mistress, and who was a notable woman, thinking she might take such liberties with a clerk with whom the writer says no premium had been received, used frequently to send him from his business on family errands, and to fetch in little necessaries from Covent Garden and other markets. This, when he became a favorite with his master, and was entrusted with his business and cash, he thought an indignity, and got rid of by a stratagem which prevented complaints or expostulation. In his accounts with his master, there frequently occurred coach-hire for roots of celery and turnips from Covent Garden, or a barrel of oysters from the fishmonger’s, and other sundries for the carriage of similar dainties, indicative alike of Mrs. Salkeld’s love of good cheer and the young clerk’s dexterity and spirit in freeing himself from her attempted dominion. Mr. Salkeld observing this, urged on his spouse the impropriety and ill-housewifery of such a practice, and thus Yorke’s device for its discontinuance proved completely successful. From this circumstance, however, it may surely be rather inferred that Yorke paid a handsome premium for being articulated to Mr. Salkeld, than that he was a ‘gratis’ clerk; as, in the former case, he might consider that an unwarrantable liberty had been taken with him in requesting him to perform menial offices of this nature. In the latter event, he would have been somewhat restrained from any active resistance to the petty tyranny of Mrs. Salkeld, by which her ire might have been roused to a degree dangerous to a dependant on her husband’s generosity or favour.”—p. 32.

Those disposed to foretell future events from present occurrences, may look upon the carrots and turnips borne in the coach with young Yorke, as foreshadowing the mace and seals which were to occupy a similar position in after life.

Mr. Harris gives a letter from the Wimpole MSS., written by Mr. Charles Yorke, the Chancellor’s second son, in which the fact of his father’s having been articulated to Mr. Salkeld at all is doubted. The writer states explicitly that his father resided in that gentleman’s house, and under his care, until he was twenty years of age, when he was entered a student of the Middle Temple; but that he always understood “he was never articulated to him as a clerk, nor acted in that capacity.” The question of the clerkship is, after all, one of no importance; it seems, at all events, certain, that Mr. Salkeld was so well pleased with young Yorke’s application, and so persuaded of his abilities, as to have advised his entering the Temple with a view to practising at the bar.

Mr. Yorke continued to reside at Mr. Salkeld’s, even after he had entered the Temple, up to the year 1710, when he took chambers in Pump-court. Here he is supposed to have written the paper in the ‘Spectator’ of April 28, 1712, bearing the

signature of Philip Homebred, which is generally attributed to him.

It has generally been stated that Mr. Yorke's first start on his successful career was due to an intimacy formed with Mr. G. Parker, the only son of Lord Chief Justice Macclesfield, who was a fellow student of the same inn of court as Yorke. Mr. Harris supposes this to be an error, and thinks it more probable that Yorke was introduced to his Lordship's notice by Mr. Thomas Parker, nephew to Lord Macclesfield, and a colleague with Yorke at Mr. Salkeld's. With this gentleman Mr. Yorke maintained a strict intimacy through life, and promoted him in acknowledgement of the favours he had previously received from his uncle. It has been said, in Campbells 'Lives of the Chancellors,' and other works, that Mr. Yorke was recommended to Lord Macclesfield by Mr. Salkeld, as a fit person to direct the law studies of his Lordship's sons; as, however, he had but one son, who never followed the law as a profession, this statement seems very doubtful. It is, nevertheless, certain, that an acquaintance was about this time formed between Lord Macclesfield and Mr. Yorke, which resulted in a firm and life-long friendship, and proved a most fortunate circumstance for the young lawyer.

On the 27th of May, 1715, Mr. Yorke was called to the bar, being then in his twenty-fifth year. On commencing practice, one of the earliest causes in which he was engaged was that of the King against Dorrell and others, for endeavouring to raise the Pretender's standard at Oxford and Bath; in this cause he was employed by the Crown as junior counsel, and the indictment was drawn by him. From this time his practice and reputation rapidly increased, so as to excite the jealousy of the older barristers, and give rise to various tales turning upon the undue favour shown for his *protégé* by Lord Macclesfield. Mr. Harris observes that it has been asserted

"That Yorke was at first so far dependent on the countenance of Lord Macclesfield, that when the latter was promoted to the Chancellorship, the former abandoned his practice in the King's Bench and removed into the Court of Chancery. Perhaps the correctness of both these stories, which have been reiterated by Lord Campbell in his 'Lives of the Chancellors,' may be best judged of by the fact, which appears on reference to the reports before cited, that though Mr. Yorke's name does not once occur in the cases tried in the King's Bench while Lord Macclesfield presided there, yet the very term that his Lordship was promoted to the Chancellorship, Mr. Yorke is mentioned as being engaged in the Court of King's Bench in the first case in which the name of the counsel conducting it is recorded, being that of *Drake v. Taylor*, already alluded to, as also in the two following cases; and from that period his practice in the King's Bench was evidently large and increasing."—p. 77.

Mr. Salkeld's extensive connexion and practice were undoubtedly instrumental in advancing the progress of Mr. Yorke; but as Mr. Harris justly observes, neither the advantages to be derived from that gentleman's friendship, nor the favour of Lord Macclesfield, could do more than present opportunities for distinguishing himself, which would have been of no avail had Mr. Yorke been deficient in ability to take advantage of them. And in continuation:—

“The grand turning point in a barrister's professional career,—the real change which occurs in his condition,—is that which takes place when, from being employed because his client would be useful to him, he is now employed because he is thought useful to his client. From a dependent on others, he at length rises, not only into an independent man, but henceforward he sees others dependent upon him. To the attainment of this all must look forward who desire success in their career. Until this grand point is gained, no certainty can exist of ultimate triumph, or even of further advancement.

“Not only did Yorke take due care to qualify himself by hard reading and extensive research before his call to the bar, for the successful pursuit of his profession, but when he commenced practice, he appears to have attended all the different courts, both law and equity, and to have taken very elaborate notes of their proceedings. Among his papers are several note-books, containing very full reports of the judgments on matters of leading importance which were delivered by the different courts at that time, comprising several by Lord Chief Justice Parker, Lord Chancellor King, Lord Macclesfield, and Sir Joseph Jekyll.”—p 81.

And herein, doubtless, consisted the secret of Mr. Yorke's success. By his own natural ability and industry he was well qualified to avail himself to the utmost of the opportunities for distinction which now rapidly poured in upon him; and such being the case, we need not feel surprise at the rapidity of his rise in the profession he had chosen, and which excited the envy of those of his fellows who were less assiduous or less gifted by nature.

“Yorke's success,” says his biographer, “now appears to have exceeded even the fondest expectations of his friends; and Mr. Morlaud's doubts as to his diligence must by this time have been entirely dissipated. His early struggles in his youth, his witnessing the poverty which we are told prevailed at home, and the feeling that he was himself so far dependent on the liberality of others, would no doubt have a powerful effect in stimulating him to exertion, however indolent he might naturally have been. This would operate as much to drive him on as ambitious feelings would to encourage him in his career. Many of the most successful lawyers have in their earliest days felt the pressure of poverty; and not a few, perhaps, have been largely indebted to this circumstance. Lord Thurlow's advice to the

friends of a young barrister of indolent habits, was to let him spend all he had, then marry, and run through his wife's fortune, after which (when no resources remained but from his profession), he might hope for high success."—p. 86.

In the year 1719, four years after his call to the bar, we find that "Philip Yorke, Esq., counsellor-at-law, is chosen a representative of the borough of Lewes, in Sussex; in the room of John Morley Trevor, Esq., deceased." The rising reputation of the young barrister seems to have led the Government of the day to secure his able support in the House of Commons; and the expenses of his election are said to have been defrayed by them. The electors of the borough, however, seem to have been well satisfied with their new representative, since among the MSS. at Wimpole is preserved the following address to the Duke of Newcastle, the patron of the borough.

"To his Grace, the Duke of Newcastle,
"Lord Chamberlaine of His Majesty's household.

"May it please your Grace,

"Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed, the constables and inhabitants of the borough of Lewes, having heard your Grace's letter publickly read, doe not only herein return your Grace our hearty thanks for the honour you have done us in recommending soe fitt a person as Mr. Yorke to serve as one of our representatives in Parliament for this town for the present vacancy, butt alsoe beg leave to assure your Grace that wee doe unanimously and entirely approve of him, and shall be ready on all occasions to shew the regard wee have to the favour your Grace has pleased to lay upon us.

"Your Grace's most obliged and obedient humble servants."—p. 91.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Yorke seems to have been far more successful as a debater than the generality of members of his profession. He has been placed in a very moderate rank as an orator by Lord Campbell and other biographers; but as Mr. Harris justly observes, from the attention which his speeches commanded, and the care with which they were replied to by leading members of the house, it is evident that his merits as a debater and an orator were of no ordinary description, especially at a period when the House of Commons "abounded with men of great talents and distinguished acquirements."

On the 16th of May, 1719, a fortnight after his election for Lewes, Mr. Yorke, then considered to be one of the handsomest men of his time, was married to the young and beautiful widow of Mr. William Lygon. This young lady was the daughter of Mr. Charles Cocks, of Worcester, who is described as "a highly respectable though somewhat eccentric magistrate and country gentleman, who had married Mary, the eldest sister of Lord Chancellor Somers." The old gentleman is said to have demurred,

on finding that the claimant for his daughter's hand had neither rental nor writings to show ; and before he would consent to the match, made further inquiries of his brother-in-law, Sir Joseph Jekyll, as to the position and prospects of the suitor. He little suspected that within a century from that time the then ennobled house of Hardwicke would return the compliment, by furnishing a bride for one of his own descendants.*

In the summer of 1718 Mr. Yorke went the Western circuit, in which he is reported to have had his full share of business, although the first time he had practised out of London. In the spring of the year 1720 he had proceeded as far as Dorchester on the same circuit, when he was recalled to London by the Lord Chancellor Parker, who had bestowed on him the office of Solicitor General, in the room of Sir William Thompson. He was sworn in on the 22nd of March, 1720. On this appointment Mr. Harris has the following remarks :—

“Great dissatisfaction is said to have been evinced, and not unjustly so, it must be allowed, at the promotion of so young a man over the heads of many of his seniors well able to fill the office ; and considerable odium was in consequence excited against the Chancellor, as well as against Yorke himself ; but which the latter, by his kind demeanour and good bearing, managed soon to overcome.

“It cannot, however, be denied that Mr. Yorke's extraordinary ability and rapidly increasing practice afforded, to a certain extent, an apology for the Chancellor's preference of him on this occasion ; and that his subsequent distinguished success in this office supplied an ample excuse for this proceeding. He who, although a mere novice in his profession, was not only able to contend with, but to overcome, in arguments of the first importance, Sergeant Pengelly and the other leaders at the bar, ought not, in fairness, on account of his youth, to have been deprived of those rewards, to his desert of which his youth had formed no impediment. The appointment was legally and constitutionally vested in the Chancellor, who alone was answerable for its being properly disposed of ; and no one could say that the choice was either a bad or a corrupt one.”—p. 99.

On the 2nd of April, 1720, Mr. Yorke was re-elected member for Lewes ; he soon afterwards received the honour of knighthood, and was chosen a bencher of the Middle Temple. Some time previously he had been elected Recorder of Dover, “a piece of preferment which he prized highly, and retained through life.”

He may now be considered as having fairly entered upon that course of prosperity which scarcely ever failed him to the close of his lengthened career.

* The present Countess Somers being the great grand-daughter of the first Earl of Hardwicke ; and the present Earl Somers a descendant of “old Master Cocks,” of Worcester.

About this time was discovered a conspiracy to overturn the government, in which several persons of distinction were implicated. The discovery seems to have caused an extraordinary degree of excitement throughout the country, and strong measures were adopted for the suppression of an apprehended insurrection. Among other persons taken into custody on suspicion of being concerned in the movement, were Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, Lord North and Grey, and the Duke of Norfolk; but the prime mover and originator of the conspiracy seems to have been a barrister-at-law, named Layer, who was executed at Tyburn on the 18th of May, 1723, for the offence. The Bishop of Rochester was deprived of his preferments and banished. In the trials of the conspirators Sir Philip Yorke, as Solicitor General, was, of course, actively engaged; and in 1722 he was occupied in a legal inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man, who had been imprisoned and fined by the governor of the Isle of Man for forbidding the governor's lady to partake of the holy sacrament. The bishop appealed to the English government against these measures: a report of his case was drawn up by Sir Robert Raymond and Sir P. Yorke, and laid before the council. The treatment of the bishop was declared unjust, and the fine remitted.

On the 31st of January, 1724, Sir P. Yorke was promoted to the office of Attorney General, in consequence of certain legal promotions and appointments which then took place. Thus in less than nine years from his entering the profession, Sir Philip found himself at its head.

Soon after his promotion, the new Attorney General was engaged in the prosecution of the notorious Jack Sheppard, and the no less notorious Jonathan Wild. Numerous extracts from the public journals of the day relating to these celebrated characters are given, and, together with others relating to the lawless outrages in the metropolis and various parts of the country, afford a curious picture of the times. But the most extraordinary of the criminal proceedings instituted at this period, were those adopted against Sir P. Yorke's early friend, the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord High Chancellor, relative to his connivance at "certain venal practices touching the sale of places of the Masters in Chancery, and at the embezzlement of the money of the suitors deposited with the latter." From his position as Attorney General, it was of course Sir P. Yorke's duty to appear as leading counsel against the culprit; he, however, though with some difficulty, prevailed on the government to release him from the duty.

The Attorney General has been severely censured for the part

he took in this business: the following remarks of Mr. Harris appear to meet the merits of the case, and, as we think, completely exonerate Sir P. Yorke from all blame in the matter.

“The conduct of Sir Philip Yorke with respect to his friend and patron the Earl of Macclesfield, on the occasion of his fall, has been sometimes made the subject of animadversion; but those who have censured him have not attempted to define exactly in what way he acted incorrectly, or to state what course it would have been proper for him to pursue. That he did right in not allowing himself, even in his official capacity, to be employed against this nobleman, can hardly be doubted; though had he not been so scrupulous, both excuses and precedents, and in one instance at least on very high authority, might have been found for this course; and it is evident that the government, by their hesitation to release him from this duty, did not consider that under the circumstances he should have refused to act, in his capacity of Attorney-General, as the leading counsel against the unfortunate Earl. Ought he then to have stood forward as the champion and defender of Lord Macclesfield, who, on such an occasion, required his assistance; and who had befriended him, and even incurred much odium by the extent to which he had done this, when such patronage was of the highest importance to Yorke, and to which he was actually indebted for his present high position? Independently of the anomalous situation in which, as the first law-officer of the crown, he would have been placed by this course, there were two great objections to it:—In the first place, by allowing the Attorney-General to appear on behalf of Lord Macclesfield, the government would seem as though they desired to shelter him; or at any rate it could not be supposed that they were very anxious that the charge should be fully investigated, as the case imperatively demanded. And in the next place, connected as Sir Philip Yorke was with Lord Macclesfield, it would have afforded a belief, had he thus stepped out of his course to defend the Earl in such a case as this, that he had been connected with him in the nefarious practices of which he was accused, a suspicion of which has never yet been hinted at by any one. True indeed it is, that Lord Macclesfield’s patronage of Yorke, and more especially his promotion of him to the Solicitor-Generalship, excited odium against the former, and may have contributed to add fuel to the flame which was then raging against him; but this, though it deserved his warmest gratitude, could not demand of him the neglect of his duty, either public or private. A man is in honour bound to defend his friend, above all one to whom he is under obligations, against unjust attacks; and this Sir Philip Yorke did not fail to do openly in the House of Commons, where he endeavoured to procure a miscarriage of the prosecution, by opposing a re-commitment of the articles of impeachment, as already stated, and where also he vigorously repelled the personalities of Sir Thomas Pengelly, and other private enemies of the Chancellor, during the very heat of the contest, and when his friend’s cause was most overwhelmed with odium;—but he is not

bound on all occasions to stand forward as his friend's supporter where he has been guilty of base and unjustifiable conduct in cases in which the other had no concern. Besides, the patronage which Lord Macclesfield had bestowed on young men of merit was not only no part of his offence, but formed the only substantial portion of his defence, or rather extenuation of the ill conduct of which he had been guilty. Had Sir Philip Yorke resigned the Attorney-Generalship, and devoted himself to the cause of his fallen patron, he could have had no chance of serving him, the facts of the case being clear beyond a doubt, as was also the gross misconduct of Lord Macclesfield, in acting as he did. And the Attorney-General, by giving up his office, must have necessarily lost a large share of the influence which he possessed while holding it, and which he was enabled to exert in mitigation of the efforts of the enemies of Lord Macclesfield.

"On the whole, therefore, I cannot but think Sir Philip Yorke's conduct in this instance was just what it ought to have been. He refused to appear against his patron, in which he acted quite right; although, after all, it is undeniable that Sir P. Yorke's merits well deserved all the favour he obtained from Lord Macclesfield. But though he could not, especially in his official position, stand forth as his friend's advocate, or the defender of his misconduct, he never hesitated, openly and at all hazards, to shelter him from unjust obloquy or accusation.

"The best proof, indeed, of the correctness of this view of the case, is afforded by the behaviour towards Sir Philip Yorke of Lord Macclesfield himself, who at least would not be unduly prejudiced in favour of his conduct here. The good feeling between them continued unbroken, and Lord Macclesfield to the end of his days regarded him as one of his friends, and continued to correspond with him."—p. 176.

That this was really the case is evident from a letter written shortly before the death of the Earl of Macclesfield, in which he congratulates Sir Philip on the near prospect of the great seal being bestowed upon him, and recommending to his notice a person who had been in his employment when Chancellor. The letter breathes the warmest sentiments of gratitude and friendship.

In 1725, Sir Philip Yorke purchased the manor and estate of Hardwicke, in Gloucestershire; and Mr. Harris mentions a singular epistle among his papers, which must have been addressed to him soon after he became the proprietor of Hardwicke, and is from a person resident in the parish, informing him that the 'Vicker,' as the writer terms him, was just beginning to collect his tithes, and that several of the parishioners had resolved to resist him; in which fraudulent undertaking His Majesty's Attorney General was respectfully invited to join. It is a pity that Sir Philip's reply to this invitation has not been preserved.

On the death of the king, George the First, in 1727, Sir Philip was re-elected for Seaford without opposition. He had sat for this borough since 1722, when he relinquished his seat for Lewes.

On the 24th of March, 1733, died Lord Chief Justice Raymond; and although the Duke of Somerset wrote several times to Sir Philip to solicit his acceptance of the vacant office, his appointment did not take place until the 31st of October, when he became Lord Chief Justice in Lord Raymond's stead, and on the 23rd of the following November he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Hardwicke, of Hardwicke, in the county of Gloucester; Mr. Talbot succeeding Lord King about the same time as Lord Chancellor. One of the first acts of the new Chief Justice, was to bestow on Mr. Salkeld, his former master, "the office of Clerk of Errors in the Court of King's Bench;" on this appointment Mr. Harris thus observes:—

"Most satisfactory is it to be able to state that Lord Hardwicke took this opportunity of obliging a friend, to whom he had been at all events much indebted in his early life. And it is the more gratifying in this case, as it affords an additional refutation, if that were needed, of the charge that has been brought against him of neglecting his old friends and early associates;—an accusation, which, from the numerous instances to the contrary, adduced in this history, I need not, however, hesitate to pronounce as unfounded in fact, as the attempt to fix it on Lord Hardwicke is dishonest and base."—p. 262.

About this period a wide-spread spirit of disaffection and disorder prevailed throughout England and Scotland. In the latter country, Edinburgh became the scene of the famous Porteous riots, rendered classical by Sir Walter Scott: while in London, popular discontent seems to have vented itself in collecting mobs, which perambulated the streets in a tumultuous manner, but chiefly in a more harmless explosion than that of Edinburgh, the particulars of which are thus recorded by Lord Hardwicke in one of his legal note books.

"July 14, 1726.

"On this day, being y^e last day y^e term, a most impudent & audacious act of sedition was perpetrated in Westminster Hall. Abt the hour of two, y^e Hall being then fullest of people, a parcel or packet contain^d several papers, & some sheets of sev^l Acts of Parliam^t, & likewise a quantity of gunpowder, was laid on the step which runs along on y^e outside of y^e Chancery bar; & being observed to smoke, was thrown from thence upon y^e land^d place of y^e stairs w^{ch} ascend to the Courts of Chan. & King's Bench, when it fired & blew up, both those c^{ts}, as well as the Com. Pleas, being then sitt^g. The Hall was instantly filled with smoke, & at y^e instant, either by means of y^e ex-

plosion of y^e gunpowder, or by being dropped during the hurry and confusion, or most probably by both those ways, were dispersed great numbers of seditious libels in y^e words and figures following:—

““Wednesday, July 14, 1736.

““By a general consent of the citizens & tradesmen of London, Westm^r & y^e Boro^r of Southwark, this being the last day of term, were publicly burnt between the hours of twelve & two at the Royal Exchange, Cornhill, at Westm^r Hall, (the Court then sitting) & at Margaret's Hall, Southwark, as destructive of the product, trade, & manufacture of this kingdom, & the plantations thereunto belonging, & tending to y^e utter subversion of y^e liberties & properties thereof, the five following finished books or libels, called Acts of Parliam^t, viz. :—1. An Act to prohibit the sell^g of distilled spiritual liquors, &c. 2. An Act entirely to extinguish y^e small remains of charity yet subsisting amongst us. 3. An Act to prevent carriages and passengers coming over London Bridge, to y^e great detriment of y^e trade and commerce of y^e City of London, & y^e Boro^r of Southwark. 4. An Act to seize all innocent gentlemen travelling with arms for their own defence, called the Smugglers' Act. 5. An Act to enable a Foreign Prince to borrow £600,000 of money sacredly appropriated to the payment of our debts.

““God Save the King.””—p. 315.

In consequence of the decease of the Lord Chancellor Talbot, which took place on the 14th of February, 1737, the great seal was the same day offered to Lord Hardwicke, who, however, as he says in his journal, “took some days to deliberate thereupon:” in the mean time he was made Speaker of the House of Lords until a new chancellor should be appointed. On the 21st of February the great seal was delivered to his lordship, and he was sworn in Westminster Hall on the 27th of April, the first day of Easter Term; Mr. Justice Lee succeeding him as Chief Justice. All the particulars connected with the acceptance of the Great Seal, as well of some important events immediately subsequent, relating to the differences between the king and prince, are minutely detailed in Lord Hardwicke's journal, but the narrative is too long for quotation here.

On the 9th of March, 1738, an important debate on the reduction of the army took place in the House of Lords, towards the close of which Lord Hardwicke addressed the house in opposition to the proposed measure of reduction. His speech, as reported in ‘Hansard's Parliamentary History,’ is well deserving attention at the present time.

The death of the Chancellor's old friend and relative, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, afforded him another opportunity of showing that he did not deserve the imputation of neglecting his former colleagues, for the vacant office was con-

ferred upon Sir John Strange, his former colleague in the office of Mr. Salkeld, to whom indeed the Solicitor-Generalship had been previously given.

Some letters of the Duke of Newcastle to the Chancellor show that nobleman to have been of a most jealous and irritable disposition: his brother, Mr. Pelham, seems to have had considerable difficulty in soothing him, and in suspending his frequent disagreements with Sir Robert Walpole and other members of the administration. So much respect does the duke appear to have entertained for Lord Hardwicke, notwithstanding the complaints of neglect that would occasionally break from him, that he employed his lordship to correct any intemperate expressions which might escape from his pen in his official correspondence.

About the year 1740, Lord Hardwicke purchased the Wimpole estate in Cambridgeshire from the Earl of Oxford; and in May of that year, his eldest son, Mr. Philip Yorke, was married to the only daughter of the Earl of Breadalbane. Horace Walpole, who had no especial love for the Chancellor, thus writes to his correspondent, Mr. Conway, in reference to this among other instances of the Chancellor's "luck."

"Harry, what luck the Chancellor has! First, indeed, to be in himself so great a man; but then in accidents: he is made Chief Justice and Peer, when Talbot is made Chancellor and Peer: Talbot dies in a twelvemonth, and leaves him the seals, at an age when others are scarce made solicitors; then marries his son into one of the first families of Britain, obtains a patent for a marquisate, and eight thousand pounds a-year after the Duke of Kent's death; the duke dies in a fortnight, and leaves them all! People talk of fortune's wheel, that is always rolling: troth, my Lord Hardwicke has overtaken her wheel, and rolled along with it."—p. 173.

Lord Hardwicke's noble defence of Sir Robert Walpole, in the debate on the motion for an address to the King, to remove Sir Robert from the ministry, is described as being "one of the finest specimens, in point of style, matter, and reasoning, that we have of Lord Hardwicke's oratorical efforts." Select extracts only are given, but the whole speech is preserved in Hansard. The motion was lost by a majority of 49: and—

"At the termination of the debate, a resolution was moved by the Duke of Marlborough, the draft of which is in the handwriting of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, 'that an attempt to inflict any kind of punishment on any person, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof of any crime or misdemeanour committed by him, is contrary to natural justice, the fundamental laws of this realm, and the ancient established usages of Parliament, and is a high infringement on the liberties of the subject.' After a debate of

some length, this motion was carried by 81 to 54, and a protest against it entered by the dissentient peers."—p. 505.

The following brief analysis of the House of Commons elected in 1741, is curious:—

"Among the Chancellor's papers is a 'Computation of the House of Commons in 1741, made before their meeting,' which contains a calculation as to the sentiments of each member. The total number of members returned by the English counties and boroughs at this time was 473. Of these 242 were set down as 'for the court and 231 as 'against the court.' Yorkshire appears to have been then the stronghold of Whiggism, as out of the 30 county and borough members returned by it, 23 were for the court, and only 7 against it. And it is singular that Cambridgeshire, in which the Chancellor's principal estates lay, was the only county in which all the members returned, being 6, were favourable to the Whig interest. Hampshire returned 22 for and 4 against the court. Lancashire, 14 for and 4 against it. On the other hand, Bedfordshire, Cheshire, and Leicestershire, each returned 4 county and borough members, all against the court. In Oxfordshire the whole 9 were on the Tory side.

"The Cinque Ports returned 16 members, of which 11 were for the court and 5 against it. Wales returned 24 members, of which 14 were for the court, and 10 against it. Scotland returned 45, 17 of them being Whigs and 24 Tories. The whole Parliament was estimated at—

" For the court	284
Against the court	270

" Besides which there were four double returns."—p. 508.

In this Parliament, among the new members, occurs the name of Mr. Philip Yorke, eldest son of the Chancellor, who was returned for Reigate, in Surrey; a connexion kept up to the passing of the Reform Bill, when Reigate was deprived of one of its members. The last member of the Yorke family who sat for Reigate is the present Earl of Hardwicke, son of the late Vice-Admiral Sir Joseph Sydney Yorke.

In the course of this year, among other letters on the same subject, Lord Hardwicke received one from his friend, Dr. Herring, Bishop of Bangor, describing the condition of his diocese, "which was at that time suffering from a double calamity—the sickness and dearth then prevalent throughout the kingdom, and the late contested elections;" the other from Lord Chancellor Jocelyn, from Ireland, mentioning "the distressed state of that country at this period, owing to the entire failure of the potato crop which had occurred, and which was followed by famine and disease to a frightful extent, the account of which bears a close resemblance to that of the same calamities with which the same unfortunate country has been lately visited."

The meeting of the new Parliament on the 1st December, 1741, was signalised by many stormy debates. Numerous disputed elections, by the results of the discussions upon them, clearly indicated the declining power and popularity of the ministry. On the 3rd of February, 1742, the King adjourned Parliament to the 18th, and in the interim Sir Robert Walpole resigned all his employments, and was created Earl of Orford. Notwithstanding the various changes consequent upon this resignation, the Duke of Newcastle retained the post of Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and Lord Hardwicke remained Chancellor, by the particular desire of Mr. Pulteney. The following extract intimates the termination of the dissensions which had long prevailed in the Royal Family:—

“ On the 17th of February the Prince of Wales, attended by a numerous retinue of his adherents, waited on His Majesty, who received him graciously, and ordered his guards to be restored. The reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Wales, together with the change in the ministry, were celebrated with public rejoicings all over the kingdom; and immediately after the adjournment, peace and concord appeared, for a time at least, to reign supreme, even in that most inharmonious of all terrestrial assemblies, the House of Commons.”—p. 535.

This calm was, however, but the precursor of a storm; and as it was necessary to single out some victim to be sacrificed to popular discontent, in order that men's minds might thereby be diverted from the contemplation of the various political changes and party defections which had recently taken place, no one was deemed so proper for this purpose as the fallen minister; accordingly, on the 23rd of March, Lord Limerick moved for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert, Earl of Orford, for the last ten years of his administration; and this inquiry was granted after a warm debate. A secret committee was chosen by ballot, and began to examine witnesses, when Mr. Paxton, Solicitor to the Treasury, refusing to answer certain questions, was committed to Newgate. A bill was prepared, on the motion of Lord Limerick, for indemnifying evidence against Orford, and made rapid progress through the Commons, meeting with slight opposition from the Earl's friends in the Lower House, from their belief that it would be rejected by the Peers, as it was, by a majority of 52. In the debate on the second reading in the Lords, Lord Hardwicke spoke at considerable length, and concluded with the emphatic declaration,—“ Though I do not imagine myself endowed with any peculiar degree of heroism, I believe that, if I were condemned to a choice so disagreeable, I

should more willingly suffer by such a bill passed in my own case, than consent to pass it in that of another.”—vol. ii., p. 9.

Extracts from numerous letters written by Lord Hardwicke to his third son, Joseph Yorke, who had entered the army, and was then in Flanders, place his lordship in the most amiable light as a kind and affectionate father. They abound in the soundest advice as to choice of associates, subjects of study, care of his health, and general behaviour, and are models of this species of epistolary correspondence. In a letter from Mr. Charles Yorke to his brother Joseph, the former tells him that among Lord Somers's papers which had been in the possession of Sir Joseph Jekyll, he found a letter from the Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers, in which the Duke says that he wonders how any man who had bread in England will be concerned in business of state; and declares, “Had I a son, I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman.”

In the month of June, 1742, the Duke of Somerset solicited the place of Chief Baron of the Exchequer for Sir Thomas Bootle; but Lord Hardwicke, in reply, states that he could not forward Sir Thomas's interest, as he had already applied in behalf of his friend, Mr. Justice Parker, who, he says, “is a near relation to my late Lord Macclesfield, to whom I had the greatest obligations in the beginning of my life;” and further states that gratitude, as well as regard to the public, induced him to take this step: another proof that he was not in the habit of neglecting former friends.

An extract from a letter from the Bishop of Salisbury, thanking Lord Hardwicke for conferring some piece of ecclesiastical preferment upon a worthy man, exhibits a picture of the very low condition of the church at that time.

“Your lordship's observation on the present state of the clergy is very just; but it is a melancholy truth; and what is still worse, there is but little hope of finding a remedy for this evil. Discipline is in a manner lost; and the episcopal authority with respect to the behaviour and conduct of the clergy become so feeble, that many are of opinion, that there is no other way to cover the weakness of it, but not to make use of it.”—p. 27.

In November, 1742, Lord Hardwicke selected the Hon. Wm. Murray to be Solicitor General; and the subsequent career of this distinguished advocate as Lord Mansfield, fully justified the choice.

Numerous letters from Lord Bolingbroke to Lord Hardwicke, whose exertions in that nobleman's behalf were mainly instru-

mental in procuring his recal, are given in the second volume. They convey a highly favourable idea of the friend of Pope, and treat on many different subjects, the most important, perhaps, being those relating to affairs in France, which, from the alarm of invasion felt at this time, were calculated to arrest the attention of the ministry, and to put them in possession of many facts capable of being turned to good account.

The alarm of invasion in the year 1714, served to bring about a temporary degree of unanimity among the discordant members of the cabinet; but the dissensions soon after broke out more fiercely than ever, and led to the presentation of a remonstrance to the king against the foreign policy of Lord Granville, whose dismissal was demanded; and after much angry recrimination, and some threats from His Majesty, was granted: the seals of Secretary of State being transferred to Lord Harrington.

At the commencement of the year 1745, the lords justices who, during the absence of the king in Hanover, conducted the government, were placed in a peculiarly perplexing position, from the threatening aspect of affairs, both foreign and domestic, and the dissensions by which the cabinet was divided. There was too a perfect absence of cordial feeling between the king and his ministers, which paralyzed their efforts, and prevented their taking such measures as the exigences of the times demanded. For at this period the nation was upon the eve of one of the most exciting events in the whole course of British history. The alarm of invasion, which had so often in anticipation raised the fears of some and the hopes of others, was now about to be realised, and that too at a moment when the government was least prepared to meet it. From this portion of the biography of Lord Hardwicke, who was one of the most energetic and clear-sighted members of the cabinet at this critical juncture, may be drawn a very complete history of the Rebellion of 1745; and the preliminary observations of Mr. Harris upon the inciting causes of this revolutionary movement appear so just, that we are induced to quote them at length.

“The tracing out the causes and origin of seditious combinations, gradually ripening into rebellion, in a state, is at once a very interesting and instructive study. In the present instance, as in most of these cases, strong dissatisfaction with the reigning government was undoubtedly the leading cause of this commotion. The person of the sovereign was unpopular in the nation. His habits were at variance with those of this country. His partialities appeared all to lie with Hanover. His whole recreation was spent there. Troops from thence were brought over here, to the great disgust of his English subjects, and every favour was shown to the former. The interests of the nation, it was generally believed, were on all occasions made

subservient, by the sovereign, to those of his German dominions,—a notion not altogether without foundation, as certain documents already quoted will serve to show. And heavy taxes were imposed on the people of England, which they mainly attributed to the Hanoverian succession.

“The rebellion which broke out on the present occasion, afforded, however, a singular instance of a rupture of this nature occurring in a nation when the people were fully satisfied with the form of government under which they lived, and exhibited no desire to effect a change, as regarded this, in any branch of the constitution. Indeed, so far were they from wishing an alteration here, that one of the promises made by the invading prince, for the purpose of inducing people to flock to his standard, was, that no revolution in the existing system of government should take place, in case of his success. The only change thought of was in the person of the sovereign who filled the throne; and as the people in general knew but little of the individual qualities of either of the rival princes, hence the apathy on the subject of the rebellion which prevailed among the populace.

“In Scotland, indeed, the union with England was regarded by many as a heavy grievance, and as destroying the independence and nationality of that country, and which the exiled monarch therefore promised to abolish, in case of his obtaining the throne of his ancestors. The body of the Highlanders had, moreover, some time before, received a grievous affront from the government, and were ripe for insurrection, and eager for an opportunity of revenging themselves on those who had insulted them; of which the following account is given by the Hardwicke MSS.

“At the commencement of the war, a regiment of these people had been formed and transported with the rest of the British troops to Flanders. Before they were embarked a number of them deserted with their arms, urging, which was really the case, that they had been decoyed into the service by promises and assurances that they should never be sent abroad. They were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to submit, brought back to London, pinioned like malefactors, and tried for desertion. Three were shot to death *in terrorem*, and the rest were sent into exile to the plantations. Those who suffered were persons of some consequence in their own country; and their fate was deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged.

“As regarded the individual whose pretensions were set up against those of the reigning monarch, his English birth, and the hardship of his fate in having endured so much for the misconduct of his father, excited in his favour a feeling among many; while all who disapproved of the strong measures which had been adopted for his exclusion, and the great proportion of those who were of the Roman Catholic religion, were at once induced to espouse his cause. He had assurances of support from many of rank and importance both in England and in Scotland, several of whom, however, never declared in his favour, only because they considered that the time was not ripe for doing so.”—p. 144.

In many respects, however, a more favourable time for the attempt could scarcely have been chosen. The divisions in the cabinet we have already mentioned; and it was even pretty extensively believed at the time that more than one influential member of the government was favourably disposed towards the rebel party. The king was in Germany, and the army on the continent; while both France and Spain had promised both money and men to aid the effort: and apathy at least was extensively-felt among the people at large. Accordingly, Prince Charles Edward, with at most about seventy followers, landed on the west coast of Scotland, some time in July, 1745, and at once raised his standard, apparently trusting more to the representations of the favourable disposition towards his cause of the people among whom he had thus confidently ventured than to any promises of assistance from continental powers. The correspondence relative to the proceedings of the rebels in the north is exceedingly interesting; and none more so than the letters between Dr. Herring, Archbishop of York, and Lord Hardwicke, to which we shall often refer, as they convey a very accurate picture of the state of the public mind.

At the present day, with our facilities for transit and communication, it is curious to read of the state of uncertainty prevailing in London as to the progress and strength of the rebel army. In one letter to the Archbishop, Lord Hardwicke unreservedly declares his sentiments as to the critical state of affairs immediately after the landing of Charles Edward. He says:—

“That the Pretender’s son is actually in the north-west Highlands of Scotland, & that he is joined by some of the clans of Macdonald & the Camerons, mostly Papists, I take to be very certain. Infidelity has much prevailed here concerning this fact, tho’ I think it is something altered; but I cannot help agreeing with your elder brother of Cant., that, in this case, want of faith proceeds greatly from want of zeal, which, in political faith, is the worst source. There seems to be a certain indifference & deadness amongst many, & the spirit of the nation wants to be roused & animated to a right tone. Any degree of danger at home ought now to be vastly the more attended to from the state of things abroad. *That* I lament from my heart. I think I see the evil cause to which it is to be ascribed, & yet I know not whether to wish that, by the public, it should be attributed to that cause. Where to find a remedy I know not. I see only the probability of one, & am not sure that will be taken.* * * *

“Sir John Cope, with about 2000 men of the King’s troops, is, I believe, now in the Highlands; & I trust his force is sufficient, (by y. blessing of God), to crush this infant rebellion, provided it be

properly exerted before the assistance, which the rebels undoubtedly expect from abroad, can come to them.”—p. 154.

Lord Hardwicke mentions, at the end of his letter, the return of the King from Hanover, in perfect health and good humour, valuing “himself upon the haste he has made to us, when there was any apprehension of danger affecting this country.” His Majesty’s courage seems, however, at a later period to have “oozed out at his fingers’ ends,” like that of Bob Acres, for he “is said to have embarked many of his most valuable effects on board vessels, which lay in the Thames, ready to set sail at a moment’s notice.”

Lady Hardwicke seems to have had no great faith in Sir John Cope; for in one of her letters to Mr. Philip Yorke, she says, “I fear Sir J. Cope’s not equal to the business:” and subsequently, in writing to Col. Yorke, she tells him, “Sir John Cope was very near the rebels when the last letters came from thence. I wish your old master there, for he knows the man and the country, having lived 11 or 12 years among them, and they know his firmness and zeal for the present Royal family.” Whatever presentiments her Ladyship may have felt, they were fully verified by the disastrous affair at Preston Pans, where, as is well known, Cope, “at the head of 2,200 men, well equipped,” was totally defeated, and where, if the brave Gardiner’s efforts had been seconded, the result might have been very different. In reference to this latter, the Archbishop thus writes to Lord Hardwicke:—

“I conceal it, but I own I conceive terrible apprehensions fro’ this affair at Preston Pans, where the conduct of our general, &c., was—I won’t give it the right name, but that of the rebels excellent, & from what I can collect, & y^e judgment w^{ch} I form upon y^e opinion of y^e soldiers here, they are admirably disciplined, & our men have felt it, well armed. Their resolution & conduct in taking the little battery was admirable, and as they are vigorous & savage, their leaders well know how to point their strength properly & effectually. There is something too in their artful taciturnity that alarms one. They say it is fact, that from their setting out to this hour, it is not easy to say who leads them, nor are they seen, in a manner, till they are felt, so silent & well-concerted are their motions. I hope in God all this is known above much better than it is here, & that it is now seen that this rebellion is not to be quashed by small pelotons of an army, but must be attended to *totis viribus*. Who can say what wo^d be the consequence of such an advantage gained in England? What shall we think of the behaviour of the Scotch nobility on this occasion? Strong marks of treachery, my lord, when they fled their country, w^{ch} they might have saved by only standing up in Edinborough

in their own defence, & lending Cope their advice & countenance. L^d Loudon is an exception to this, who has behaved like a brave & honest man."—p. 166.

This signal reverse in the very first encounter of the royal troops with the hitherto despised enemy seems to have had the effect of arousing the spirit of the friendly portion of the nation. At York, the archbishop presided at a meeting of the nobility and gentry, a large subscription was raised, and numbers came forward as volunteers in the service of the king. The archbishop himself, in a subsequent letter, and when the danger seems to have become more imminent, says,—

"I find I must get into regimentals in my own defence, in a double sense; for an engraver has already given me a Saracen's head, surrounded with a chevalier in chains, & all y^e instruments of war, & y^e hydra of Rebellion at my feet, and I see another copper-plate is promised, where I am to be exhibited in y^e same martial attitude, wth all the clergy wth me. By my troth, as I judge fro' applications made to me every day, I believe I co^d raise a regiment of my own order; and I had a serious offer y^e other day fro' a Welsh curate, fro' the bottom of Merionethshire, who is six foot & $\frac{1}{2}$ high, that, hearing I had put on scarlet, he was ready to attend me at an hour's warning, if y^e B^p of Bangor did not call upon him for the same service."—p. 180.

Much interesting information is given in the correspondence connected with the rapid progress of the rebel army to Derby, and the general apprehensions for the result felt throughout the country: but their career was now drawing to a close. The Duke of Cumberland with the army was summoned home from the Continent, and took the command of the forces to repel the invaders. Col. Yorke accompanied him into the north as his aide-de-camp, and to him we are indebted for several letters, relating the movements of the insurgents. Other letters from his father and brother describe the terror prevailing in London, and the fear lest the rebels should give the slip to the royal troops. Other alarms, arising from the reported embarkation of a French army at Dunkirk are also described; and Col. Yorke's expressions of regret, in the following letter, refer to orders for a portion of the Duke's forces to return southwards for the protection of the capital. The letter is dated "Preston, Dec. 15th."

The rebels have fled before us in the utmost consternation thus far, & I am convinced in my own mind 24 hours more wo^d have decided this affair. Their horses are fatigued that they can do no more, our men in high spirits, & the country all up ready to join us, and assist us against the rebels, now they see themselves supported by the king's troops. What the consequences of our returning may be God only

knows. The spirits of the soldiery and y^e poor country must be depressed. They may wait quietly at Carlisle for their reinforcements, refresh their people, put new life into 'em, ruin the bordering counties, & in a little while advance with fresh vigour & fury into y^e bowels of the land, in spite of all that M. Wade's army can do ag^t'em; whereas, had we pushed on our advantages, & put an end to this body, the French would never have returned into this island, or, if they did, we should have had more than sufficient force to withstand 'em. This may appear foolish talk to people not upon the spot; but I am thoroughly convinced if your lordship was here you could not help seeing it in as strong a light as I do. We have lost an opportunity, & I dread only to think of the consequences."—p. 205.

Col. Yorke also tells his father that "there are great dissensions among the rebel chiefs, w^{ch} goes almost to the point of fighting with one another;" thus confirming what Walter Scott has said on the same subject in his novel of 'Waverley.' And in a subsequent letter he gives the particulars of the conflict at Clifton Moor. On the 17th of January, 1746, an encounter between a considerable body of the King's troops and the rebels took place at Falkirk, which terminated in the entire rout of the former, who retired to Edinburgh.

But whilst these affairs were being transacted in the North, a revolution in the ministry was well nigh effected at home, arising from the temporising conduct of the King, which led to a resolution on the part of the ministers to resign. But the affair ended, as Mr. C. Yorke says, "in a three days' bustle and wonder," and all things were placed *in statu quo*.

The orders for the recall of the troops from the North having been countermanded, the Duke of Cumberland proceeded to Nairn in pursuit of the rebel army, who, as he there learned, had advanced to Culloden. On the 16th of April was fought the battle of Culloden, a very minute and interesting account of which is given by Col. Yorke, in a letter to his father, written immediately after the event, which we would gladly quote, only that it is too long. But we may extract Mr. Harris's summary:—

"In less than thirty minutes the rebel army was totally defeated, and the field covered with the slain. The road as far as Inverness was strewed with dead bodies; and numbers of people who had come out of mere motives of curiosity to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victorious army. Twelve hundred rebels were killed on the field and in the pursuit. Lord Kilmarnock, as mentioned by Col. Yorke, was taken; and Lord Balmerino surrendered himself. Great barbarity was exercised by the soldiers on the wounded and dying who were left on the field. Some of the soldiers attired themselves in the dresses and laced hats of the chieftains who were slain.

“The young Prince Pretender wandered about after the battle which ruined all his hopes, a solitary fugitive among the isles and mountains for five months, sometimes in female attire, and going under various disguises and names, until he at length escaped to France.

“The news of this great and decisive victory, which at once restored tranquillity to the kingdom, and inspired confidence among all classes, was received in London on the 24th of April, with great demonstrations of joy. ‘At night were the most extraordinary illuminations ever known, with bonfires, a continual firing of guns, and ringing of bells, throughout this extensive metropolis.’ Both houses of Parliament congratulated the King on the event; voted their thanks to the Duke of Cumberland; and the Commons added £25,000 per annum to his income.”—p. 230.

With the trial and execution of the rebel lords in the following years, terminated this critical period of English history. Horace Walpole has made the proceedings against these men the occasion for venting his spleen against Lord Hardwicke (who presided as Lord High Steward), which indeed he was ever too ready to do; but in other cases, as in this, he has only exhibited his own petty feelings against a man whose conduct here, as in other instances, has been properly appreciated by parties more capable of forming a correct judgment than himself.

The proceedings against Lord Lovat are reported at great length, and are very interesting as exhibiting the wiliness of the old Highlander, who, however, with all his cunning and double-dealing, was inextricably caught in a trap of his own preparing.

● A curious paragraph in reference to this trial is worth quoting, as an illustration of the fact, that “the liberty of the press” had not at that period been recognized.

“On the 3rd of April, 1747, complaint was made in the House of Lords against Edward Cave and T. Astley, for printing the trial of Lord Lovat, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke’s speeches on that occasion, and the debates of the House, in the ‘Gentleman’s’ and ‘London Magazine.’ On the 7th of April, Astley petitioned the House for his release, promising not to offend in future. They were both brought to the bar and examined. On a subsequent day, Cave and Astley were discharged, after a severe reprimand by the Lord Chancellor.”—p. 316.

Among other matters relating to the dissensions in the Royal Family, the dissolution of Parliament, and the new elections, connected with the year 1747, we find one little modest fact which entirely refutes the commonly received opinion of Lady Hardwicke’s *stinginess*. In writing to her son, Col. Yorke, after the battle of Laffeldt, in which the British army under the Duke

of Cumberland was compelled to retreat to Maestricht, her Ladyship says:—

“If any compassionate case amongst the wounded men shou^d engage yo^r concern in seeing them in distress for want of some little help, I allow you to give 20 guin^s for me amongst them, as from yourself. But say nothing of it where you are, nor when you write home. A mite was once accepted. Once more, God bless you!”—p. 339.

. In a letter from Miss Yorke to her brother the Colonel, occurs the following amusing paragraph relating to an illustrious patient whose health has certainly not improved since the bulletin was issued:—

“The newspapers you receive from this side of the water, if you hav^e leisure to attend to them, have long since told you the accident that has happened to the Westminster bridge. Our advices from London of this day inform us that the pier has sunk in the whole 23 inches, which is a great deal. There are watchmen now appointed to sit up with it, & we hear it is a question among the wits in London, *How the bridge has passed the night!*”—p. 344.

On the decease of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1747, the Primacy went a-begging; the Bishops of London and Salisbury successively refused it, and it was only after much persuasion that the Lord Chancellor's friend, the martial Archbishop of York agreed to accept the post. His letter in reply to Lord Hardwicke's intimation that it was the King's intention to translate him to the see of Canterbury, bears all the marks of sincerity; and as we have already quoted his Grace's military epistles, we may now make one or two extracts from those relating to the primacy.

“I have considered the thing, my best friend, & my most honoured lord, with all the coolness, & deliberation, & compass of thought, that I am master of; & I am come to a very firm & most resolved determination not to quit y^r see of York, on any account, or on any consideration; & I beg it of your l^op, as y^e most material piece of friendship yet to be exerted by you, to prevent y^r offer of Canterbury if possible, or to support me in y^r refusal, if y^r other cannot be prevented.

“The honour of Canterbury is a thing of glare & splendor, & y^e hopes of it a proper incentive to school-boys to industry; but I have considered all its inward parts, & examined all its duties; & if I should quit my present station to take it, I will not answer for it, that in less than a twelvemonth I did not sink and dye wth regret & envy at the man who sho^d succeed me here, & quit the place in my possession, as I ought to do, to one wiser & better than myself.”—p. 346.

Whether the good Archbishop did regret the step we are not told; but the primacy was in a manner forced upon him by the King. In the letter signifying his acceptance, which he did only on Lord Hardwicke's assurance that he himself would be compromised by the Archbishop of York's refusal, he says,

“And now, my lord, after having said so much, & w^h a little spirit, give me leave to say, that if his Majesty cou^d be prevailed on to alter his arrangement by keeping me where I am, & let Hutton take y^r chair pontifical, I will still leap for joy, & send you ten thousand thanks.”—p. 349.

On the death of the Duke of Somerset, in June, 1749, the Duke of Newcastle was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and in the July following Lord Hardwicke was unanimously appointed successor to the duke as High Steward of the University. In reference to this event, Mr. Harris observes,—

“The selection of Lord Hardwicke to fill the above important office was highly honourable to him, independent of the distinction itself, as a mark of the opinion entertained of him by that learned and intellectual body, who were induced to deviate from their ordinary course in electing one who was not a member of that or of any other university, to that elevated station. This proves that he was regarded for something more than his mere professional and political reputation; and that his classical acquirements and mental endowments were appreciated by those best able to distinguish rightly as to the respect and veneration to which these were entitled.

“Nor was it for want of other fit objects, that their choice fell upon Lord Hardwicke, as at that time there were many men of eminence, and of distinguished learning and talents among the nobility, and of the same party with the Lord Chancellor, who would have added lustre to the office itself; and several of the members of that university would have filled that station with the highest honour.”—p. 393.

On the 20th of March, 1751, the violent and unseemly dissensions which had so long prevailed in the royal family were terminated by the sudden death of Frederick, Prince of Wales; of which event several minute particulars are given in the second volume of Mr. Harris's work. The death of the prince rendered it necessary that some steps should be taken to provide for the government in case of the death of the king before the young Prince George, then but thirteen years old, should be of age. A regency was accordingly determined on, and the Lord Chancellor, with the assistance of the crown lawyers, was directed to prepare the bill. It was introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Newcastle, on the 7th of May, read a second time, and committed on the 10th; and after a somewhat stormy discussion was finally passed unanimously. In the Commons the measure

was also fully discussed, and on the 22nd of May became the law of the land. Horace Walpole, with his usual feeling of malice against Lord Hardwicke, abuses the measure, and the persons selected to act as regents; but the futility of his attacks may be assumed from the fact, that throughout the debate on the bill, none of the parties named as the council of regency were objected to.

The abrogation of the Julian or old style was another important proceeding of the same session.

“Lord Chesterfield was the main mover in the undertaking, having while abroad noticed the numerous inconveniences in diplomatic affairs resulting from the confusion of dates. Some opposition among members of the government was manifested to the plan. The Duke of Newcastle entreated Lord Chesterfield not to stir matters that had long been quiet, and added that he did not love new-fangled things. Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Pelham, however, approved of it, and supported the measure. The Earl of Macclesfield, son of the deceased Chancellor, and President of the Royal Society, who was one of the ablest mathematicians of the age, supplied the requisite scientific demonstrations. A good deal of strong feeling and prejudice were exhibited against the bill, and loud clamours raised against it; but it passed into a law.”—p. 448.

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hardwicke gives the particulars of a fire which occurred at the chambers of his son, Mr. Charles Yorke, in Lincoln’s Inn. Mr. Yorke escaped “with nothing on but his shirt and breeches, and a frock thrown over his shoulders, without shoes or stockings;” but he lost everything—his manuscripts and papers, and his library, besides a loss which was perfectly irreparable,—“all the state papers of his great uncle, Lord Somers, in upwards of sixty volumes in quarto,” and which, Lord Hardwicke says, “did not contain a paper from Lord Somers’ pen which the most intimate friend would have wished to secrete, or the bitterest enemy could fairly have turned to his prejudice.” This loss accounts for the paucity of existing materials for a life of Lord Somers mentioned by Lord Campbell.

On the 2nd of April, 1754, Lord Hardwicke was elevated to an earldom, after he had held the high office of Chancellor for seventeen years. This honour seems to have been several times before offered to him, but always declined. Lord Campbell repeats, without a doubt, Cooksey’s story of the delay being attributable to Lady Hardwicke’s desire to get their two daughters married off before the acquisition of a higher rank by their father, lest they should be rendered undutiful by the elevation, and more especially because the marriage portion of an earl’s daughters must necessarily be double what would suffice for a

baron's. Mr. Harris, with more apparent probability, refers the delay to Lord Hardwicke's indifference to worldly honours; and remarks that

“The advancement of Lord Hardwicke to this high rank in the peerage was but a fair and a due reward for his long and great services, rendered to his country in so many ways. Never, indeed, was this title bestowed in a case where it was more worthily earned by substantial merit; and never was a dignity of this kind granted which brought more honour to the possessor, or added more lustre to the order itself. The degree to which he was thus promoted raised him only to an equal rank with the other great law lords who had preceded him in the exalted offices which he had held, and whom he had more than rivalled as regards the efficient mode in which he had discharged those important duties.”—p. 521.

No additional influence, either in the House of Lords or on the bench, was acquired by Lord Hardwicke from this elevation in rank; but in consequence of the death of Mr. Pelham, which occurred shortly before, the task of re-constructing the ministry had devolved upon him, and for a while the Chancellor was the only responsible adviser of the crown. During the negotiations then pending, Mr. Pitt expressed his high opinion of Lord Hardwicke's wisdom and abilities in letters to Sir George Lyttleton. A rather lengthened correspondence between Mr. Pitt and the Chancellor ensued, and some letters which passed between them are given in full. These negotiations led to no result at the time, and were renewed in September, when several interviews took place between Mr. Pitt, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Newcastle; but the conferences all failed in their object, and Mr. Fox ultimately became Secretary of State. The descriptions of what took place at these various interviews, as given by the Chancellor and Mr. Charles Yorke, are very interesting.

The once celebrated “Orator Henley” writes to the Chancellor ostensibly to request that his “oratory” should not be interfered with, or himself injured on account thereof, though probably in the hope of getting some additional “guineas” for what he is pleased to consider his services to the king and ministry. He says,

“I most humbly ask pardon for informing your lordship that one proof of my serving his majesty & the ministry in my advertisements and discourses, tho' seemingly against them, is that I gain intelligence by them of the real enemies of the court; & tho' the late Right Hon. *Mr. Pelham engaged it should not be known, but to y royal family, first ministers, and y judges;* & Mr. Pelham, some months before his death, gave me ten guineas for one piece of intelligence, about certain electors, which, with others, I could not have obtained but by such advertisements & discourses; I received sixty guineas from him

in the whole, for various services of that kind, on severall occasions ; & I always invariably devoted my oratory, & do, to y^e like intention, in several shap^s ; & shall always be proud of every opportunity to be of any use or service to your lordship, & your noble family.”—vol. iii. p. 16.

We have no means of learning the effect of the worthy “orator’s” appeal to the head of the law.

From a letter dated Dublin, May 6, 1755, we learn that Lord Hardwicke had sent a donation of £50 to Dr. Leland, the author of ‘*Deistical Writers*,’ “a token of approbation of his book :” a fact which bears testimony to his lordship’s liberality, as well as his zeal for religion.

In the month of June, 1756, died Sir Dudley Ryder, who succeeded Lee as Lord Chief Justice on the death of the latter two years before. The offer of the Chief Justiceship was made to Mr. Murray, who refused to accept the post without a peerage. The king seems to have felt great reluctance in acceding to his wishes, but his objections were ultimately overruled, and Murray, on the 25th of October, was promoted to the Chief Justiceship, and created a peer by the title of Baron Mansfield. Lord Hardwicke wrote to inform him of the good news, and the following is his reply :—

“ *Sunday Night, 24th Oct. 1756.*

“ MY LORD,—I am just come to town, and found y^e Pps. letter. It is impossible to say how much I feel y^e Pps. great goodness & attention to me, throughout this whole affair. The business of my life, at all times, & on all occasions, shall be to show the gratitude with which I have the honour to be

“ Y^r L^{ps} most oblig^d

“ & ob^d. hum. serv^t.,

“ W. MURRAY.”

In reference to this promotion, Lord Campbell states, that sensible as the Duke of Newcastle was that the removal of the Attorney General, Murray, from the Lower to the Upper House would be fatal to the ministry, he, in order “to retain him in the House of Commons, as a forlorn hope, plied him with various proposals—a Fellowship of the Exchequer—or the Duchy of Lancaster for life, or a pension of £2,000 a-year for life, in addition to his profits of his office as Attorney General. Nay, the bidding rose to £6,000 a-year of pension : but Murray was inexorable.” Mr. Harris says : “The most extravagant offers are said to have been made to the Attorney General to induce him to continue in his office, though on what authority these statements were originally put forth, I have been unable to ascertain ; and there is no allusion to any such offers among the

papers of Lord Hardwicke, who would surely on such an occasion have been consulted." It is certain, from a letter to Lord Hardwicke from the Duke of Newcastle, that the latter would have preferred that Murray should remain in the House of Commons, yet that rather than lose his services altogether he consented to join Lord Hardwicke in recommending him for the Chief Justiceship. After alluding to the death of his sister, he says:—

"Your lordship will see that I shall be necessarily prevented from paying my duty to the king for some days, & consequently from joining to-morrow with your lordship in recommending the Attorney General to His Majesty's favour to succeed my Lord Chief Justice Ryder, & to be created a peer. I must therefore beg, that you would add my most humble request upon this occasion to your own. Was I singly to consult my own interest, your lordship knows what my thoughts are; but when I consider that the present question is, whether Mr. Attorney General shall remain in the House of Commons, *out of the king's service*, or be Ch. Justice, & a peer, I own I think the first would be attended with great inconveniences to the king's service, & I should hope that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant his request, in consideration of the zeal & ability, which he has showed for a considerable number of years, in the employments with which His Majesty has honoured."—p. 62.

On the 13th of November, 1756, Mr. Fox wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, intimating his wish to resign the seals of office; in consequence of which negotiations were again opened with Mr. Pitt, but with a different result; for having expressed to Lord Hardwicke, in one of his conferences, his surprise "that it should be thought possible for him to come into an employment to serve with the Duke of Newcastle," the Duke determined to resign, which resolution was also expressed by Lord Hardwicke. Accordingly,

"On the 11th of November the Duke of Newcastle quitted office; and on the 19th of the same month Lord Chancellor Hardwicke resigned the Great Seal. Mr. Pitt was appointed Secretary of State; the Duke of Newcastle was succeeded at the Treasury by the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Anson at the Admiralty by Earl Temple. Mr. Legge became Chancellor of the Exchequer in the room of Sir George Lyttleton, who was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Lyttleton; and Mr. George Grenville was made Treasurer of the Navy in the place of Mr. George Bubb Dodington."

Lord Hardwicke thus records the event in his diary as concerning himself:—

"19 Nov. 1756. Resigned the Great Seal, voluntarily, into His Majesty's hands, at St. James's, after I had held it 19 years, 8 months, and 16 days."

Such a step as the retirement of a man who had held an important office for so long a time, and that, too, during some of the most eventful periods of our history, could not occur without calling forth various surmises as to the causes which led to it. Advanced age, with the accompanying decline of faculties, either real or apprehended, broken health, and many other reasons were surmised; but, as Lord Campbell observes, "he more probably resigned because he knew the ministry was very weak, and must be short-lived." Whatever the cause for Lord Hardwicke's resignation, none of the great lawyers of the day would consent to succeed him. The chancellorship was offered to Lord Mansfield among others, but by him declined. The only alternative was to put the Great Seal in commission; the commissioners being Lord Chief Justice Willes, Mr. Justice Wilmot, and Mr. Baron Smythe, and it was left in commission till the death of George the Second, which took place four years after.

On the formation of the new ministry, the king spontaneously and unsolicited promoted Mr. Charles Yorke to the office of Solicitor General, "as a testimony to the joint merit of both father and son," a mark of approbation which to the retiring statesman could not be otherwise than gratifying.

The first public business in which Lord Hardwicke took any part after his resignation, was the debate in the House of Lords upon a bill connected with the trial of Admiral Byng. It will be recollected, that Byng had the command of a squadron destined for the relief of Minorca, when menaced by the French. He neglected to bring the French fleet to a decisive action, and was consequently accused of cowardice, and brought to trial before a court-martial, and by it condemned to be shot for neglect of duty, though unanimously recommended to mercy by the members of the court. A bill was accordingly brought into the House of Commons to release the members of the court-martial who had sentenced Admiral Byng to death, from their oath of secrecy, so that they might disclose the consultations which took place among themselves when deliberating upon his sentence. Lord Campbell says that the fate of the bill in the House of Lords "depended entirely upon Lord Hardwicke, and he opposed it." It is true that his lordship took an active part in the investigation and decision, after devoting "considerable time and labour to an examination of the whole transaction:" but the rejection of the bill was first moved by Lord Marchmont, who was followed by Lord Hardwicke; and after examining such of the members of the House of Commons as were members also of the court-martial, the Lords unanimously rejected the bill. In

reference to the sentence Lord Campbell blames the court for passing it, and the government for allowing it to be carried into effect; but he generously adds:—

“Nevertheless, I think that the bill rested on no principle, and that Lord Hardwicke would have been liable to severe censure if he had assisted in establishing a dangerous precedent by sanctioning it. In the course he took, he was warmly supported by Lord Mansfield, who now began to show the rare example of a lawyer having great success in both Houses of Parliament, and who was destined to contest the palm of eloquence with the Earl of Chatham, as he had done with Mr. W. Pitt. They treated the subject with judicial accuracy and precision, showing that criminal justice could not be administered satisfactorily by any tribunal in the world, if there were to be a public disclosure of the reasonings and observations of those who are to pronounce the verdict or judgment while they are consulting together. They therefore framed two questions to be put to the members of the court-martial, all of whom were examined at the bar while the bill was pending. 1. ‘Do you know any matter that passed previous to the sentence upon Admiral Byng, which may show that sentence to have been unjust?’ 2. ‘Do you know any matter that passed previous to the said sentence, which may show that sentence to have been given through any undue practice or motive?’ All (including Captain Keppell, at whose request the bill had been introduced) answered both questions in the negative. Lord Hardwicke then animadverted, in a tone of the highest scorn, upon the haste and heedlessness with which the bill had passed in the House of Commons, and on his motion it was rejected without a division.”

In a foot note to this passage Lord Campbell says, that

“The House of Lords, in this instance, instead of forbidding the publication of their proceedings, themselves very wisely made an order ‘that all the proceedings on the bill, with the evidence of the witnesses, should be printed and published under the authority of the House.’”—Campbell, vol. v. p. 141.

Mr. Harris discusses the question—“Was Byng’s condemnation unjust?”—with considerable ability and great fairness; and comes to the following conclusion, which, after a review of all the circumstances attending the case, appears to be the just one.

“On the whole, therefore, his execution must be considered as a severe, but by no means more than a strict and just course. But it may be said that this strictness unrelaxed in some circumstances may amount to actual injustice, as law may occasionally be so if thus construed; which is in fact acknowledged, by calling in the aid of equity to relieve and control it in certain cases. Byng’s case differs, however, materially from these in one important respect, that no unforeseen, unprovided-for casualty occurred as in the latter. On the contrary,

certain specific acts and events were specifically provided for by a particular law. These specific acts and events occurred. Is the law not to be carried into force, because it is then thought to be severe? All the various and differently constituted tribunals to whom the matter was referred, coincided in carrying out the sentence prescribed."—vol. iii. p. 122.

Mr. Pitt's first administration, as Lord Campbell expresses it, "soon crumbled to pieces, and the country was for three months without a government;" but after a good deal of coquetting among the various parties, a new ministry was settled under the auspices of Lord Hardwicke, who was instrumental in bringing about a coalition between his old colleague the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt. The grand difficulty lay in the disposal of the Great Seal. The Duke was anxious again to have the powerful support of the Ex-Chancellor; but the latter did not feel inclined to accept office with the "great commoner," who would have endeavoured to retain all the power in his own hands. At last Sir Robert Henley, the Attorney General, was put in possession of the Great Seal as Lord Keeper, which title he retained until the accession of George III., when he was created Lord Chancellor. Lord Hardwicke's letters throw some curious light upon the intrigues and jealousies of the candidates for office. In reference to the coalition, Mr. Harris quotes the following characteristic *morceau* from one of Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son:—

"Domestic affairs go on just as they did; the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt jog on like man and wife, that is, seldom agreeing, often quarrelling; but by mutual interest upon the whole not parting."

The tranquillity of Lord Hardwicke's country life was for a time interrupted by the riots consequent upon the passing of the unpopular Militia Bill; yet the rioters seem to have respected the residence of the Ex-Chancellor, though some mischief was done in the neighbourhood. The unexpected death of Mrs. Charles Yorke of a fever which broke out in the house, together with the severe illness of himself and Lady Hardwicke, and many members of the family, all occurring towards the autumn of the year 1789, were more serious interruptions of the domestic happiness of this united and affectionate family, which was further broken by the decease of his lordship's daughter, Lady Anson, in the following year. The chief part in public duties taken by Lord Hardwicke after his resignation of the Great Seal up to the death of George II., was in the debate on the Habeas Corpus Bill, and the trial of Dr. Henesey for treason, and that of Lord Ferrers for the murder of his steward.

On the 25th of October, 1760, died King George II., in the

77th year of his age, and the 34th of his reign. When this event occurred Lord Hardwicke was with his family at Wimpole, and received the following notification of it from the Bishop of Bristol:—

“Claremont, Oct. 25, 1760.

“MY LORD,—The Duke of Newcastle has this moment received the following sad billet from Kensington:—

“‘The King died this morning about seven o’clock.

“‘J. K.’

“His Grace begs you to come immediately to town.

“I am your Lord-ship’s

“Most obedient servant,

“L^d. Hardwicke.”

“P. BRISTOL.”

Lord Campbell says, “As soon as Lord Hardwicke heard of the decease of George II., he hurried to Carlton House, where the new sovereign was to hold his first council.” Now, so far from displaying any hurry in his movements, it was not until after he had received a most pressing letter from the Duke of Newcastle himself, on the following day, that Lord Hardwicke left Wimpole for the metropolis. The Duke begins this second epistle with a complaint of the Ex-Chancellor’s want of consideration for his “poor friend in distress,” and ardently beseeches his Lordship to come to town and dine with him the next day—the 27th.

Lord Hardwicke was received with marked favour by the young king, and though not in office, he remained in constant attendance on the sovereign as a councillor, and was honoured with his Majesty’s confidence on many important occasions. Many interesting particulars connected with the marriage of the king, and the preparations for the coronation of their Majesties, are given; but the attendance of Lord Hardwicke and his family at the latter ceremony was prevented by the illness and death of Lady Hardwicke at Wimpole, on the 19th of September, 1761, after the noble pair had “lived together in perfect harmony 42 years, 4 months, and 3 days,” as Lord Hardwicke records in his diary. It does indeed appear from all contemporary testimony that this union had ever been most affectionate and constant; and the private virtues and endowments of Lady Hardwicke have been mentioned by many persons who were acquainted with her. Lord Campbell well says that Lord Hardwicke’s “marriage with the young widow turned out most auspiciously. They continued to old age tenderly attached to each other. She contributed not only to his happiness, but to his greatness.” And thus disposes of many of the ridiculous reports of her stinginess:—

“We may judge of the malicious turn given to her domestic arrange-

ments, however deserving of praise, by the charge against her of stealing the purse in which the great seal was kept, to make a counterpane. The truth is, that this purse, highly decorated with the royal arms and other devices, by ancient custom is annually renewed, and is the perquisite of the Lord Chancellor for the time being, if he chooses to claim it. Lady Hardwicke, availing herself of this custom, caused the purse, with its decorations, to be put as embroidery on a large piece of rich crimson velvet, corresponding to the height of one of the state rooms at Wimpole. These purses, just twenty in number, complete the hangings of the room, and the curtains of a bed, singularly magnificent. She therefore, in reality, only prepared a characteristic and proud heir-loom to be handed down to commemorate the founder of the family."—p. 172.

Lord Hardwicke, in letters to his sons, Lord Royston and Mr. Charles Yorke, describes the occurrences connected with Mr. Pitt's resignation of the seals in 1761, and his subsequent acceptance of the peerage for himself and a pension for his wife, an event exciting much irritation among his party. His lordship also alludes to the "lying papers" having published him for the Privy Seal; and in an extract from his Diary he mentions that on the 16th Nov., 1761, the Privy Seal was actually offered to him, but declined, and afterwards given to the Duke of Bedford.

During January, 1762, Lord Hardwicke prepared the Royal speech and the Lords' address for the opening of parliament. This speech terminated the long list of similar orations in the preparation of which he had been more or less engaged since the year 1733. Mr. Harris institutes a comparison between the speeches from the throne of those days, in which a direct meaning was conveyed as to the political measures to be proposed by the government, and the "ingenious and eloquent emanations of statesman-like wisdom with which the nation in our day is enlightened;" the grand aim of the latter appearing to be "to avoid all meaning, and to conceal any object that may be intended."

The death of Lord Anson, Lord Hardwicke's son-in-law, occurred this year, and was severely felt by all the family. In a letter to his eldest son his lordship says, "These fatal strokes, so often repeated from year to year, fall heavy at my time of life; but I have learned to submit to Providence as becomes me. It is my lot *nigrá veste seuscere*."

During the month of August in this year, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke were invited to a council, "at which the question of peace or war was to be decided, His Majesty promising to be guided entirely by their advice, and offering any employments they should choose for themselves and their friends, the treasury excepted." The proposal was rejected; and Lord

Hardwicke may now be considered as having finally retired from public life, although he took part in the debates on the preliminaries of peace, in 1762, and on the Cider Bill in the following year; his speech in opposition to this bill being the last he delivered in the House of Lords. Various overtures were afterwards made in order to induce him to resume his place at the council board, even at the head of it, where the king himself offered to place him, but all overtures were of no avail. In the following October he was seized with an alarming fit of illness, from which he partially recovered; but the end was at hand, and after alternate recoveries and relapses, his lordship died on the 6th of March, 1764, in his 74th year, having survived Lady Hardwicke about three years. The summary of Mr. Harris in reference to the close of his political career, are equally applicable to the termination of his natural life.

“He had held office under the crown for an uninterrupted period of above forty-two years, from his first appointment as Solicitor General in the month of March, 1720, which he filled for about four years. More than eight years he had been Attorney General; for three years and a half he was Chief Justice of England; for nearly twenty years Lord High Chancellor; and during the last six years he had assisted at council deliberations, though without any particular place in the cabinet. He served three successive sovereigns; and his influence, both in the ministry and in the House of Lords, those who at once regretted and endeavoured to undermine it acknowledge to have been almost paramount. He relinquished office at last, not only voluntarily, but against the wishes both of his king and his colleagues; and, in the face of renewed offers for his return to power, he continued to prefer an honourable and peaceful retirement, as more suitable at once to his years and his condition. Every ambitious hope must long ago have been gratified to the utmost; and the highest aspirations of his most ardent dreams of youth must, ere this, have been forgotten in the reality of their fulfilment.”—p. 296.

Just before Lord Hardwicke experienced the first attack of the illness which ultimately carried him off, he wrote to his son, Lord Royston, the letter which Lord Campbell comments upon as commencing, “My dear Lord,” and adduces as confirming the charge that Lord Hardwicke “preposterously piqued himself upon his nobility.” Now it happens that this very letter is among the Hardwicke MSS. at Wimpole, and commences “Dear Royston.” Mr. Harris gives the whole letter, a portion only being printed in Lord Campbell’s life. In writing to his children, Lord Hardwicke almost invariably addressed them in the most familiar and affectionate style.

The charge of avarice rests upon as slender a foundation; and

numerous letters from persons on whom he had conferred obligations, pecuniary and otherwise, remain to disprove the assertions of those who would have us believe that poor relations and early friends were equally forgotten or neglected by the successful Chancellor. Lord Chesterfield, no mean authority, testifies to his being "a cheerful, instructive companion, humane in his nature, decent in his manners, unstained by any vice (avarice excepted);" yet states that though this was his ruling passion, "he was never in the least suspected of any kind of corruption."

Mr. Harris, in his concluding chapter, satisfactorily combats the various charges brought against Lord Hardwicke; and by thus placing in juxtaposition the most serious of these charges, shows how completely they neutralize each other.

"Not a few of the accusations against him are so perfectly contradictory, that should they ever come into each other's company, they must at once proceed to annihilate each other. Thus the detractions of him, if so placed together, amount to the following incoherent statement. He entirely abandoned his poor relations,—but overwhelmed them with patronage. His son, Charles, he cruelly refused to aid in his efforts in his profession,—but unfairly pushed him forward and heaped preferment upon him. Dr. Birch he altogether neglected—but bestowed livings upon him to a shameful extent. In the cabinet he had no influence,—but usurped all authority in it. In the senate he had no weight,—but by his great authority rendered it quite subservient to him. All his early friends he deserted and turned his back upon,—but filled the state offices with them as his creatures. He grasped all the power in the state,—but died broken-hearted because he failed in his ambitious hopes!"—p. 535.

Such and so contradictory are the principal charges brought against one of the greatest men of our country; but none of his enemies have ventured to charge him with being open to bribery in the administration of justice; from this they have all refrained.

ART. V.—*Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* Par M. A. Thiers. Paris: Paulin. Tomes V. VI. VII.

THE history of a period so eventful as that of the Consulate and Empire of France, and by a writer so remarkable as M. Thiers, was sure to be welcomed with no ordinary degree of interest. The literary career of the author, the part he has acted

in the councils of his country, the share he was ambitious of taking again; the transition state in which that country appeared to be placed during the trial between elective and hereditary monarchy; the acquisition policy of the imperial period, partly revived in the Spanish marriages and the Algerine colonization; have if possible increased the curiosity attaching to a work which, besides being an account of the past, may be looked upon as a manifesto of the future, and an indication of the policy which the author, certain circumstances permitting, would be prepared to vindicate and pursue.

It is not our intention at present to bestow any examination on the earlier portions of the work relating to the consulate, but to invite the reader's attention to the three volumes containing the events of the empire from its inauguration in 1804 to the peace of Tilsit in 1807. These three years have the advantage of being clearly detached from the previous ones; they present the principal personage of the book in his new character of a monarch; they abound in momentous occurrences, profound combinations, sagacious institutions; and relate to a time during which the struggle with England was subordinate to the other and greater conflict with the continental powers; and therefore not so distasteful to the national vanity as to make us imagine M. Thiers an unwilling or incorrect narrator of those events in which the honour of this country is involved. Later—his impartiality might not command so entire a reliance. But we are not as yet arrived at the period when the war was begun in earnest between England and France; that is, when we landed an army in the peninsula, the vigorous direction of which, after years of hard fighting, step by step, ended in the dictation of peace, at the point of the bayonet, in the heart of the French territory.

It will not, however, be for an accurate statement of fact that this work will be valuable in the eyes of an Englishman. In his accounts of the contests between France and Austria, France and Prussia, France and Russia, the successes obtained by the first named country were so decided and brilliant that the historian can afford to be just to the efforts and admire the exploits of the defeated enemy, without impairing the interest of his narration for the ear of the French nation. It must be otherwise where England is concerned. Unfortunately for the historian, M. Thiers is a statesman, or as some will exclaim, only a politician. He has been a minister—he may be one again; for shallow and rash as were some of his schemes when in office, empty and idle as was his preference of a policy of isolation to the English alliance and co-operation so cordially tendered to him by this country in the first instance, there is yet no one else in all France whose

addresses, whether from the tribune or the press, have produced a more powerful effect on opinion; and his influence must yet be considerable in the future councils of that country through the storms that await it both at home and abroad.

A candidate for office mainly on anti-English views, he dares not face the unpopularity among his countrymen which a true account of English policy or of English achievements might sometimes occasion. Whilst however we caution the reader against taking up this work as a faithful chronicle of events—while we excuse M. Thiers for being, in his position, necessarily obliged to allow for the passions and prejudices of the French nation, and to combine the political advertisement with which he bespeaks their suffrages with the lofty flow of the long and magnificent drama with which he has ornamented the literature of his country; we cannot refuse our admiration both at the splendour of the painting, the clearness of the story, and the depth and shrewdness of thought with which it is interspersed. In these respects he is unsurpassed. Michelet is no doubt more terse, epigrammatic, and antithetical; and Lamartine more poetical and picturesque. M. Thiers exceeds the latter in force, the former in comprehensiveness, both in dramatic grandeur. It is with an agreeable surprize that we find views more enlarged, reflections more profound, on the character and motives of the individual human mind, the temptations of power, the tendencies of societies and nations, in the pages of the eager journalist and the ambitious deputy, than in the honest, philosophical, laborious lucubrations of our painstaking Hallam, or Mackintosh, or Alison. From their aridities he is entirely free; such a quality would not only be intolerable in France, but, what is worse, fatal to views of future office. With the vigour and satire of Gibbon, he has his imposing current of language without the affectation of his artificial sentences. It is odd that in Gibbon, who was born and bred a country gentleman, we are constantly and disagreeably reminded of the pedant and the rhetorician. In M. Thiers, who was certainly born far away from any gentility of position, we are struck with the grace and ease of the general style, the terse eloquence of his comments, and often by elevation of the sentiments, the opposition of the contrasts, the management of the lights and shades in the pictures which he delights in introducing. Every now and then, amidst the intoxication of the full tide of success, our attention is arrested by a significant observation embodying the melancholy presentiment that, notwithstanding the noon-day splendour of imperial pride and power, it will be his task to relate and comment upon its decline, and ultimate

catastrophe. He never seems to dismiss this subject completely from his anticipations, seldom allows himself to dwell on the actual pictures of military dominion and satiety of possession without intimating his recollection of the corresponding reverses. He enjoys the spectacle, but with the feelings of Damocles. From these qualities, even if from these alone, his work will be valuable, dismissing for a moment all question as to its historical veracity. A mere fable, when interspersed with observations, always so shrewd, often profound, and sometimes just, would be an important addition to our political experience. •

Unhappily for the liberties of mankind, from the days in which the Girondins declared war in order to maintain themselves in office, when, in order that a few men (as it has since turned out) might have a little more freedom than they had been used to, and a much larger number infinitely less power than they had enjoyed,—when Brissot wrote “*Il faut incendier les quatre coins de l’Europe ; notre salut est là,*”—there has always been much more of destruction than of edification in the attempts made by nations to possess themselves of freedom, whose cause, in fact, has come into occasional disrepute from the violences of its professed apostles. It is in all cases an enormous evil, whatever may be the ultimate good, when a country has lost all its ties, laws, and standards of opinion, and exists under none but what it called into being yesterday, and may change to-morrow. These revolutionary deceptions, disappointing every one, paved the way for Buonaparte. When we pass to the Empire, we enter at once on another sphere, in which the confused multiplicity of parties, views, and tendencies disappears, and power assumes a form, like its motto, of “*union and force.*”

The sober portion of the French nation, the mass of those who possessed anything to lose, wearied with long years of anarchy, no less afraid of intestine disturbance than of foreign invasion, nay, many of those who were formerly adherents of the Bourbons, and anxious for their return—in the utter hopelessness of such an event, and with the full conviction of the necessity of putting an end to the succession of plots and intrigues directed against the safety of France in the person of her ruler, became converts to the monarchical principle, and desirous that it should be re-established in favour of the very man whom the Bourbon emissaries had conspired to assassinate. Singular consequence of their attempts, that they should have afforded to the ambitious chief whom they were meant to destroy, the most convenient stepping-stones to that dignity—the object of his aspirations—which they had intended to secure for themselves!

Nay, what is as strange, and more reproachful, is, that the cold-blooded tragedy of the Duc d'Enghien—an attack made upon the inviolability of all the royal families of Europe worthy only of the sanguinary temper and times of Richelieu—scarcely appeared to the occupiers of the thrones of the continent to disqualify the perpetrator from taking his honoured place among them. The general feeling at Berlin and Petersburg was one of abhorrence; and yet, after displays of feeling which the respective sovereigns had prompted and encouraged, not one of them made any difficulty about the recognition of the newly coined imperial title. Austria was calm enough; very different from Russia. "Aussi le premier Consul n'avait qu'à se louer de l'indifférence pour la victime d'Ettenheim' On était jeune, inexpérimenté à Petersbourg, on était surtout loin de la France. On était sage, dissimulé à Vienne; surtout très proche du vainqueur de Marengo; on se tût." The Russian remonstrances were most untimely. The Emperor Alexander, whose own elevation to the imperial throne had occurred under circumstances that deprived him of the right to lecture others on moral duties, was told, in the First Consul's terrible reply, that France owed no explanations to Russia for having used a legitimate right of defence against plots formed on her frontiers, within the full view and knowledge of certain German governments; that Russia in her place would have done the same; "had she been informed that the assassins of Paul I. were assembled at a day's march from her frontier, and within reach, would she have hesitated to lay hold of them?" An overwhelming reproach to a sovereign then living surrounded by his father's murderers.

Within a few weeks, however, these potentates, with more or less of apparent cordiality, each unwilling to brave the resentment of the powerful chief of France, sanctioned his official assumption of that dignity so unanimously tendered to him by his own country.

"Admire," says M. Thiers, "the depth of the lesson conveyed. The man of their choice had been the butt of a criminal conspiracy—but then he had himself just been guilty of a sanguinary act, and yet, at that very moment, people were not afraid to raise him on the buckler—so imperious was the necessity: they raised him, not less glorious, it is true, but less pure. They took him with all his genius; but they would have taken him without—they would have taken him whatever he was, so that he was but powerful."

So, in fact, it has been with other countries. As England put up with Monk, Spain with Narvaez, Mexico with Santa Anna—mere soldiers of most moderate abilities, but who presented each

in their day, an appearance of organised force more tolerable than the continuance of democratic disorders (or the liability attaching to them) which they severally replaced.

The Roman republic, argues the author, having existed for many centuries as a free commonwealth, did not become reconciled to hereditary monarchy for some generations. Not so in France, where all the traditional recollections, though rudely assaulted and in part defaced by the revolutionary storm, were intimately connected with regal institutions and dignity.

“ In all countries torn by factions, threatened by foreign enemies, the necessity of being defended and governed will produce, sooner or later, the triumph of some powerful individual; a warrior like *Cæsar* at Rome; a rich man like the *Medicis* at Florence. . . . If this country has always existed as a monarchy, and the madness only of faction has torn it from its normal condition to convert it into an ephemeral republic, it will then require some years of troubles to inspire a horror of anarchy; not quite so many years to find a soldier capable of bringing it to a close; and a wish of that soldier, or even a dagger from the hand of an assassin will then be enough to make him king or emperor, to bring back the country to its old habits, and dissipate the dreams of those who had believed they could change human nature with their vain decrees, and still vainer oaths. Rome and Florence, long time republics, took more than half a century each to give themselves to the *Cæsars* and *Medicis*. England and France, republics of ten years duration, ended in *Cromwell* and *Napoleon*.”

The French revolution, then, was condemned to do penance in the face of all Europe for the absurdities that had been attempted, and the crimes that had been committed in its name.

“ Elle avait voulu une égalité barbare, chimérique, l'absence de toute hiérarchie sociale, la présence continuelle de la multitude dans le gouvernement l'abolition de tout culte elle avait été folle et coupable, et elle devait venir faire en présence de l'univers la confession de ses égarements ses erreurs même contenaient encore de graves leçons données au monde avec une incomparable grandeur.”

The historian lays it down, therefore, that a return to the monarchical constitution was inevitable, in obedience to the unchangeable dictates and convictions of human society. Nevertheless, he does not hesitate to intimate his regret that his hero acceded to this vulgar notion, still more that he was so impatient to seize it. Not that the right to confer it was wanting in the nation,—but the object of its choice, who, as the first magistrate of the French republic, had scarcely his equal on the globe, when aggregated to the community of kings was at once to become their inferior in something, were it only in the single point of

blood and hereditary descent*. Was it not, too, opening a new career for his ambition,—would he not be attempting fresh and more gigantic enterprizes, and embark in undertakings fatal to the fortune of France? Such reflections may have occurred to the wise, but not to the majority of the French nation; and among a people so vain of display, so impressionable by outward show, it is probable that the mere insignia and phrasology of the monarchical office did materially aid in rivetting more firmly Buonaparte's power. "In every change some men are wanted to carry into effect the opinions which occupy the minds of all; that is, some instruments. There was one man singularly appropriate for the circumstance." It was Fouché. That ex-Jacobin was completely corrected of his republican errors. His excessive though new-born zeal for royalty leading him to urge a master, who assuredly needed little persuasion, and to labour as though it were necessary to hasten those who were already ascending fast enough. The monarchical reaction, which betrayed so general and imprudent an avidity was, thinks M. Thiers,

"All the more instructive and profound—all the more worthy of those great lessons which Providence bestows on mankind, when given by that heroic soldier, by those newly-converted republicans, all anxious to clothe themselves in purple on the ruins of a republic of ten years, to which they had taken a thousand oaths of fidelity. It perished—this republic which had been declared *imperishable*, under the hand of a victorious general, *as all republics end which do not go to sleep in the arms of an oligarchy.*"

A tendency to go to sleep in peaceable times, or times of general prosperity, is common to all forms of government. Whether, with the growing intelligence of the age, the forms of republicanism do not admit of a less terrible awakening than the violent convulsions by which the abuses of despotic and irresponsible authority are ultimately overthrown, is the problem which the French nation have again undertaken to solve. With such convictions as the above, we can understand the jealousy entertained by the French republicans of M. Thiers, who has now become a member of the National Assembly. They naturally do not wish the National Assembly to be put to sleep by him, nor to fall into the hands of an oligarchy of his creation.†

* "Se faire appeler, Sire—il aspire à descendre," was the witty criticism at the time, of Paul Louis Courier.

† Besides republicans, the election of M. Thiers is regretted by many of the most philosophically minded men in France as an unfavourably angry of future progress. The 'Journal des Economistes' decried in him an enemy of public liberty in reference to education and local self-government,—an advocate of monopolies,—high tariffs, extravagant expenses, heavy taxes, and foreign war. "*A moins que la révolution de Février ne l'ait totalement converti.*"

We have said that the sentiments which invited Napoleon's elevation to the throne were all but unanimous throughout France,—save to some of the more ultra republicans, and some discontented officers, chiefly of the army of the Rhine; and of that opposition the embers were dying away in the trials of the conspirators in the affair of George, and in which unhappily Moreau was involved. The sentence on the latter of two years' imprisonment was commuted into banishment.

“While he was thus ascending the steps of the throne Moreau was departing for exile. They were to come in sight of each other once more, at cannon-shot distance, under the walls of Dresden,* both of them unfortunate—both of them guilty—the one in returning from abroad to bear arms against his country—the other for abusing his power so as to provoke an universal reaction against the greatness of France; the one dying by a French bullet, the other gaining a lost victory, but seeing already yawning the abyss in which his prodigious destiny was engulfed.” However, those “great events were then still far distant. Napoleon seemed then all powerful, and for ever.”

Yet even in the midst of the rejoicings that accompanied his elevation to the succession of the Bourbons, we are told that he was not without cares and troubles even in the bosom of the Buonaparte family, the several members of which, though born at such a distance from those dignities which their brother's abilities had conferred on himself, were discontented and intriguing.

“Doubtless he had experienced some vexations in these times, since, independently of its sterner visitations, Providence always mingles some what of bitterness, by anticipation, in the cup of our happiness, as if, by warning to the human soul, to prepare it for more remarkable calamities.”

Amid all these pomps and vanities he did not lose sight of finance and war. In the midst of his schemes of ambition he found time to originate an addition and improvement of the pecuniary resources of the nation. We more willingly draw attention to this circumstance, since, even so late as February, 1848, we find so well-read a man as Mr. D'Israeli disparaging, without

M. Thiers was in office in 1835, when the laws of September were enacted against the press; a circumstance which will not soon be forgotten or forgiven.—ED.

* A distinguished English general officer was in the field on the memorable 27th of August, 1813, as military commissioner with the allied armies. Moreau is said to have expressed to him, no long time before he received his death-wound, a presentiment of disaster. It was connected with the presence of Buonaparte at the head of the French army; in the neighbourhood of his rival he involuntarily recognized the subjugation of his genus.

discrimination, his notions of political economy. Faulty in many respects, in others they were entitled to the highest praise. With all the gigantic enterprises he set on foot, and the exhausted state in which he found France, as a principle he never would borrow. Perhaps such a government would not have obtained extensive credit; but it is nevertheless an extraordinary contrast to the policy of Pitt and his successors, whose extravagance in that respect has so much burdened the present and future generations of England.

He had long felt, notwithstanding the great additional means secured to the state by the equalization of taxation established at the revolution, that real property, less liable to the whole of the public burdens, had been unfairly treated. While possessed by privileged bodies, the nobility and clergy, it had been privileged too—and had become the object of attack of the political economists and the professors of love for the poor, who invented a land-tax as a substitute for all other imposts.

“But this theory, generous in its intention, false in point of fact, was destined to fall before the test of experience. . . . In charging the land beyond measure, the people of the country were taxed for the benefit of the shopkeepers and consumers of spirituous liquors in the towns. . . . It was indispensable to vary the resources of the impost, so as not to dry them up.”

Napoleon then, in opposition to this theoretical view, these unproductive as well as mischievous results, did not fear to propose in the council of state the less popular but

“Simple and true theory of a contribution ably diversified, resting alike on every species of property and of industry, exacting from none of them an undue share of the public revenue, and producing therefore no artificial interference with prices. Drawing means from every channel along which they flowed abundantly—and yet so moderately, as not to lower too considerably the level in any one of them. This system, the fruit of time and experience, has but one drawback. The variety of objects liable to taxation increases the expense of collection; but then it presents so many advantages, and the contrary system is so violent, that the slight augmentation of expense it occasions cannot be considered a serious objection.”

This was maintained and carried in the council by Napoleon, with a wonderful sagacity, as if finance had been the chief study of his life.

In a very able pamphlet* lately published by Mr. Babbage, we perceive that a part of this reasoning is quoted with approbation;

* ‘Thoughts on the Principles of Taxation, with reference to a Property Tax and its Exceptions.’ 1848.

while others of our active political economists and statistes appear ignorant or regardless of the advantages derived from the variety of the contributing sources, and thus illustrate the truth of Swift's sarcastic remark of the uselessness of one man's experience in warning another. It was made a matter of boast by the advocates of Sir Robert Peel's tariff, in 1842, that some 400 or 500 articles had been admitted duty free; on what grounds of justice it would be difficult to say; but on those of expediency it was incorrectly urged, that we should be enabled to dispense with the services of that portion of the custom-house officers heretofore employed in examining the now exempted articles. It not being apparent to the ingenious framers of that tariff that examination would still be indispensable, in order to ascertain that the commodities claiming exemption did not fraudulently give cover for the introduction of others liable to customs' duty.

The long-intended descent upon this country required, indeed, the utmost efforts in point of means to prepare it. Insufficiency of means of transport in days when steam was unknown, when a naval armament could not be collected along the shores of the Channel without being exposed to the observation of our cruisers, perhaps to destruction; the delay in the equipment of the men-of-war in the military ports of the west which were to protect the passage of the flotilla;—all these circumstances had delayed the opportunity of an attempt until the end of August, 1804. Then the death of Latouche Tréville, the admiral of the Toulon fleet—a vain boaster, but an enterprising officer, and one on whose co-operation Napoleon had mainly counted,—induced him to adjourn the attempt for another season. The winter witnessed the ceremony of his coronation at Paris,—the spring of 1805 the corresponding formality at Milan; then followed a series of imperial progresses, fêtes, reviews, and parades throughout his Italian dominions. But while bent in appearance only on Transalpine amusements, the mind of Napoleon was unceasingly maturing the means of accomplishing the projected, the darling enterprise of his heart. At first, Villeneuve, Missiessy, and Gantheaume were to have severally sailed with their respective squadrons for the West Indies, whither alarm for our colonies would draw the whole disposable naval force of England after them. The united French fleet then returning across the Atlantic, were to have appeared unexpectedly in the Channel, to convoy the sailing of the expedition from Boulogne. This first combination failed, from the singular fact that Gantheaume, closely blockaded by Cornwallis in Brest, never found a single day in the spring of 1805 on which he could hope to evade the ceaseless watch of the English squadron outside. March, April,—those months usually so

stormy, passed away without a single gale to mark the equinox. "Sire," writes Gantheaume to him on the 1st of May, 1805, "the extraordinary weather which has prevailed since we have been under sailing orders is quite dispiriting. . . . I had been proposing to get under weigh. All our ships were unmoored; a west wind which had been blowing stiffly for some hours had given me hopes that the enemy might have betaken himself to the open sea, when his in-shore squadron was descried from our anchorage." About the same date there is another letter from Gantheaume to Decrès. "Ainsi que j'ai mandé les temps ont été tels, qu'ils nous a été impossible de nous dérober. L'Empereur. . . . je n'ose lui rien dire, n'ayant rien d'agréable à lui annoncer. . . . je me tais en attendant les événements. Je m'en borne à désirer qu'il veuille nous rendre justice." Orders came up from the wearer of the Lombard crown, on the banks of the Po, that if Gantheaume had been unable to sail before the 20th of May, he should then remain and await the appearance of Villeneuve before Brest. Frigates were despatched to the West Indies, bidding the latter no longer look for the Brest squadron out there; but to sail at once for the latter port, release its commander from duress, and, overpowering the British blockading force of that port, enter the Channel, reinforced by Gantheaume, in such numbers as to occupy, if not overcome, such a remnant of the English fleet as might have been left in it. On the night of the 8th of July, Napoleon disappeared from the pageantry of Turin, emerging at Fontainebleau on the 11th. Not entirely trusting the appearance of the Austrian horizon in Italy, he had left behind him orders for the arming and provisioning of all the fortresses west of the Adige, and for the movement of the divisions that had recently paraded on the celebrated fields of Castiglione and Marengo, towards positions closer to the eastern frontier of Lombardy. Thus much for defence. The heavy cavalry and the spare infantry not destined for England were directed towards the Rhine. He even then thought that circumstances might transfer the first display of his arms thither. The court of Vienna, ominously silent and insincere in its communications, naturally watched all his movements with intense anxiety—putting up devout prayers that the leader with his army on the shores of the ocean might meet with the fate of Pharaoh beneath its waves.

The rapidity of his bodily movements was even surpassed by that of his mental combinations. After a fortnight given to the remonstrances of his councillors, and the instruction of his diplomatic agents, to measures of precaution against Europe, which he was leaving in arms behind him, he arrives, on

the 3rd of August (1805) at Boulogne, where 100,000 men had long been awaiting the hour and the man. The latter was all they were then destined to see. Here he was devoured with impatience while vainly awaiting the arrival in the straits of the combined fleet, which alone could confer a reasonable chance of success on the expedition. For many days no news—at last an account of the indecisive action of the French under Villeneuve with Calder, on July 22nd. The loss of only two line-of-battle ships appeared to the French emperor almost a victory. He wrote to Villeneuve (13th August), “Je suis fondé à penser que la victoire est restée à mes armes, puisque vous êtes rentré à la Corogne.” He goes on to say he hopes this dispatch will not find him there—that he will have effected his junction with Lallemand, swept everything before him, and entered the channel, “où nous vous attendons avec anxiété.—Si vous ne l’avez pas encore fait—faites le. Marchez hardiment à l’ennemi. Prévenez par un courier extraordinaire, l’amiral Gantheaume du moment de votre départ. Enfin jamais, pour un plus grand but, une escadre n’aura couru quelques hazards. L’Angleterre n’a pas aux dunes plus de 4 vaisseaux de ligne que nous harcelons tous les jours avec nos prames et nos flotilles.” For a week he remained in an anxiety augmented by the suspicious accounts received respecting the policy of Prussia. To have added her to the list of his enemies would have been too much. Duroc was therefore despatched to Berlin to bribe her by the offer of Hanover, a tender more dishonourable to the party that entertained it, than to him who made it. On the 22nd of August, he received news from Villeneuve that he had sailed from Ferrol, and was steering for Brest and the Channel. Fresh letters to Villeneuve, to encourage him, and to Gantheaume, bidding him not keep the former waiting a moment—cajoling, flattering, exhorting both in terms irresistible from such a quarter. “We are all embarked,” he concludes—“all is ready—England is ours—show yourselves but 24 hours and all is won.” Décrès, however, his Minister of Marine, an able officer, though he durst not encounter the imperial anger by openly opposing such an operation, had no hope, now that the English fleet was alive to the intended combinations, of any successful issue from the union of the two divisions of the French fleet, amounting to 50 sail of the line, in the narrows of the Channel. Nearly one half had been so closely blockaded for many months as to have lost practice and seamanship; the force would be unfit to manœuvre in the limited space assigned, and their inability to work their ships with all the dexterity circumstances would require, would render such a practice dangerous if not fatal. He was incessantly worried by his patron for his opinion.

“Whether Villeneuve was steering for Brest?—or for Cadiz?—If for Cadiz what am I to do with my marine?”—For some days, Napoleon, with a presentiment that the latter course had been taken, hesitated between two alternatives—that of embarking at all hazards, or of throwing himself upon Austria, whose increasing assemblages of troops behind the Adige augmented his ill-humour and suspicion. The historian quotes a letter written by him to Talleyrand, in the midst of these dilemmas (23rd of August), discussing the probabilities of the naval force failing him. “In such a case I break up my camp on the shores of the ocean, enter Germany with 200,000 men, and not stop till I have touched bars at Vienna. . . . after pacifying the Continent, I shall return to the ocean to work afresh at the *maritime peace*.”(!)

“During this interval he was sombre, absent, harsh towards Admiral Décrès, in whose countenance he read all the reasons that had actuated Villeneuve. He was constantly on the sea-shore—his eyes fixed on the horizon. Naval officers, with telescopes, on different points of the coast, were unceasingly on the look out, and charged to report to him.”

After three days’ gestation of impatience and anxiety intolerable to a temperament so ardent, Décrès being interrogated, confessed that, considering the time since Villeneuve had sailed from Ferrol, the fair winds that had prevailed, “vu aussi les dispositions morales de Villeneuve” (for so his friend and shipmate obligingly phrased it), he was of opinion that the fleet had retired to Cadiz. Mons. Thiers describes, on the authority of a manuscript memorandum left by Daru, who witnessed it, a violent explosion on the part of the disappointed contriver of the expedition. He abused Villeneuve in particular as a traitor—included in the censure of his wrath all around—

“Declared himself betrayed by the pusillanimity of men—deplored the ruin of the finest, rarest plan he had ever concerted in his life—and showed in all its bitterness the grief of genius abandoned by fortune. All of a sudden, calming himself . . . he dictated, for several hours, with extraordinary presence of mind and precision of detail, the plan of the immortal campaign of 1805. There was no longer a trace of irritation either in his voice or in his features. The great conceptions of the intellect had overcome the grief of the feelings. Instead of attacking England by the direct road, he was going to foil her by the long and sinuous way of the continent, one on which he was to find an incomparable grandeur before encountering his ruin.”

Would he, asks M. Thiers, have attained his object by the direct course?

“Granted that he got safe over to Dover, it is no offence to the

British nation to suppose that it might have been conquered by the captain who, in eighteen months, overcame and subdued Austria, Germany, Prussia and Russia. For there was not, in point of fact, a man added to that army of the ocean which at Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, beat the 800,000 soldiers of the continent. Nay, it must be said, too, that the territorial inviolability enjoyed by England has not fashioned her heart to the danger of invasion . . . this does not in the least detract from the glory of her naval and military services. It is not, therefore, probable that she could have dared resist the soldiers of Napoleon, as yet unexhausted and undecimated by war. An heroic resolution of her government by taking refuge in Scotland, and abandoning England to the ravages of the victor, until the return of Nelson with the whole naval force of England, by cutting off the return of Napoleon, though victorious, and thus enforcing him to become a prisoner in his own conquest; all this might have brought about some strange combinations: but it was out of all likelihood. We are firmly persuaded that, if Napoleon had reached London, England would have treated."

We certainly think that England "would have dared to resist," and that her resistance would have been eventually (as it was in Spain) successful; otherwise, in these ingenious speculations of M. Thiers in the optative and subjunctive mood, there is assuredly little of which we can complain. Our jealousy of standing armies, so favourable to our civil liberty; the intolerance and ignorance of war common to our whole population; the want of enterprise and professional skill which characterised our military officers until formed by the schooling of our great captain in the Peninsula; would have placed us at great disadvantage in a contest with the soldiers of the camp of Boulogne. True it is that the south-eastern counties are enclosed, intricate, timbered, and so far unfavourable to the rapid progress of an invader. Hedge-rows, trees, ditches, scattered homesteads and orchards, if defended, would reduce the advance to a constant series of petty skirmishings, in which an enemy ignorant of the country, and deriving no assistance from the peasantry, could frame no operations on a scale corresponding with his numbers. But then this hypothesis imagines an army, smaller indeed than his, but able to meet and fight some portion of his force with confidence. It would have been idle, without a large regular force, whether of the line or of well-trained militia, to have trusted to the loquacious enthusiasm of the towns or the sharp-shooting of the rural inhabitants. Without organization such tumultuous assemblages are sure to fail. The very first check engenders panic and flight; and the disorder that is thus communicated is worse almost than non-resistance. There have been instances of irregular troops embarrassing disciplined armies: the mountaineers of the Tyrol,

the guerillas in Spain, nay, even our own Highlanders in the rebellion of 1745. But all these bodies were more or less organized; accustomed to act in concert *under chiefs whom they knew beforehand, whom they trusted and obeyed*, and were besides proverbially expert in the use of their weapons. Our social and political economy have engendered other habits, and would hardly admit of a levy *en masse*. Whatever might be done by the lord and his tenants, the squire and his gamekeepers, we could not expect the farmer to persuade his weekly labourers, the hireling who stays not for the wolf, still less the lords of industry to rally their factory operatives to advance with them into the thick of the fight. The general surface of England, though lending itself favourably to the efforts of an inferior though disciplined force to resist one superior only in numbers but not in skill or daring, has for the greater part no remarkable strongholds, no mountains or defiles, save in the north and west. No fortresses, not even a castle, a post, a gentleman's mansion, scarcely a tithe-barn that can be rendered susceptible of defence against anything stronger than musketry. Once inland, having masked or passed the martellos and the naval arsenals, there is hardly anything that a powder-bag would not find means to open or throw down.

Our first line of defence, then, which consisted in our force afloat in the channel, being passed or evaded (a large supposition), we dare say M. Thiers is right when he vindicates the project as one by no means chimerical; it could not be branded as absolutely hopeless, however imprudent. Let us recollect, too, that there were other causes, besides the non-arrival of Villeneuve, which led to the abandonment of the project, almost at the moment of its threatened execution. The menacing posture of affairs on the continent, the arming of powers whom we were then rich and unwise enough to subsidize, had a large share in diverting the attention and absorbing the energies of France and her ruler, which they never can have again. No power on the continent will ever again arm at so critical a juncture, or, unless paid afresh by us, cause such a diversion in favour of this country, should a revival of the project of invasion ever suggest itself seriously to a French government vigorous enough to entertain it, rich enough to provide the means, and firm enough in its tenure of office to prepare for some time before the resources and materials needed for so momentous a struggle.

The abandonment of an enterprize conceived, projected, and for years cherished with all the ardour which a thirst for power, hatred of a rival, and a desire of commercial advantages, could inspire in a disposition like his, by the greatest captain of modern

times, are then, in part, owing to the sea front presented, but greatly more to the insecurity of his own dominions from other attacks,—fortunately no doubt for this country, since our own existence had in many respects become so artificial, the relations of the various classes to each other so complicated, that the mere process of even successful defence would have been accompanied by circumstances of the greatest hazard. Whence, indeed, with war a few miles off, are to come the resources that supply the pay-table of the manufacturer and the farmer on the Saturday night? Whence, in the absence of these, is the working population, whom the involuntary policy of our poor-laws, with all their merits, have deprived of forethought and self-reliance, whence are they to be supplied with food? Above all, when resistance is talked of, let us distinguish. We have never yet heard or read of any country in which a compulsory charity, however blessed in the giver, had produced patriotism in the recipient, nor have we any opinion that the pauper element, so large a one unfortunately in the population of Great Britain, would contribute anything but embarrassment to our efforts at defence. The dole-basket at Rome prepared her for her successive subjugations by the barbarians.

After he had definitively renounced the English, and resolved upon the German invasion, Napoleon remained another week at Boulogne, so that his presence there while he superintended the commencement of the march towards the Rhine and the Danube, might still mystify the other powers. His position was critical enough. An Austrian army, numerically superior to the French, was ready to assume the offensive in Lombardy; another under Mack in Bavaria; Russia advancing in the rear; and besides these two grand attacks, the subordinate hostilities to be expected on remoter points from Swedes, Neapolitans, and English. But with that rare exactness which seldom left him, calculating to a day the rate at which he should be able to move, ensuring the concentration of a sufficient or a superior force on points where it was essential to master resistance, the historian shows that from his camp at Boulogne he had pre-arranged the whole course of his operations and their consequences upon the enemy, and apportioned to each month its appointed share of marching, fighting, success, and occupation. Yet to accomplish this he had, besides his own forces, no allies except the chance of a small Bavarian corps and the little army of the Elector of Wurtzburg, with the purchased neutrality of Prussia by the temporary deposit of Hanover. All then depended upon his celerity of arrival at certain points in such force as to prevail over whatever he found there—to throw himself behind the Austrian army at Ulm—

reduce it—and then advance into the heart of their empire, before their reserves, aided by the advancing Prussians, could again gather head to resist him.

“Never had any captain, in ancient or modern times, conceived or executed anything on so gigantic a scale. That is, never had such a master mind, more free to follow its own will, or with a greater force at its disposal, operated on so great an extent of country. What in fact does one mostly see? Irresolute governments, who hold cabinet councils when they ought to be acting; improvident governments, who think of organizing their forces when they ought to be on the field of battle; and under their orders subordinate generals who can scarcely move on the limited theatre assigned to their operations. Here, on the contrary, genius, will, forethought, absolute liberty of action—all united in the same man and for the same end. It is rare to find an union of all these circumstances, but when it occurs *the world has a master.*”

All the operations of that celebrated campaign, the arrival on the Rhine, its passage, the turning Mack's position at Ulm, his surrender, the advance along the Danube, the boldness of the design, the imprudence almost of the lieutenants who executed, turning their very recklessness to account, and thereby foiling and checking the paralyzed enemy, are detailed with masterly spirit and force. The Austrian general's infatuation was no doubt unprecedented; he could not believe that the French army was in a mass in his rear in the north-west, while all his attention was directed westward to the Black Forest. “La police militaire,” is M. Thiers' caustic remark, “comme la police civile, ment, exagère, se contredit.” The master mind discerns the drift and sifts all the intelligence picked up by the staff corps and brought from the outposts,—the weaker understanding is bewildered,—“more especially if there has been a favorite notion that the enemy is to be expected in one particular quarter; every information is then interpreted in that sense, and thus are produced those capital errors which sometimes ruin armies and empires.” An evasion towards the Tyrol, leaving of course the capital of the monarchy to its fate, might have been attempted by Mack, though hazardous when followed by such an army as would have pressed upon his rear; or a desperate rush to break out of the circle that hemmed him, and to regain Bohemia; but Mack could embrace neither alternative. He had weakened his force by detaching part of it uselessly towards Memmingen—the Archduke Ferdinand broke away from him with 6,000 or 7,000 more, leaving the general-in-chief to shift for his 30,000 remaining men as he could. “L'expérience enseigne que dans ces situations l'âme humaine abattue, quand elle a commencé à descendre,

descend si bas, qu'entre tous les partis elle prend le plus mauvais"—a feeling observation which all who remember the story of our own disasters at Cabul will readily assent to.

Ulm, therefore, with its 30,000 men, surrendered on Sunday, the very eve of Trafalgar. It is of course natural that a Frenchman should make the most of the exploits of his countrymen in the account of the latter tremendous defeat; and we are not disposed to find fault with him for painting in colours more lively perhaps than is quite correct, the performances of the vanquished. To one objection he is certainly open, in this as well as other parts of his history, he is too apt to select individual chiefs for extravagant praise, and to deny to the subordinate officers their fair share of merit, whether in relating the actions of our own or of the combined fleet; not to mention an unmeasured, and we believe unmerited, contempt and abuse of the Spaniards. Many of the French ships were fought with desperate bravery. Of the state of the *Bucentaure* (the French commander-in-chief's ship) a touching picture is given; when, dismasted and unmanageable, Villeneuve wished to repair on board some other ship, no boat was left on board that could swim; the *Santissima Trinidad* was hailed to send one to no purpose, the repeating frigate, the *Hortense*, remained motionless at a distance.

"The French admiral saw himself bound to the corpse of his ship, ready to founder, no longer able to give an order or to save the fleet entrusted to him. He surrendered, and was carried on board the *Mars*, where he was received with the honours due to his rank, his misfortunes, and his courage,—feeble indemnification for such a calamity! He had met then at last that sinister disaster—which he had so dreaded to encounter, at one time in the West Indies—later in the Channel; he had met it there, where he had expressly hoped to avoid it; and he fell without the consolation of perishing for the accomplishment of a great design."

Décès transmitted the news to Napoleon, already rapidly marching on Vienna; but in the midst of his triumphant successes experiencing the mortification of defeat at sea. From that time forward he ceased to expect much from the French marine. Mons. Thiers speaks of the "*silence ordonné*" throughout France on this distasteful subject, this untoward event,—a magnificent proof of the absolutism of his power over the characteristic loquacity of Gaul; but there were reasons for this taciturnity.

"Europe readily lent itself to the silence he desired to preserve; the tramp of his march on the continent prevented the hearing of the echo of the cannon of Trafalgar. Those powers who felt at their breasts the sword of Napoleon were not re-assured by a naval victory, profitable to England alone, producing only a new extension of her

commercial domination, which they little liked, and only tolerated from jealousy of France. Trafalgar then blotted out none of the splendours of Ulm, and as will be seen, lessened none of its consequences."

His energy was carrying all before it in his German campaign. The Austrian capital occupied; Prussia, always slippery, disliking him much, fearing him more, was only waiting to see which was the strongest, had sent her minister Haugwitz to watch the *dénouement* evidently pending. He was well received by the French emperor, who, declining the presence of an inconvenient witness, invited him to set off that night for Vienna, adding, with studied carelessness, that he was going to give battle directly, after which, if he was not carried off by a cannon ball, he should be glad to see him again. The great master of the dramatic art fully understood how to impress every one in the fittest way;—thus intimating that if Prussia resolved on war, her sovereign must play for the same stakes which he himself risked (*viz.*, his life as well as power). M. Haugwitz was carefully conducted across the field of battle of Hollabrun, fought a fortnight before, and still dotted with the unburied corpses of his countrymen: Napoleon significantly advertising Talleyrand that "*il est bon que ce Prussien apprenne par ses yeux de quelle manière nous faisons la guerre.*"

Within a few weeks of his crossing the Rhine, the allies were overthrown at Austerlitz; the successor of the Cæsars came personally to sue for peace at the bivouac of the offspring of the revolution;—the Russian autocrat too happy to be permitted to escape to his northern wastes on any terms, with the remains of his army. No wonder that the realization of such successes should have awakened other and wilder dreams of ambition. Besides awarding the regal title to his allies, the electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, he fulminated a sentence of dethronement against the Neapolitan Bourbons, who had unfortunately declared at the wrong moment, in the hour of his apparent embarrassment. He provides thrones for his brothers—Naples for Joseph, Holland for Louis, a grand duchy of Berg for Murat, other territorial duchies and revenues for his faithful adherents, Venetian states and confederation of the Rhine for himself. No wonder, either, that others should have partaken of the intoxication too.

"For men of calm and deliberate temper (if there remained any after witnessing such events) there was but one subject of apprehension—the known inconstancy of fortune, and, what is still more formidable, the weakness of the human understanding, which sometimes supports misfortune without quailing, rarely prosperity without committing great errors."

To add to his good fortune, Mr. Fox, from whose policy he

expected such a tone as would, at least, have afforded him an honourable excuse for peace, had just succeeded his great rival in the government. The following character of Mr. Pitt's administration, which even to this day so much divides opinion in this country, as to make it difficult to obtain an impartial verdict from any one in a position entitled to pronounce a judgment at all, or impose it on others, will be valued as coming from one conversant with politics, sufficiently versed in our parliamentary history to appreciate its lessons, yet not blinded by his adherence to either Mr. Pitt's partizans or opponents, or the heirs of their passions, to prevent him from discerning the truth. The reader will probably assent to the whole of the reflections, not on the character merely, but on the circumstances in which Pitt lived, and the tenure of his power.

“If one respects those ministers, who, in absolute monarchies, are able to rule, for a long period, both the weakness of their sovereign and the instability of courts, and to rule in their master's name over a servile people, what admiration ought one not to feel for a man whose power, established over a free nation, lasted twenty years! Courts are capricious enough, doubtless, but they are not more so than large deliberating assemblies. All the caprices of opinion excited by the thousand stimulants of the daily press, and reflected in a parliament where they assume the authority of the national sovereignty, compose that fluctuating will, by turns servile and despotic, which the minister must captivate, in order to reign himself over that crowd of heads who fancy that they ought to govern. He must possess, in order to sway, besides the art of flattery which ensures success at courts, that other art so different from it, of eloquence,—sometimes homely, sometimes lofty,—which is indispensable in order to obtain a hearing in an assembly of men. He must have what is not an art, but a gift,—strength of character, by which one succeeds in braving or controlling excited passions. Mr. Pitt possessed in a high degree all these qualities, both natural and acquired. Exposed for a quarter of a century to the impressive eloquence of Mr. Fox, to the poignant sarcasms of Sheridan, he stood erect and maintained an imperturbable coolness; spoke constantly with judgment, effect, and moderation: and when the sonorous voice of his adversaries was aided by the yet more powerful echo of events; when the French revolution, repeatedly defeating the most experienced state-men and generals of Europe, exploded across his path ‘Fleurus,’ ‘Zurich,’ or ‘Marengo,’ he always succeeded in restraining, by the firmness and fitness of his answers, the too active spirits of the British parliament. With the exception of some financial institutions of doubtful advantage, he created nothing in England; he was often in error respecting the relative strength of European countries, and on the issue of events; but he added to the talents of a great political orator an ardent love of his own country, and an impassioned hatred of the French revolution. Representing in England not the

aristocracy of blood, but of commerce, which latter liberally poured her treasures into his lap in the way of loans, he resisted the greatness of France and the contagion of democratic disorders with intrepid perseverance, and maintained order in his country without diminishing its liberty. He left it overloaded with debt, but in peaceable possession of the Ocean and the Indies. He used and abused the force of Great Britain; BUT IT WAS THE SECOND NATION OF THE EARTH WHEN HE DIED,—IT WAS THE FIRST IN EIGHT YEARS AFTER HIS DEATH. . . . Mr. Pitt, so successful during eighteen years, was unhappy during the last few days of his life. We Frenchmen were avenged on this cruel enemy, for he might then have believed that our victories would last for ever, he might have doubted the soundness of his policy, and have trembled for the future of his country. It was one of his most common-place successors, Lord Castlereagh, who was to reap the fruits of our disasters."

Few will question the force and truth of these remarks. Mr. Pitt's policy (after his abandonment of his reform views) was one of resistance to innovation rather than of organization and institution. In finance, statistics, and political economy he was in arrear of his age, and that age not a luminous one. From having been in his younger days the advocate of reform, the French revolution, by its excesses, drove him into the opposite extreme, and caused his name, long after his death, to be invoked as a posthumous palladium by the Eldon school of politicians.

Unfortunately for the peace of the world, Mr. Fox, the opponent of war, followed his rival to the tomb early in the autumn of 1806, and the negotiations, without being broken off, gradually assumed a less accommodating character in the hands of our ambassador, Lord Lauderdale. The Prussian cabinet, in its weakness and irresolution, by turns deceiving and deserting every other, was deserted itself at last. Hanover, the price of her prostitution and the evidence of her shame, bringing upon her the contempt of the allies, confiscation and war from England, and eventually, to resume it, invasion and destruction at the hands of France.

But these matters did not reach their crisis till September. During the months that had elapsed since the return of Napoleon from his Austrian war, his industry had been prodigious and unceasing. The organization of the confederation of the Rhine, the control of which he wrested from the German empire: the fiscal resources of France also occupied his creative care. Determined, notwithstanding the prospect of peace, to be fully prepared for the continuance of vigorous war, he declared to the legislative body that for peace the income of the state should be £28,800,000, that for war £32,800,000. The year of peace (1802) had cost but £20,000,000; but since that, the re-establishment of the

monarchy, public works, payment of the clergy, and some increase of public debt, had brought up the minimum of expenditure to £24,000,000. He had re-introduced, as we have already seen, the principle of indirect taxation, a sort of excise producing £1,000,000: this was extended, and expected to produce £2,000,000. In addition to this salt was to be subjected to a duty—an unpopular one no doubt—but the proceeds of which were destined to supersede one equally distasteful, that of gates or barriers for the maintenance of the public roads. These tolls had produced an income of £600,000, but the treasury was obliged to contribute at least £400,000 more, and without attaining the object of having even decent communications, for which it was calculated that at least £1,400,000 was needed,* and this sum it was expected to derive from the salt-tax. With these resources France could afford to spend annually £5,200,000 on her navy; £12,000,000 on her army; could maintain fifty sail of the line in commission, and 150,000 men in marching order. Far too much for the repose and safety of the world in his keeping; but who was to withstand him in France?—how was any opposition to fly in the face of power so solid and victories so brilliant? Add to all this the roads, bridges, harbours, and canals begun and prosecuted; the public monuments of Paris altered; the promulgation of the code of procedure; the establishment (on a new footing) of the council of state, of the university, of the bank, the liquidation of the arrears in the finances; and M. Thiers is of opinion that all this, began only in January and completed in July, 1806, stamps that year as the most memorable of his reign for the interior. “What intellect,” he exclaims, “ever conceived more numerous, vast, or profound designs, or effected them in less time? It is true we are arriving at the summit of that prodigious reign of an elevation without a parallel, and of which one may say in surveying the entire picture of human greatness, that none surpass it, even if there are any that nearly reach it.”

This year, however, was to finish in the midst of a war more distant and eventful than any yet undertaken by France. Prussia, compromised with all the powers, and betraying itself, was at last compelled to take a decisive measure. Besides the wounded vanity of the court, its government was impelled beyond their power of resistance by the feeling out of doors. That honest German people, ignorant of the duplicity of their rulers, but indignant at the demeanour of France, and the language of the

* Our turnpike tolls in England and Wales are a trifle over £1,400,000; our highways, not turnpike, cost £1,100,000 more; so that the French estimate for so much greater an extent of mileage was very frugal, labour being far cheaper.

military quartered on their frontier, were anxious to measure themselves, and reckless of the consequences. It might easily have been foreseen that Prussia entered the lists too late; she was too weak and rash to count on victory after the reverses of her neighbour. However, as at Manchester in 1848, so at Berlin and Potsdam in 1806, prevailed the utmost contempt of the enemy, and confidence in their own resources and valour. An army of 160,000 men (just the 150,000 militia, *plus* the 10,000 regular troops desired by the Duke of Wellington's letter), were ready for the contest, without any more doubt of entire success than our free-trade statesmen here had in the efficacy of that remedy against the horrors of war and the present acerbities of mankind. After having basely submitted to accept Hanover, violently torn from the dominions of George III., becoming an accessory to this felony, a receiver of stolen goods, that court had the effrontery to fancy that in the face of such acts they could recover and preserve the honour inherited from the great Frederick. "Sad spectacle," says M. Thiers, in commenting upon it, "solemn admonition! There is no such a delirium as that into which the multitude conducts the wise, or that in which courts plunge feeble kings."

Their conduct added irritation to the dictates of ambition in Napoleon, who had already arrived in the neighbourhood of the frontier when he was summoned (7th Oct.) to quit his position by the Prussian ultimatum. "What!" he exclaims, in a proclamation to the army, "are we, after all our glory, to abandon our allies, to return to our country like deserters? Soldiers, there is not one of you who will choose to re-enter France by any other road but that of honour, or except under triumphal arches." The imperial dramaturgist thoroughly understood the effect of this language upon his followers; in the composition of epilogues to the plays already acted by his soldiers on the theatre of war, of prologues to the performances for which they stood next engaged, he was unrivalled*—himself a sort of ancient chorus for the information of the European audience of the progress of the representation, of the views of the artist, of the moral lesson sought to be impressed upon mankind (breathless though not applauding), heightened with all the effect of stage decoration and scenery.

* Were we Celts instead of Anglo-Saxons, we could better understand this theatrical style, which, after all, was not more lofty than some of the addresses of O'Connell, so effective among the Milesians. M. THIER'S might retort that our harangues on the anti-slavery agitation—on the reform bill—were quite as sonorous and stilted; that our ten-pounders and pot-wallopers were quite as unconscious of the real merits of the questions that agitated them as were the grenadiers of Napoleon of the sentiments to which he appealed. Our Judaizing materialism tends to deaden all enthusiasm. When some ardent

Accordingly, the Saxon frontier was crossed by the French on the 8th of October. The Prussian forces were commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, a nephew and pupil of Frederick.

"There are," says Thiers, "some of those well-established reputations which are sometimes destined to be the ruin of empires: one cannot refuse to them the chief command—but the public, the minute after it has been conferred, perceives their insufficiency under their military glory, blames the choice it has imposed upon the State, and makes it still worse by weakening with its criticisms the moral authority of the command, without which the mere official order is nothing."

So it happened in Prussia, where this choice was freely blamed, and where, with a boldness unknown elsewhere, it seemed, oddly enough, as if liberty of thought and language were to originate in the bosom of the army. Instead of contenting themselves with defending the line of the Elbe, it was determined, on the advice of Prince Hohenlohe, the second in command, to take post far in advance, on the north-eastern slopes of the Thuringian forest, and there, their left flank covered by the Saale, they awaited the bursting of the storm. Napoleon could scarcely believe that their rashness should so well second his designs. On the 9th of April a partial action took place, in which Murat's cavalry routed that of the Prussians, at Schleitz.

"Après cela," writes Napoleon to Soult on the 10th, "quelque chose que fasse l'ennemi, s'il m'attaque j'en serai enchanté; s'il se laisse attaquer je ne le manquerai pas. . . . je désire beaucoup une bataille. . . il a une grande confiance dans ses forces, il n'y a point d'impossibilité alors qu'il m'attaque. C'est ce qu'il peut me faire de plus agréable. Après cette bataille (the issue of which appeared thus certain to the imperial writer), je serai avant lui à Dresde et à Berlin."

That same day, the 10th (Lannes') corps entirely surprised and routed at Saalfeld a division under the orders of the King's brother, Prince Louis, who fell in the conflict. Hohenlohe, meantime, at the head of one of the armies, listening to the cannon fired in that engagement, and not free from some sinister forebodings, was unable to resolve on any decisive movement, whether of offence, support, or retreat;—sauntering about on horseback, questioning all corners and goers, but giving no orders. "Sad spectacle," contemptuously remarks M. Thiers, "the sight of so much incapacity and imprudence, pitted against so much vigilance and genius."

These two combats, though the actual loss in men had not been extreme, had destroyed the self-confidence of the Prussian

spirit tries to revive it with a song of Somnault, we overwhelm him with our pitiless ridicule."

officers and men. The presumptuous Hohenlohe, too late for success, in obedience to orders from the generalissimo, recrossed the Saale on his way to unite with the main army of the monarchy. The Duke of Brunswick himself, an old and prudent warrior, sharing in the general apprehension which had replaced the previous presumption, fearing the fate of Mack if the French should separate him from the line of the Elbe, commenced a retreat towards Magdeburgh on its banks. Hohenlohe, with 50,000 men, was to occupy the slopes about Jena, and cover the Saale and the line of retreat. Both were too late. Eighteen or twenty miles a day, encumbered with baggage, a court, councillors, civilians, was all they pretended to accomplish in presence of a French army, accustomed to traverse twice that distance when they had an object to gain. The great master whose voice it obeyed had so arranged his several corps under their respective marshals over an advancing front of 30 miles, that he had the faculty of amassing and concentrating, within a few hours, 100,000 men upon any point where there was either a resistance to be threatened or a blow to be struck. So about noon on the 13th of October he arrived in front of Jena. Lannes was there already; the two immediately mounted on horseback to reconnoitre. Some important heights were gained by the French sharpshooters after a brisk struggle at Landsgraffenberg, but a passage had to be cut by the sappers for the artillery. Napoleon himself, till far into the night, surveyed and assisted at the work, which was carried on by torch-light, and then bivouacked in the centre of his guard.

M. Thiers tells us, that the peasantry have since marked by a huge heap of stones the place "où ce personnage, populaire partout, même dans les lieux où il ne s'est montré que terrible, passa cette nuit mémorable," reminding us of the exploits unfolded in their own national tales of the Niebelungen, or the dark traditions recorded of the resting-places of the Evil One.

The French soldiers were forbidden to make fires, and their numbers and the extent of their position were unknown to Hohenlohe, who, confident that their main effort was directed eastward against Dresden, thought he had in his front only the corps of Augereau and Lannes, whose temerity he felt he could chastise if they molested him. The Duke of Brunswick meantime, having reiterated orders to him to undertake nothing serious, he renounced all attempts to retake Landsgraffenberg, which Napoleon had snatched from him—becoming thus the most dutiful of lieutenants at the worst moment—for it was from this very issue, which he would hazard no assault to recover, that he was to receive the disastrous blow of the 14th.

The emperor, alert on that day before the dawn, was received with cheers, which, though nothing could be seen through the fog, first told the Prussians that the giant was at hand. Their courage and patriotism were of no avail against the ability and well-tryed discipline of the French under such a leader. Long before the close of the day the rout was complete; 200 pieces of cannon and 15,000 prisoners being left in the hands of the invaders. General Ruel, one of the great partizans of the war, "the unwise but ardent lover of his country," who with a separate division of 20,000 men had been anxiously and for many hours expected, arrived too late to stay the rout, meeting with nothing but a race of fugitives, and slain himself almost directly he reached the field. The French cavalry galloping to Weimar swept everything before them; and on the same day Davoust at Auerstadt, though shabbily deserted by Bernadotte, fought, and with his single corps triumphed over the royal army under the Duke of Brunswick and the King. The latter, dispirited by defeat, was retreating upon Hohenlohe's army, which he still believed to be entire. Hohenlohe on his side hoped to rally his disbanded troops on those of Brunswick—the revelation of the double disaster drove every one, king, court, generals, officers, and men to desperation and flight. Even the victor could scarcely believe the extent of the triumph. "Votre maréchal y voit double," was his reply to the aide-du-camp who brought him word that Davoust had with 26,000 men triumphed over 70,000 (in allusion to that celebrated officer's notoriously defective vision); but when the brilliant deed was absolutely proved, his satisfaction was made known; the expression of it in the hospitals by Duroc to the wounded soldiers called forth the most enthusiastic cheers from these desperate patients, who, intoxicated with the glory they had won, declared they were only anxious to be restored to life to risk it again in the service of such a leader. On the morrow Napoleon took steps to profit by his victory with an activity unequalled by any other commander. After carefully concentrating before the action, he spread himself out like a net to envelope everything that was flying. Murat and Ney hurried next day to Erfurt. Their menaces compelled that place with 9,000 men to surrender. Of the fortresses (which, if properly provisioned and defended, might have prolonged the existence of the monarchy), Spandau was given up on the 25th; the folly of the government had not even mounted the guns, of which there were a sufficient quantity in the place. Berlin, full of munitions and stores, fell without a blow. Stettin, a fortified city, with a garrison of 6,000 men, capitulated to a force of light cavalry, mere chasseurs and hussars,

a new and strange occurrence in war. In one calendar month from his entry across the Saxon frontier, by the capitulation of Hohenlohe with his remnant of 16,000 men, on the 28th; of Blucher, with 14,000 more, on the 7th November; of Kleist, at Magdeburg, on the 8th, with 22,000; the Prussian monarchy was annihilated; and "the king of a great nation, the second successor of the great Frederick, saw himself without dominions or soldiers." 100,000 men, says Thiers, were prisoners at once; 25,000 had been killed or wounded; and of the remaining 35,000, not one had crossed the Oder, all had disbanded, and fled across the fields to their respective homes.

Napoleon at Potsdam went to visit the tomb of the great king—the philosopher of Sans Souci, as M. Thiers remarks he was justly entitled to be called;

"For he sustained with sarcastic indifference the weight alike of the sceptre and the sword; one might have said, indeed, that while ridiculing the neighbouring courts he did not spare even his own people, had he not taken such pains to govern them well. But how strange is the concatenation which links, separates, mixes, and confounds men and things in this world! Frederick and Napoleon met here in a strange fashion. That philosophical king, who, from the height of his throne, had unwittingly made himself one of the promoters of the French revolution, now, laid low in his coffin, received the visit of that general of the revolution, become emperor, conqueror of Berlin and Potsdam. The victor of Jena paying his respects to the winner of Rosbach. Unhappily these returns of fortune were not her last."

The sword of Frederick was sent to the Invalides. M. Thiers says, in the respect which was paid to the spoil of this great hero, there was nothing that should offend the susceptibility of the Prussian nation. We think an inscription from the victor upon the trophy itself, denoting its inviolability in his eyes, would have been more generous and becoming. Cæsar would not even resume possession of his own sword taken from him in a battle with the Averni, but hung up in one of their temples; years afterwards, when it was shown to him, he refused to permit his friends to remove it, "looking on it," says Plutarch, "as a thing consecrated."

A remarkable want of discipline had, among other causes, prevented the Prussian troops from rallying or resisting,—that demoralization, the fatal consequence of sudden disasters, of the overthrow of a great kingdom, had begun to extend itself among the pursuers—enveloping both the victor and the vanquished. "We had gained the very perfection of war upon a great scale, and we had already arrived at the limit where it becomes an immense

confusion." For in the imperial army, the intoxication of triumph, the love and habit of plunder produced its effects: as even in our own, the conquerors after Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo were insupportable to their allies and their officers; how much more so the French, where the discipline was always more relaxed, and the distinction between officers and men so much less rigorously preserved than with us.

"That 160,000 Frenchmen, trained to military perfection by 15 years of war, should have overcome 160,000 Prussians enervated by a long peace, is no great miracle to be sure;" but what M. Thiers observes as justly wonderful is, "that the oblique march of the French army should have been so combined that the Prussians, constantly outflanked and overtaken during a retreat of 200 leagues, should only arrive at the river Oder the very day when that river was occupied by the hostile forces, and by them captured to the very last man." Well, indeed, might he say, that "after Jena the whole continent seemed to have escheated to the French army. The soldiers of the great Frederick had been the last resource of envy, when they were destroyed there remained to envy only that other resource which, alas! never fails her,—that is to foretell the errors that would be committed by a genius henceforth become irresistible: for it is unfortunately true that genius, after having driven envy to despair by its successes, undertakes itself to console her by its faults."

So indeed it seemed as other and vaster designs began to unfold themselves. The Russians, though not at hand, or in time to save their ally, were nevertheless approaching. Napoleon determined to advance into Poland—partly owing to his preference for offensive war—but as much perhaps from views, though not very definite, of the independence of Poland itself, that is, its erection into a vassal kingdom of his empire. The population of Warsaw was full of hope and excitement on the entry within the city, for the first time, of a French army (a French prince had reigned there for a few months 232 years before), and thither Napoleon himself repaired about Christmas, 1806. Here, however, the unusually mild season, in that generally rigorous climate, paralyzed his operations for some weeks: alternate frosts and thaws, the former very slight, had converted the marshy plains of the Vistula, the Narw, and the Bug, into impassable bogs engulfing men and horses. Emboldened by the knowledge of his difficulties, the 80,000 Russians under Benningsen, accustomed to the hardships of their northern region, began to disquiet his cantonments. The season at the end of January had become more severe, the country covered with snow, and the ground hard, permitting the French to move. The first days in February were spent in manœuvres and partial combats, but the 8th

showed the Russians resolutely posted at Eylau, awaiting battle with dogged obstinacy. Napoleon, placing himself at the foot of some trees in the churchyard of Eylau, directed from thence the operations. A tremendous fire of artillery, opened at half-cannon-shot distance by the Russians with overwhelming numbers, and replied to by the French with greater skill and effect, raged for some hours in a landscape rendered lurid from the mixture of the flames and snow. The non-arrival of the corps which was to attack the left rear of the Russians kept Napoleon otherwise inactive; but on its appearance with Davoust, he assumed the offensive, and sent Augereau with the 7th corps against the enemy's centre. The latter, sick of a fever, his eyes red and swollen, but regardless of bodily suffering, fell wounded after witnessing the almost complete destruction of his corps under the tempest of the Russian artillery. The historian exhibits to us a striking picture of this memorable scene—the marshal borne wounded as he was into the churchyard, and there laid down at the feet of Napoleon, to whom he complained, not without bitterness, of not having been supported in time. “A stern sadness prevailed in the countenances of the imperial staff. The emperor himself, graver than usual, but calm and firm, imposing upon those around the same impassibility he observed himself, addressed a few words of comfort to Augereau before ordering him to be conveyed for safety to the rear.” All this in the churchyard, piled with the corpses of the officers and men who had fallen, in an awful snow-storm, a leaden sky fitfully lit up by the glare of the conflagration. Murat, however, and the French cavalry got him out of that scrape, just as that same arm, led by Kellerman, had done in a similar predicament at Marengo. “The time,” says Thiers, “of our defeats was not yet come, and Fortune, rigorous at a later period for this extraordinary man, still treated him as her favorite.” Ney, too, who had been at a great distance from the scene of action in the morning—Ney, whose privilege it was always to save the French army in these Russian conflicts, appeared on the left in the evening in time to decide the enemy on retreating at once. But the slaughter among the victors, even by M. Thiers' own account, was appalling. Nearly 10,000 French he admits to have fallen; while the loss of the Russians was almost treble: yet on the 9th Napoleon was again in pursuit, and even threatened Königsberg. The rigour of the climate, however, protected the Russian armies from his enterprize, and difficulties of subsistence suggesting to him the inconvenience of occupying a position so much in advance of his resources, he commenced on the 17th a retrograde movement, having previously sent back 6000 wounded men in

sledges, 150 miles towards the rear: he himself took up his quarters at the hamlet of Osterode, at an equal distance from Dantzic, which Lefebre besieged, and Königsberg, the Russian head quarters.

Here he attended to the discipline and commissariat of his army, continued his diplomatic correspondence, controlled France, and watched all Europe; embracing every variety of project, from the refounding of a kingdom (Poland), down to the corresponding with a secret police 1000 miles off; projecting the further subjugation of a neighbouring empire for the spring, yet fostering art and science in his own with the enthusiasm and feeling of a patron of taste, and a vigilance equal to that of one of his own police officers: worried by intrigues and complaints among the members of his family, and yet amid all his greater cares condescending to correct their distant follies with his authoritative admonition. To King Joseph, who grumbled about the hardships* undergone by the army in Naples, he writes, (March 1st, 1807),

* "The officers on my staff have not undressed for two months—some not for four. I have been a fortnight without drawing off my boots. We are in the midst of mud and snow, without wine, brandy, or bread—feeding on potatoes and meat; making long marches and counter-marches without any sort of comforts; fighting, generally

"However, there is no doubt that some of the troops alluded to by Joseph did suffer, though in a different way from the army under his brother. The celebrated Paul Louis Courier, then a major of horse artillery, has left a somewhat ludicrous account of his own personal adventures, as well as the general character of the difficulties they encountered, in letters written from the scenes themselves. "J'ai reçu, mon général, la chemise dont vous me faites présent; Dieu vous le rende, mon général, en ce monde et en dans l'autre. Jamais charité ne fut mieux placée que celle-là . . . Il n'y avait que vous, mon général, capable de cette bonne œuvre dans toute l'armée; car outre que mes camarades sont pour la plupart aussi mal équipés que moi, il passe aujourd'hui pour constant que je ne puis rien garder, l'expérience ayant confirmé que tout ce que l'on me donne va aux brigands en droiture. Quand j'échappai nu de Coregliano, St. Vincent me vêtit, et m'emplit une valise de beaux et bons effets qui me furent pris 8 jours après sur les hauteurs de Nicastro. Le Général Verdier et son état-major me firent une autre parottile que je ne portai pas plus loin que la Mantea, où je fus dépouillé pour la 4^eme fois. On s'est donc lassé de m'habiller et de me faire l'aumône et on croit généralement que mon destin est de mourir nu comme je suis venu au monde. Nuleto, 10 Sept. 1806."

The Calabrian brigands. . . "ils nous échappent aisément, non pas nous à eux. Ceux que nous attrapons, nous les pendons aux arbres; quand ils nous prennent, ils nous brûlent le plus doucement qu'ils peuvent. Moi qui vous parle, Monsieur, je suis tombé entre leurs mains; pour m'en tirer il a fallu plusieurs miracles. J'assistai à une délibération où il s'agissait de savoir si je serais pendu brûlé ou fusillé. Je fus même admis à opiner. C'est un récit dont je pourrai vous divertir quelque jour."

with bayonets, and under a fire of grape-shot It is absurd of you, then, to compare the places where we are with that beautiful country of Naples, where one meets with wine, bread, clean sheets, and society, even women. After having destroyed the Prussian monarchy, we are fighting against the Calmucks and Cossacks, the wild hordes of the North, who of old over-ran the Roman empire; we are making war in its utmost energy and horror."

He had, too, in spite of his victory and of his obstinate maintenance of his position at the gates of Russia, to counteract from thence all the false reports industriously circulated at Berlin, Vienna, and even Paris. The latter most disquieted him: stories were current of the immense losses sustained. "But what are 2,000 or 3,000 men slain in action?" he asks in a letter to Fouché.—"When I lead back my army to the Rhine, it will be found that very few are absent from the roll-call." We before alluded to the want of discipline: it seems that while Eylau was fought, 60,000 men were wanting from the ranks, of which only half were in hospital. "Les autres étaient en maraude,"—plundering three times more food than they used—30,000 vagabonds living at discretion upon the peasantry,—"*les uns vrais lâches, dont une armée, même héroïque, a toujours une certaine quantité dans les rangs; les autres fort braves, au contraire, mais pillards par nature, aimant la liberté et le désordre, et prêts à revenir au corps dès qu'ils apprenaient la reprise des opérations.*" The dealing with this monstrous evil did not monopolise his energy. Nothing was too minute for his searching curiosity, for a suspicious habit, as his admirer observes satirically, "*ne peut manquer d'arriver chez un maître absolu et nouveau.*"

He had learned that Madame de Stael had returned to Paris—that she had already, in more than one circle, made him the subject of a course of conversational hostilities. So he determined to have her removed; and as Fouché, though ordered, was not to be entirely trusted for so delicate an operation, he desires Cambacères will have an eye upon Fouché, so that his wishes in that respect might be fully complied with. Meantime, some poetry and music had been composed in his honour; but the fastidious ruler, albeit without leisure to undress for a fortnight, found time and inclination to criticize the productions, and to order (such is the power of arms over the muses) the composition of others less fulsome, to receive them from Paris, to read them, thank and reward their authors.

"Such," says the author, "in the midst of the snows of Poland, were the occupations of that extraordinary genius—embracing everything, watching over everything, aiming at governing not only his soldiers and agents but even mind itself; wishing not only to act but to think

for all the world—inclined mostly to do good, but sometimes, in his incessant activity, seduced into doing harm (!), as is sure to happen to whomsoever is all-powerful, and finds no obstacle to his own impulses. . . . Sensitive, in the midst of an immense glory, to the puncture of a hostile tongue, and descending to persecute a woman for it on the very day when he could take the part of a member of the convention against a monarchical reaction. . . . Let us rejoice, then, that we are become subjects of the law,—of that law which is equal for all of us, and does not expose us to dependence on the good or bad will of one man, be he even the greatest and most generous! Yes, the law is better than the will of any human being! But let us be just to that will which accomplished such prodigious things,—which accomplished them by our hands,—which employed its fruitful energy in re-organising French society, in re-forming Europe, in spreading throughout the world our power and our principles,—and which, if it be not left us, that power which passes away, has bequeathed to us that glory which remains—*and our glory may sometimes bring back to us our power.*”

Our space forbids us to dwell further on the preparations or the events of the rest of the campaign of 1807. All the resources of the Russian empire, even savages armed with bows and arrows, to the no small surprise and amusement of the French soldiers, came to take part in the struggle; the very rear-guard of autocratic barbarism pitted against the “*saintes bayonettes*” of revolutionizing civilization, to be annihilated at Friedland. Then followed the treaty of Tilsit. Specious as that appeared, M. Thiers is no admirer of the political results, or of the new alliance there established between France and Russia. Alliance in point of fact it was none, beyond a mere compact that neither power should interfere with the designs of aggrandisement of the other within certain limits previously parcelled out. So far it met the views of two ambitious potentates, who were otherwise objects of jealousy to each other. But neither country gained anything by the alliance between states too distant to have in common any interests or points of mutual contact, still less could it be hoped that such treaties could ensure mutual aid against an enemy of either. M. Thiers however shows that Napoleon had early and constantly felt the necessity of some sure ally upon the continent. Spain, the usual *fidus Achates* of France under the Bourbon race, had been sacrificed at Trafalgar, and was, though humble and subservient, in the last stage of impotence and decline. Prussia had been fickle; Austria implacable. M. Thiers, however, thinks that his wisest policy would have been to have restored Prussia, nay, even to have increased her territory, using her as a barrier against Russia, and a check upon Austria. Such no doubt would have been the more generous course; but after having been defeated and brought down, would she ever have

forgiven the conqueror who resuscitated her, or have owed to him her existence without harbouring notions of revenge? We doubt it. But certainly it would have added more to the lustre of Napoleon to have forborne from dismembering the prostrate captive, and might even have conspired to suggest milder terms to his enemies in the days of his own reverses.

Listening only to mere selfish ambition, the conqueror disregarded the feelings of the people he had subdued, and thus ensured that rising of all nations which a few years later hurled him from his throne.

“When, regardless of the limit of the Rhine, he mixed Gauls and Germans, and placed French princes in command of the Teutonic race; when his soldiers (after Jena) saluted him as Emperor of the West; he necessarily inspired an alarm of universal monarchy, a phantom which Europe dreads and detests, which she has combated, and which she will do well to oppose without ceasing; *but which she may have to undergo some day at the hands of the people of the North, after refusing to submit to the exercise of it by those of the West.*”

For ourselves, while agreeing with some of the conclusions drawn by M. Thiers, we must profess our inability to understand the *limite du Rhin*, which he, and a large and favourite school of politicians (only in France), consider to be their natural boundary—geographically no doubt a very convenient one—but ethnologically there is no reason why the Teutonic race inhabiting the left bank, a race dissimilar in their language, habits, social economy, and traditions, should be violently and without their own consent converted into Frenchmen, forced to forget their own tongue, to be judged, taxed, and governed by strangers, speaking a language as foreign to their own as was that of our Norman invaders to the native Anglo-Saxons here. Out of a population of 34,000,000, Alsace and Lorraine already contain 1,400,000 Germans;—by the proposal which M. Thiers considers so modest and reasonable she would render tributary 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 more.*

The summary with which the 7th volume concludes is a piece of brilliant cloquence.

* Population on the left bank of the Rhine, and which would become French were the river the boundary:—

Prussia	..	{	Dusseldorf	..	..	..	377,350
			Cologne	..	..	..	1,504,488
			Oldenburg	..	..	..	20,000
Bavaria	..	..	Circle of the Rhine	..	..	..	595,192
Hesse Darmstadt	..	..	Rhenish Hesse Mayence	..	..	..	218,076
Holland	..	..	Grand Duchy of Luxemburg	..	..	..	500,000
Belgium	..	..	Part of Luxemburg	..	..	..	4,000

— 3,219,106

“ If, in our opinion, all that was transacted at Tilsit was, notwithstanding its brilliancy, open to grave criticism, everything, on the other hand, is admirable in the conduct of the military operations. That army, which, transported from the straits of Dover to the sources of the Danube with incredible rapidity, surrounded the Austrians at Ulm, trampled back the Russians at Vienna, and finished by crushing them both at Austerlitz; after a few months’ repose in Franconia resuming its victorious march, entered Saxony, surprised the Prussian army in its retreat, broke it in pieces at a single blow at Jena—followed it without respite—outflanked it—overtook it, and captured it to the very last man on the shores of the Baltic. That army, which then, turning from the north towards the east, hastened to encounter the Russians, drove them back upon the Pregel, and only halting because impassable mire restrained it, afforded the unprecedented sight of a French army quietly encamped on the banks of the Vistula; then, disturbed on a sudden in its winter quarters, went forth to punish the Russians, overtook them at Eylau, and there fought with them, though dying of hunger and cold, a sanguinary battle—returned after the conflict to its quarters, and then again encamped on the snow, but in such a way that its very repose covered the operations of a great siege (Dantzic), fed and recruited during a long winter, and at distances at which all administration and commissariat break down, resumed its arms in the spring—and this time, nature seconding genius, placed itself between the Russians and their base of operations, forced them, in order to re-open their way to Konigsberg, to pass a river in its front—thrust them into it at Friedland—and thus terminated by an immortal victory on the very banks of the Niemen, an expedition the longest and most daring, not across defenceless Persia or India like the army of Alexander, but across Europe, covered by soldiers as disciplined as they were brave! That is quite unparalleled in the history of ages—that is worthy of the everlasting admiration of men—that is what unites all the requisite qualities—promptitude and circumspection—daring and prudence—the art of battles and that of marching—the genius for war, and that

	Brought forward	..	..	..	..	3,219,106
Belgium	..	{	East and West Flanders	..	..	1,200,000
			Antwerp	..	..	327,000
			Lunberg and Brabant	..	..	500,000
					<u>2,027,000</u>	
	France contains already—				5,246,106	
Alsace	..	..	Haut Rhin	..	..	535,000
			Bas Rhin	..	..	409,000
			Vosges	..	..	427,894
					<u>1,371,894</u>	
In all she would have	..	..	..	..	<u>6,618,000</u>	
And Switzerland?						

of administration—and these things so different, so rarely united, always at command, always at the right moment for ensuring success. Every one will ask how was it possible to display so much prudence in war, and so little in diplomatic policy? And the reply is easy—Napoleon conducted his wars with his genius—his policy with his passions.”

Highly as we think, in many respects, of this work, it is, after all, a reflection of the political character of its author—showy, ambitious, fluctuating, full of a lucid philosophy of observation, advocating moderation only because taught by stern experience that mankind always end by revolting from the extreme abuse of power—but this is its highest aim: the pervading principle is one of expediency alone—the loftier one of morality, the doing as doing as you would be done by, seems not to enter into the imagination of the historian as a rule of action for the prince or politician. England has amassed riches—England possesses colonies—elements of influence and power—objects of jealousy. France must possess them too. She has not within her the commercial and colonial faculties—she tries to procure those things ready made—to obtain them by force, by violence, which is fatal to her aspirations. The mere circumstance of her rival being in possession of an Indian empire is gravely put forward by M. Thiers as a reason, in sound policy and justice, for the expedition to Egypt. Because certain millions of Hindoos acknowledge the sway that has been gradually extended over them in Asia, are there protected in their lives, families, religion, and possessions—certain other millions of men, a thousand miles removed from the former, are to be transferred from rulers of their own creed, habits, and blood, to the fostering care of a French army of occupation—the horrors of Mount Atlas are to be repeated along the banks of the Nile. We have already attended to the Rhine, and the desperate covetousness of France for appropriating to herself the 6,000,000 of men of German blood that are to be found on its left bank; an instance of utter contempt for national feelings unbecoming the advocate of the revolution, and the eloquent pleader for the rights of the millions *versus* the domination of the units. The violence done to other men's feelings, whether by a despot who has inherited his power from his forefathers, or by a strange prefect or police officer imposed upon them by force of arms yesterday, is equally culpable, nay, of the two it is more revolting in the revolutionary emissary, since he is false to the principle he professes, an unbeliever in the creed he persecutes others for rejecting. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the first French revolution itself has been visited with some of the severest though indirect

strictures by the hand of its professed admirer; that its earlier and more legitimate objects are shown to have gradually but unavoidably led to violences and excesses, subjecting, by the tyrannical re-action which they inspired, the heroes of a temporary liberty to live for years the servants of a despotism as rigorous and more exacting than that of any of the Bourbon kings, but with this distinction for the worse, that the political organization, the whole internal frame-work of society, was annihilated. The extraordinary man who, in this writer's opinion, had carried her to the zenith of her glory near the point where his history pauses, astonishing the world by his daring, mystifying his cotemporaries by his personal ascendancy, but aware that his power rested mainly on his successful and continued appeals to the vanity of his countrymen,—adopted as a principle the furtherance of revolutionary principles which he hated, among strong neighbouring nations which it was his policy to weaken; in order that by ruining existing institutions, and loosening those ties which bound their inhabitants to each other, their station, and their country, they might be incapacitated from resistance to his own. During those years France performed prodigies of valour, and acquired a deathless name in every country into which she had intruded her arms; but, on the other hand, she governed without inspiring confidence, and she fell without a single expression of sympathy from the rest of Europe.

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ART. VI.—*First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry for the Improvement of the Health of the Metropolis.* 1848.

THE questionable policy of excepting the metropolis from the provisions of the Public Health Bill has not had the effect, which was hoped for by government, of diminishing the hostility of interested parties to the most important measure of administrative improvement submitted to Parliament during the present session. In this, as in all cases of proposed reforms, which should be effected with promptitude and decision the moment they are seen to be required, postponement only affords time to those who profit by abuses to organize an opposition, and perhaps to render it effective, by the usual arts of private influence and misrepresentation.

The Corporation of London has taken the lead among the local boards of the metropolis, in exciting the jealousy of the

public against the Bill, which it calls an infringement of the "Saxon" institutions of the country, and an attempt to supersede local government by centralization. But although dust has thus been thrown into the eyes of some well-meaning and not otherwise very clear-sighted persons, the mischief effected has not been quite to the extent anticipated. The public have gradually acquired a conviction that the London Corporation, as a specimen of a Saxon institution (if Saxon it be), is not exactly one of which the country has any reason to be proud; and that a little "centralization," or something else that would enforce the reforms which the majority of the Court of Common Council have successfully resisted during the last thirteen years, would not be an unendurable grievance. We need, therefore, hardly do more than explain that the object of the Public Health Bill is not to curtail or limit existing municipal rights, but to extend them. The Bill invests about 300 towns with powers for sanitary objects which they have never before enjoyed, and it guards against the abuse of those powers by giving the rate-payers a power, in certain cases, of appeal to a central board. The Bill, with every other comprehensive enactment that we have yet seen, has its defects of detail, which will hereafter require amendment, and may for the present afford a handle to its opponents, but these detract but little from the general excellence of the principle now for the first time sought to be carried out.

The opposition raised by the local boards of London to the Bill is, of course, only the precursor of a more determined resistance on their part to any measure that may hereafter apply to their own case, a resistance which the parliamentary influence of the London Corporation has often rendered effectual in defeating or marring other schemes of administrative improvement, when of a kind to interfere in the remotest degree with corporate privileges or city government. It may be useful, therefore, to put metropolitan constituencies upon their guard; and, with this view, we will at once address ourselves to the question of *whether the City of London should be excepted from the provisions of any Sanitary Bill intended for the benefit of the whole metropolis?*

The answer to this question is not at all dependant upon any proof of city mal-administration. We will discuss it first upon the assumption (an extreme one certainly) that the city really enjoys a representative constitution worthy of the name, and that its local government is efficiently and economically conducted.

Into what are we inquiring? Into the means, principally, of obtaining the best and cheapest sewage and surface drainage for the metropolis; observe, not for the City separately, and other parts of the metropolis separately, as if the City were as

distinct from Finsbury, or the Tower Hamlets, as Birmingham is distinct from Manchester and Liverpool; but into the means of obtaining the best drainage for every street, ward, and parish of London, as parts of one connected whole.

The mystification continually practised by the Corporation, by which they deceive others, and are perhaps themselves deceived, is that of speaking of the City of London as if all London were embraced in the City. Let us note that, on the contrary, the City is a mere fraction of London; its population comprises only 1-15th section of the population of the metropolis at large; and the area of the 110 City parishes occupies less than half the area of the one parish of Marylebone! It follows, that even if the drainage of the city were, for its own interests, best left in the hands of the Corporation, such an exclusive jurisdiction might not be the best for the outlying districts, to be drained by means of the same communications with the river as the city. The Fleet ditch, for instance, which runs through the City from Pentonville, drains an area of 4,400 acres, while the whole area of the City is but 600 acres; so that the inhabitants of the north of London are really much more interested in this one important outfall than the members of the Corporation, or the freemen householders they represent.

We have here, in a short compass, the argument upon which we have to join issue. The Corporation say to the inhabitants of the north of London, the City lies between you and the river, and you shall only be drained with our leave. Whenever you want a new sewer to run through the City for the better discharge of your surface waters, you shall consult us on the subject; and in the mean time, without consulting you, or thinking of your interest at all in the matter, we shall construct our sewers of what form we please, of what capacity we please, and place them at what levels we please!

Should the Corporation enjoy this obstructive power? Is it wise, and for the common interest, that in any part of the Metropolis independent drainage Commissions should exist, acting without concert, and upon different plans?—or is greater efficiency and economy to be secured by unity of system?

The reader, without being very profoundly versed in civil engineering, may easily resolve the problem for himself. Let him ascend to the top of St. Paul's and look round five miles in every direction. He has the district before him. To the south, are the Surrey hills; to the north, the hills of Highgate and Hampstead; between these, the river and the marsh lands of Southwark, Lambeth, lower Westminster, and the Tower

Hamlets. He will see at a glance that the insalubrity of the houses built upon the marsh lands (as yet but partially recovered), arises in great part from the extent of surface water which drains into them from the uplands, and then stagnates. To cure this evil, it will hardly be necessary to point out to him, that the upland water requires, in many cases, to be intercepted, and directed to the river by other channels than those which it at present finds; and that in every case the capacity and position of the main sewers running into the river must depend upon the quantity of water intended to flow into them from the higher levels; perhaps three or five miles distant.

Suppose, for example, the drainage of Islington to require an additional outfall. The dimensions of any new sewer to be constructed for this purpose, to run, perhaps, through Aldersgate-street, must of course be governed by the number of the Islington drains with which it would be connected, and of which the London Corporation has no cognizance. Ought then the jurisdiction of the Corporation to extend to Islington, or the drainage of Islington to depend upon the pleasure of the Corporation? And as the Corporation sometimes pleads its liberality, and indisposition to create impediments to public improvements of any kind, there is still another question. Is it right the Corporation should have the power, for the sake only of maintaining its present patronage, of throwing *upon the owners of City property* the whole expense of the outfalls required for the surrounding districts?

This is the right claimed; the right, first, to make sewers without any reference to the drainage of the outlying districts which may require to use the same communications with the river; the right, secondly, to preserve City patronage at the expense of the City, when, without it, a great saving of expenditure might be effected.

In the storm of 1846, the largest of the city sewers, the Fleet ditch, from the accumulated obstructions occasioned by a sluggish stream, proved inadequate to the discharge of the water which poured into it from a thousand channels. Parts of the sewer were burst open, and Field-lane was flooded. The whole expense of repairs and reconstruction fell upon the city. But as the cause of the damage was not the rain which fell in Farringdon-street, or Bridge-street, Blackfriars, but the torrents rushing down from Pentonville, and Gray's-inn-lane-road, it is clear that the cost of the repairs should have been defrayed, not by the city exclusively, but by the whole district benefited by the same drainage. In the

plan proposed, the cost of maintaining the outfalls of the main sewers (the most extensive part of works of this class) would be spread over the whole of the metropolitan district.

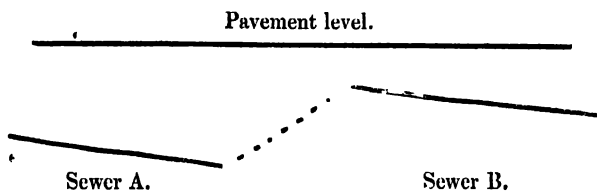
We have said enough to show the indispensable necessity of unity of system. For different districts in different parts of the country, different plans of drainage may be adopted; but the metropolis is *one* district, and the whole of its upper and lower levels must be drained upon one plan, or they cannot be drained effectually or without a great waste of means. When the fens of Lincolnshire were drained, nobody proposed to divide the work among the different parishes of Lincolnshire, leaving each parish to set about it in its own way; and yet this is what we were lately doing in the case of the metropolis. We divided it among seven independent boards, or trusts,* acting without concert, and under the direction of different surveyors; each surveyor repudiating the plans of the surveyors of other boards; and the whole of the plans therefore wrong, because having no mutual adaptation to the common object.

In every case of proposed drainage for a large district, four things have to be considered. 1.—The best *lines of direction* for the main channels to be formed, and this must depend upon the flat, hilly, or undulating character of the whole surface. 2.—*Capacity*, in reference to the quantity of water a sewer may be required to discharge; and this must depend upon how much or how little water is to flow into it from surrounding districts.

* The 'Civil Engineer,' of February, 1843, describing these different boards, and their operation, says,—

"What is wanted is an examination into all the metropolitan commissions, to see whether they cannot be advantageously consolidated into one body. We have now on the northern side of the river Thames, the City, the Westminster, the Holborn and Finsbury, the Regent-street, the Tower Hamlets, and the Stebon Heath Commissions. Here we have six different commissions, which would require months to obtain, even supposing it possible that they should all agree. We have, running right through the very centre of the Westminster sewage, a sewer of a large class, and at considerable depth, constructed about twenty-five to thirty years since, belonging to the Crown, and capable of draining an immense district, yet this sewer cannot be touched by the Westminster Commissioners. Then again we have, as Mr Donaldson tells us in his report, the Westminster sewers, running from the Thames up Tottenham-court road, to the New road, then the Holborn and Finsbury sewage commences, and after the sewer passes through the latter district, it comes to the county drainage, so that any improvement in the drainage of the uplands of the county could not be made without, first, the Westminster Commissioners constructing a new sewer, or lowering an old one, then the Holborn and Finsbury doing the same. So, also, if either commission wished to divert the upland waters, by constructing catch-water drains, so as to prevent too great a flow down any particular district, and prevent the lower parts of the metropolis from being inundated, it cannot be done, and the consequence is that each commission is obliged to cut about and alter the old sewers, to get rid of the evil in the best way they can."—*Civil Engineer for February, 1843.*

3.—*Levels*, in reference not only to a general fall towards a river, or the sea, but also to the depth at the points of junction of the branch sewers which may ultimately have to be constructed. This having hitherto been very generally neglected,—each board thinking only of its own immediate district,—many of our main sewers can now only be connected with the lateral drain perhaps of an adjoining street, by being made to run up hill, as in the following diagram :—



4.—*Form of Sewer*, in reference both to economy and efficiency as adapted to the flow of water and facilities of junction. A sewer with square sides cannot well be joined on to a circular sewer of the same capacity, and, as all forms cannot be equally advantageous, some experiments should surely have been made, before the days of the Sanitary Commission, to ascertain what forms combine the desired requisities at the least cost.

The diagrams given in the published reports of the Health of Towns Commissioners show the various opinions which prevailed among the old Commissions upon this part of an important practical question, and carry with them a sufficient explanation of the reason why an expenditure exceeding £100,000 per annum should have been incurred upon the sewers of the metropolis, without any result fairly commensurate with the outlay. Think of a million sterling having been actually expended every ten years upon the drainage of the metropolis, and the most important part of the work, the drainage of the bye-streets and the courts and alleys in which the poor reside, having yet (comparatively speaking) to be commenced!

Yet how could it be otherwise upon the system which has prevailed? A system which has suffered the metropolis to be governed, in respect to its drainage, upon the principle of a Saxon Heptarchy—(and this is really all that remains of Saxon about our metropolitan institutions),—petty rival jurisdictions, never acting in concert, pulling different ways for different objects, and eternally quarrelling about their right to a stream or a parish boundary. We have seen each Board of Sewage Commissioners working separately in the dark towards an end which could only

be effectually promoted by intelligence and combined action; and the result only a continual doing and undoing; repairing and destroying; improving some neighbourhoods and rendering others worse than before; with sewers converted into elongated cess-pools; the reservoirs of pestiferous gases escaping to poison the atmosphere; sewers needlessly large where they are required to be small, and small where they are required to be large; and streets burst open and repaired after a storm, to be again burst open and repaired on its recurrence.

It is not at all necessary we should prove that in any of these respects the inhabitants of the City are in a worse state than their neighbours. The sanitary state of the City might be much more satisfactory than it is admitted to be by the Bill which the Corporation are now promoting for its improvement, and yet our argument would not be affected. When the state of Field-lane was mentioned on a recent occasion, it was thought to be a sufficient answer to say that parts of it were not in the City, although bordering upon it. The answer betrayed an ignorance of the subject in discussion, for it is districts like Field-lane which border upon the City, and can only be drained by sewers which must run through the City, which constitute the whole of the difficulty. Is it well that Field-lane and Farringdon-street should be in the hands of two rival Boards at open war with each other? If the City stood by itself on a hill the difficulty would not arise. It might then be admitted that the City alone should attend to the drainage of the City; but as part of a metropolis fifteen times greater than itself, is there, or is there not, an inconvenience in this divided jurisdiction?

With regard to the health of the City, in its present state, we may observe, that the testimony furnished by Mr. Anderton and the late Dr. Lynch, and recently confirmed by Lord Ashley,* to

* An appeal having been made to Lord Ashley by the Secretary of the Health of Towns Association, for his Lordship's opinion of the correctness of the statements made by Mr. Tyrrell of the health of the City, the following was the reply:—

“*May 2nd, 1848.*”

“**SIR.**—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, in reply to a communication made to me by the City Remembrancer.

“You appeal to me for any opinion that I can give in respect of the health, cleanliness, effective drainage, and supply of water, in certain parts of the City of London.

“My answer to this appeal need not be long. I entirely concur in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Anderton at a public meeting held in behalf of the widow and children of Dr. Lynch, and am fully convinced that no one of those who gainsay the statements of the advocates of sanitary reform, has ever himself inspected those filthy and unwholesome localities.

“I have perambulated not a few of them in company with a medical gentleman, and I must unhesitatingly offer my emphatic and deliberate testimony, that the language

the impurities permitted, has not been exceeded by the evidence supplied of the neglect of sanitary precautions in any other part of the metropolis; and in no other part of London can there be found an equal number of markets, slaughter-houses, and burial-grounds in crowded localities.

The City Solicitor has quoted a return of the Registrar-General, showing, that while the deaths in England are 1 in 46, in France they are 1 in 42, and in Prussia 1 in 37. These figures do not alter the fact that the mortality of the City is greater than that of the average of England, or than the average of the metropolis. The average mortality of the City is 1 in 40, and that of the East and West London Unions 1 in 36 (Cripplegate 1 in 32). The mortality of districts adjoining the City is, for St. Leonard, Shoreditch, 1 in 32; Whitecross-st., 1 in 33; City-road, 1 in 31. The mortality of the more healthy districts of the metropolis is, for St. George's, Bloomsbury, 1 in 48; for St. John's, Paddington, 1 in 56; Stamford-hill, 1 in 63; and Dulwich, 1 in 91.*

Representation.—The members of the Corporation need not be told, however reluctant they may be to admit the fact, that the several Boards of Commissioners of Sewers recently superseded were none of them founded upon the basis of local representation. Mr. Alderman William Lawrence, for example, who has been one of the foremost in the agitation against the Public Health Bill, on the ground of its interference with popular institutions, acted but recently as a Commissioner of Sewers for the Holborn and Finsbury division: and did so as a nominee of the Lord Chancellor; not as the representative of the rate-payers, who had no voice whatever in the appointment. We must be forgiven if we add, that his former position as a Crown Commissioner was a much higher one, and more worthy, in our estimation, of the reform principles he professes, than his present,—sitting as he does for

and description of the letter you have just addressed to me, fall short of the real abominations which are hourly endured by the wretched inhabitants of those courts and alleys.

“It is affirmed, you say, by some of your opponents, that ‘the City of London, for health, cleanliness, effective drainage, and the supply of water, cannot be surpassed.’ It may be so; science may, possibly, have done its best in the metropolis of the British empire. Unlearned as I am in these matters, I do not presume to give an opinion on that head. But, if such be the case—if knowledge and zeal can do no more for the physical benefit of these masses of living beings, why, then it is evident that thousands upon thousands are inevitably doomed to a disgusting and hopeless degradation.

“I am, Sir,

“Your very obedient, humble Servant,

(Signed)

“ASHLEY.”

* Fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General.—p. 468.

one of the most rotten wards in the City. The predecessor of Mr. Alderman Lawrence was Mr. Alderman Hughes Hughes, who was returned for the ward of Bread-street in 1844, by the votes of 32 resident freemen, his opponent having obtained but 31; and there has since been no contest.* An Alderman is, by virtue of his office, a member of the Commission of Sewers for the City, a magistrate for life, trustee *ex-officio* for numerous public charities, and Lord Mayor by rotation.

We yield to no man in a respect for the true principles of local representation; municipal councils fairly elected by the rate-payers are for a thousand reasons better than government boards for local duties; but is the nomination of 32 freemen in one ward, or even of 300 in another, to offices such as the above, affecting the interests, directly or indirectly, of a population of two millions, to be preferred to that of a responsible minister? We think not. Of all forms of government that of mock representation is the worst. Despotism is bad, but mock representation is despotism without its honesty; despotism in disguise; ambition without the courage of force, attaining its ends by cunning.

Although several attempts, and some recently renewed, have been made to get the City franchise extended to rate-payers, they have hitherto always failed. The elections continue in the hands, not of the rate-payers but of the freemen, and the wards (the electoral districts) are so arranged that the smallest wards return the majority; so that the Corporation, instead of representing the City at large, with its population of 129,000 inhabitants, is really a petty oligarchy, *representing the minority of a minority*.

The statement, therefore, that, under the existing system, those who are called upon to pay sewers' rates have a voice in the disposal of the money, is at variance with the fact; and this will be the more evident when it is remembered that the sewers' rate is a landlord's tax, deducted by the tenant from his rent, (excepting in cases of special agreement); and as in city corporate elections the resident freemen only vote, and the owners of house property are for the most part non-resident, it is clear that the parties chiefly interested can have practically no control whatever over the funds to which they are compelled to contribute.† Is it that no control is required? May unlimited

* It is understood, however, that this constituency has since been somewhat enlarged, but not amended, by the creation of votes on both sides. This is done by paying the freedom fines and fees (about £11), for those who cannot find the money, or are indisposed to raise it.

† We may give here, from our own knowledge, the case of an owner of

confidence be safely placed in the honest and economical administration of the Corporation as the trustees of the public? We will inquire a little into this fact. But first let us examine the claim for support set up by the City Commissioners of Sewers on the score of *gratuitous services*.

Their services are not gratuitous. It is true the Commissioners do not receive salaries; but salaries are not the only mode of payment. There are three modes in which every member of the Corporation is paid.—1. In the invitations which he accepts, and even claims as his right, to festivities, of which the cost often extends to £1,000 for a single dinner, at the expense of his fellow citizens. 2. In his share of an amount of patronage greater than is enjoyed by any member of the House of Commons, Her Majesty's ministers excepted;—there being in the gift of the corporation no less than 263 places of which the emoluments exceed £100 per annum; 60 of which the emoluments exceed £400 per annum; and 21 of which they exceed £1,000 per annum!* 3. He is paid by those opportunities of influence which enable him to secure some one of these offices for himself if it should suit him to accept it at the time of its being declared vacant. We need not mention the many instances of old members of the Corporation (the names of some of them as once busy reformers will occur to the reader), now holding salaried offices under the Corporation, and who in this way have at last found the means of remunerating themselves for their former (so called) honorary labours as the Corporation Commissioners of Sewers.

Let us look at the expense of one of these offices. The amount of

house property in the city, a non-freeman. He was about (in 1843) to pull down and rebuild a block of houses, forming the corner of Whitefriars Street, Fleet Street, having a frontage of 200 feet. These houses, although burdened with sewers' rate, drained only into cesspools, and he therefore memorialised the City Commissioners that a sewer might be made. The application was granted on condition of his contributing £100 towards its cost; which was paid. When the sewer was completed, he expected to be allowed to use it free of any further expense, but was charged £3 19s. for each of the house drains leading into the sewer. These drains were so laid by the Commissioners that the new buildings were presently filled with rats from the Thames, and the owner had then to incur the further expense of traps to keep them out. The amount of the sewers' rate which continues to be collected from the same property would have enabled the new Sanitary Board to have taken upon itself the entire cost of the sewer and house drains, without any additional charge to the owner (Mr. W. E. Hickson). The inquiries set on foot by government into exactions of this class, and their exposure, have since induced the City Commissioners to give up their system of forced contributions in similar cases to the above.

* The particulars of these are given in the number of the 'Westminster Review' for March, 1845.

the sewers' rate, when received by the collectors in their several districts, is paid into the hands of an officer called the Chamberlain. How much is he paid for taking care of the money? The following is the present cost of the office, as fixed by a resolution of the Court of Common Council, September 14th, 1843.

CHAMBERLAIN.

His emoluments not to exceed *	£2,500	0	0
For his clerks	2,102	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£4,602	10	0
	<hr/> <hr/>		

Mr. Tyrrell, the City Remembrancer, has addressed a letter to Lord Ashley, in which he challenges inquiry into the existence of any jobbing on the part of the City Commissioners, and concludes with stating that the Health of Towns Association, of which Lord Ashley is a member, have been "made the tool of parties who have in view objects very foreign to the promotion of health, cleanliness, and morality, being nothing less than their own personal advancement and aggrandisement, at the expense of the liberties and rights of others!" The City Solicitor, in the same spirit, describes the Public Health Bill as one to "make small places for small people."

The parties who prefer these accusations should at least have clear notions of what the term "jobbing" means, and should be quite certain, that whatever may be their own integrity of character, the men and the system they defend are far from the imputation they would fasten upon others. Let us drop the term "jobbing," as needlessly offensive, but pursue this part of our inquiry a little further.

The City Commissioners of Sewers, being in fact merely a committee of the Court of Common Council and Court of Aldermen, have, in the case of all legal difficulties that may arise, the assistance of the legal staff of the Corporation. What is the cost of this branch of the public service in salaries, fees, and other emoluments? Not less than £35,000 per annum! The return furnished by the officers themselves in 1833, of appointments held by solicitors, barristers, proctors, and attorneys' clerks under the Corporation, amounted to £38,067 19s. 6d.; and it has since not undergone a reduction of 5 per cent.

It will not be our business to show that any of these gentlemen are over-paid in reference to their high individual merits.

* These emoluments are derived from balances. The chamberlain lending the corporation their own money at interest, or advancing it to other parties on security.

The eminent services of the Recorder, for example, he being not only a clerk to the Court of Common Council, but a judge in the City Criminal and Civil Courts, may be cheaply secured by his salary of £3,000 per annum; but what we desire to know is, how it happens that a smaller number of officers possessing high professional talent is not made to suffice for the whole of the somewhat narrow routine of duties belonging to municipal government.

Let us take the four offices of the City Remembrancer, City Solicitor, Comptroller, and Town Clerk, the duties of which are analogous, as connected with rents, leases, assignments, tolls, the defence of corporate rights, bills to be promoted or opposed in Parliament. &c., and which in the new Corporations created by the Municipal Reform Bill of 1835, as well as in the Poor Law Unions, are all comprised in the duties of the one office of Clerk to the Board.*

REMEMBRANCER.

Salary	£1,000 0 0
Allowance for Office Expenses	250 0 0
Allowance for business done in respect of funds created by Act of Parliament	595 2 5
Allowance for the business of Deputy Registrar, including £155 4s 8d for Office Expenses	277 10 6
	£2,122 12 11

"An office is provided for the Remembrancer by the Corporation. The Remembrancer is entitled to one buck and one doe annually out of His Majesty's parks or forests"

(Signed) F. TURRELL

COMPTROLLER.

Allowances from City cash —

Formerly, £866 11s 2d, but reduced in 1811 to	£ 200 0 0
Leases, assignments, licenses, fees, &c paid by the public, according to the return furnished in 1833, by Mr F. B. Hooker	742 17 4
From Act of Parliament funds (see the same returns)	1 714 13 8
	£2,657 11 0

(Subject to Office Expenses) £662 14s 6d

"In addition to the above, a house and taxes are provided at the expense of the City, and a coach-house and stable in the City Mews and also an allowance of coals and candles for the use of the offices there is also an allowance of £55 per annum for books and other stationery"

(Signed) F. B. HOOKER

TOWN CLERK.

(As fixed by the "Officers' and Clerks' Committee," in their report, dated May 6th, 1842).

Authorised fees, which, as estimated by the committee, produce an average sum of	£1,100 0 0
Allowances from City cash	200 0 0
From Act of Parliament funds	700 0 0
Carried over	£2 000 0 0

£4,780 3 11

* The practicability of their consolidation may be inferred from the fact that the City Solicitor acted for the Comptroller for several weeks on the last vacancy occurring by death, and is not now so overburthened by his official duties as to find himself incapacitated from representing the borough of Lambeth in parliament.

Brought over . . .	£2,000 0 0	£4,780 3 11
" Besides the advantages of an official residence, with the usual allowances in respect thereof "		
Allowance for clerks and stationery	1,500 0 0	
Life Assurance for the chief clerk, in addition to his salary of £500	200 0 0	
Fees to clerks, which in 1844 produced	117 0 0	
	<hr/>	£4,817 0 0
Additional Establishment		
Reader to the court . . .	£100 0 9	
Deputy Registrar . . .	200 9 0	
Clerk . . .	100 0 0	
	<hr/>	400 0 0
		<hr/> <hr/>
		£4,217 0 0

CITY SOLICITOR.

In a recent address published by Mr. Chas. Pearson, the present City Solicitor, in defence of his consistency as a reformer, he says —

" By close attention to the duties of my office I have been enabled, with my salary and other emoluments, to raise my income to £2,110 a-year, that is the amount of the income which I returned under the Property Tax assessment "—(Page 201)

The amount paid to his clerks and for expenses of offices, not included in the above, is not stated but may be assumed, judging from the office expenses of the Town Clerk, to be not less than £800. This will make the total expense of the office to the public agree with the estimate of 1844

Salary and other emoluments	£2,110 0 0	
Clerks and office expenses	890 0 0	
	<hr/>	£3,000 0 0

TOTAL EXPENSE TO THE PUBLIC OF THE FOUR OFFICES £11,997 3 11

In this country we are accustomed to great anomalies; but one of the most extraordinary lately witnessed has been an agitation against government patronage, under the virtuous pretext that the Commissioners of the Public Health Bill were to be paid, and got up by the very men who participate in the above abuses. If public servants should not be paid, the argument would of course apply most emphatically to the City Remembrancer, and the City Solicitor, whose services, however invaluable, are at least not gratuitous. But what is more extraordinary still is the fact, that government should be so far impressed with the force of this disinterested reasoning, as to have proposed that the office of Commissioner under the Bill should be entirely honorary. Upon the remonstrance, however, of some earnest reformers in the House, it has been agreed that one of the Commissioners of the Central Board shall receive a salary not to exceed £1,500 per annum. Shall we take this as a fair test for the remuneration of official labour? If £1,500 per annum be a sufficient sum for the expense of a department that is to superintend, for sanitary objects, the local Boards of all England, how much of the above £12,000, for a fraction of the business of one only of those local Boards, is misapplied?

We will not here reproduce the particulars of other offices in

the gift of the London Corporation, which were given at length in the March number of the 'Westminster Review' for 1845,† but the following summary of the whole cannot be too frequently laid before the public:

PATRONAGE OF THE LONDON CORPORATION.

A statement of the cost to the public, in the year 1833, of the officers and clerks of the London Corporation, in salaries, fees, and office allowances, from returns signed by the officers themselves, and presented by them to the Revenue Committee of the Court of Common Council in 1835.

Legal staff,			
(Consisting of appointments held by solicitors, barristers, proctors,			
and attorneys' clerks) £38,067 19 6			
State Officers,			
(The Lord Mayor, Chamberlain, Sheriffs, Yeoman, Trumpeters, &c) 24,187 2 9			
Officers of Customs and Market Dues	..	..	.. 29,338 12 8
Officers of City Gaols	..	..	.. 4,330 7 2
Officers of Public Works	.	..	.. 5,403 12 5
Miscellaneous Officers,			
(Including Hall-keepers, Beadles, Irish Society, Port of London, &c) 9,653 5 4			
			£110,980 19 10

The above return does not include the patronage arising from the City Police, the cost of which is £45,000 per annum, (£20,000 per annum more than the charge would have been if consolidated with the Metropolitan Police), nor much incidental patronage of a kind not necessary to particularize †. Contrast this return with the expenditure of the Municipal Corporation

* Reprinted as a Pamphlet, under the title of 'City Administration,' No 3. Price 6d. Sold by G. Luxford.

† The aldermen are trustees, *ex officio*, of the Royal Hospitals, and various other charity estates; and the following items should be added to the patronage of the two courts:—

Ten City Tradesmen's Bills for various purposes.			
Patronage of Eighteen livings.			
Pensions to Aldermen's Widows and Children, and others who			
held offices under the Corporation £2,793 18 0			
Pensions to Coal Meters	..	..	.. 17,011 7 0
Committees of the Common Council for Tavern Bills, Summer			
Excursions, &c. 6,584 16 9			
Expenses of City Barge, for do., do. (average of seven years)			453 5 7
Fitting up Guildhall, and stopping up streets on Lord Mayor's			
Day (average of seven years)	..	..	.. 529 12 10
			£27,373 0 2

of Leeds which, for the year 1843, including the administration of Justice, expense of gaols, police, county expenses, and salaries of every kind, was but £21,464 10s. 11d.!

Reform is a plant of slow growth, but if we may judge by the impulse it has lately received, the reign of corporate extravagance, and exclusive privilege, must soon have an end. Let it, however, be well understood, when the time comes, that the mal-administration of the Corporation of London is only a part of a very wide and important question,—that of the best constitution fitted for the municipal government of the whole metropolis; a subject upon which no city reformer, if in any way connected with the Corporation, can be trusted; however honest or unprejudiced he may be upon other topics.

The reformers of the Corporation appear to have the same notions of liberty as Barbés, Blanqui, Hubert, and the rest who the other day sought to overturn an assembly elected by universal suffrage, that they might govern France in their own way. The privileges claimed for the Corporation are not the rights of equals, but the authority of superiors, amounting to an intolerable usurpation; and although of late a disposition has been shown by a growing party in the Court of Common Council to extend the municipal suffrage, this is not with any idea of surrendering an atom of their power of interfering with and restricting the rights and privileges of the rest of the metropolis. The members of the Corporation claim:—

1. The right of taxing the whole of the inhabitants of the metropolis without their consent, and of applying the money without consulting them in any way on the subject. This power is exercised in tonnage charges upon shipping, in duties upon coals, corn, wine, potatoes, fruit, oysters, &c. landed from the river, or, in the case of coal, coming also to London by canal, road, or railway. Of the duties on coal 8*d.* per ton are levied by Act of Parliament for the approaches to London Bridge, and some street improvements effected at the west end; but the duty of 4*d.* per ton, producing about £50,000 per annum, is claimed by the Corporation as a kind of private property, and is included in the accounts of what is called the "City Estate."

2. The right of exemption from the county rate in consideration of their defraying, with a portion of the above money, the expenses of the city prisons and of the Central Criminal Court.

3. The right of regulating the navigation of the River Thames from Staines to Yantley Creek; and right to the property in the soil on both banks of the river, which they are now disputing with the Crown in the Court of Chancery.

4. The right of diminishing the security of person and

property, by setting up, in the middle of the metropolitan district, a rival police administration; to the advantage only of the depredator, who profits by the want of unity of action between the two establishments.

5. The right of appointing the Judge of the Central Criminal Court, the High Bailiff of Southwark, &c., and right of the exclusive management of the prisons of Newgate and the Compter,—affecting the administration of justice for the whole of the metropolitan circuit.

6. The right of holding a cattle market in the city without consulting the inhabitants of the metropolis, generally, upon the inconvenience of allowing horned beasts to be driven in the day-time through its most crowded thoroughfares.

7. The right of slaughter houses in narrow lanes, and of an exclusive control over the outfall of the drainage area of the whole north of London.

8. The right of maintaining the pomp and state of Mansion-House festivities out of a fund to which the whole of the inhabitants of the metropolis contribute by indirect taxation; and this right for the petty exclusive distinction of dining with her Majesty's ministers and other public functionaries on state occasions.

We repeat, that men who can put forward these claims and insist upon them, whether they call themselves reformers or conservatives, have no true respect for the principle of self-government; or no exact comprehension of its signification. What they mean by liberty is really a dictatorship. They assume powers for a section of London, which, where they should exist at all, should only belong to the whole of the metropolis, as *one municipality*. The spirit of their assumption is precisely the same as that of the "*Ouvriers*" of the Faubourg St. Antoine, when, in the days of the first French Revolution, they sought to domineer over the whole of Paris.

To form the metropolis into one municipality, and to supersede the multitudinous local acts relative to bye-laws which now exist, by an uniform code, the plan we have advocated has been that of giving to the ratepayers of the city and each of the metropolitan boroughs the power of electing a town council, and of uniting the whole of these councils, for general purposes, by an upper chamber chosen from amongst themselves. A consolidation of interests effected in this way would supersede the necessity of all metropolitan Commissions. But, from what we have seen of the difficulty of effecting such an arrangement, we believe that, for the present, Commissions are the only practicable palliations of the

existing evils. And observe, the objections raised are not to the principle of Commissions of government appointment (which might be obviated by ultimately making them elective), but to "centralization," in the sense of that consolidation of public business which, with or without representation, is alone the remedy for wasteful expenditure. No matter how extended the elective franchise, any plan of local reform that would involve the "rolling into one" such offices as the four we have named—of the Remembrancer, the Comptroller, the Town Clerk, and the City Solicitor—would be denounced in certain quarters as "centralization," of the most dangerous kind. And the clamour would not be confined to the holders of these places, nor their expectant possessors in the Corporation. Out of the Corporation the principal cause of the heavy expense of the local rates of the city is its minute parochial subdivisions. The entire area of the city being smaller than Marylebone, which has but one vestry, the whole of its parochial business might be conveniently and economically transacted by such a body as the Court of Common Council, if properly constituted; but any such scheme would be denounced as "centralization" by eighty-five separate juntas, and the host of their dependants, profiting by the existing distribution of parochial patronage.* Carry, out of the city, the principle of reducing the number of local functionaries, and the twenty-one paving boards of the parish of St. Pancras, that might, in like manner, be consolidated, to the great advantage of the rate-payers, would equally and energetically protest against the centralizing operation to which they would be subject.

The aggregate amount of the wasteful expenditure caused by the present complicated state of the local organization of the metropolis, has had no parallel in the history of municipal administrations.

A stranger in London, taking up his abode in the city, ignorant of its customs, has not been there a year as a resident before he is startled by the frequency of the applications made to him for heavy local rates—consolidated rates, sewers' rates, ward rates, poors' rates, church rates, &c. Summing them up, he finds that they equal the rent of a handsome house in the country, and that they exceed, by about one-half, the average amount of the local rates of the rest of the metropolis. He learns that the local

* Some of the 110 city parishes being united, the number of separate parochial jurisdictions is reduced to eighty-five. These have been combined, for poor-law business, into three unions; but there are still eighty-five independent staffs of parish functionaries acting separately in the administration of trust property, church-rates, &c.

rates levied in the city (exclusive of government taxation, and the indirect taxes levied by the corporation upon coals, corn, &c.), amounted, for the year 1842, to £230,000. Imagining this, perhaps, to proceed from the poverty of the city, what is his astonishment when he is told, upon the authority of the Charity Commissioners, that the city possesses an hereditary revenue of £360,000 per annum, originally bequeathed for the same class of objects for which the local rates are required—namely, the relief of the poor, the cure of the sick, education, religion, and general purposes. He learns that nearly the whole of this immense fund was once held in trust for the public by the “mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London;” but that, from the corruption which prevailed in past times, this revenue has gradually been permitted to slip out of the hands of the Corporation into those of bodies practically irresponsible, and who so administer it as to deprive the public of all but the minimum of the benefit it was intended to confer. He learns that the Corporation now, so far from exerting itself to check in other bodies the misapplication of charity funds, sets itself an example to all other trustees throughout the country, of unbounded waste and prodigality; not only multiplying unnecessary offices, but rewarding their holders with emoluments exceeding the salaries of ministers of the crown, and supporting a town mayoralty at a greater cost than that of the president and secretaries of the United States Government.* He discovers that the contagion of this example, extending more or less to every branch of local administration in the Metropolis, and the proceedings of the two hundred independent Boards to which its administration is entrusted, being separately too insignificant to attract the attention of the press, an annual revenue of THREE MILLIONS sterling, raised within the circuit of the Metropolitan Police district (including the City), is frittered away without the public knowing any thing of the matter, and proves inadequate to the local objects to which it is professedly devoted;—that education is still wanting for the children of the poor, and that public baths, street improvements, river embankments, and a multitude of works of public usefulness linger for want of funds, and have to be ultimately abandoned.

No honest and unprejudiced mind can consider these facts without arriving at the conclusion that the cause of the whole

* The cost of the city mayoralty, exclusive of the expense of the justice room at the mansion, is about £20,000 per annum. The City Solicitor says £10,000 per annum.

mischief is to be found in *divided jurisdictions*. Leeds, York, Bolton, Manchester, every other municipal town, has the power of exercising some general supervision of its own affairs. The Metropolis has none. It is like a house without a landlord, or with a separate landlord to every room. Unity of administration, without which there can be neither efficiency nor economy in the local government, is as necessary for London as for Leeds, and infinitely more so, because the interests affected are of far greater magnitude.

This is not "centralization" in the obnoxious sense of the term. It is well to hold in abhorrence that kind of centralization which recently existed in France, when the leave of a minister had first to be asked and obtained for almost every municipal act; a system which practically put a stop to all progress: but the abuse of the powers of a national executive is not a rational argument against their existence. The abuse in France consisted, not in rendering local Boards responsible to the National Executive, as they always should be, for a violation of the laws, but in practically depriving the local Boards of all power, whether for breaking the laws, or acting up to their spirit. In fact, under the government of Louis Philippe, local government could hardly be said to exist. The true principle is to allow to municipal councils perfect freedom of action, but freedom of action subject to responsibility, when laws are broken, or duties neglected; and there can be no efficient responsibility without supervision.

Nobody, that we are aware of, wishes to revive the French system (now expiring) in England. The cry of "centralization," got up against the sanitary and other local reforms proposed to be effected, has but one and that a very obvious meaning,—“This, our craft, by which we live, is in danger.” The ratepayer of the Metropolis, if he understands what he is about, will answer it by another;—“Keep your hands out of my pockets.”

* * For a brief summary of the local revenue of the Metropolis, see the following page.

LOCAL REVENUE OF THE METROPOLIS.

THE CITY.

Trust estates for public objects administered by

Chartered companies	£ 5,68	16	8
Parishes	38,703	8	6
The Corporation of London	110,943	9	2
The Five City Hospitals	128,763	15	5
	£ 364,096	11	9

Coal Duties. (Returns for 1841, since increased).

4d per ton on account of "City Estate"	48,521	17	2
8d per ton on account of "London Bridge Approaches Fund"	96,232	11	10
1d per ton on account of the Coal Market Fund	12,022	2	11
	156,756	11	11
Deduct drawbacks	3,869	2	6
	152,887	9	
Metage duties on corn, fruit, potatoes, salt, &c, with street and market tolls, at least	30,000	0	
Freedom and livery fines, fees and other charges of the corporation and trading companies about	50,000	0	
Tonnage dues and other charges connected with the Port of London, and conservancy of the river, about	60,000	0	
City poor's rate, police rate, consolidated rate, sewers' rate ward rate, &c (1842)	230,000	0	

906,984 1 2

METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT.

Police Rate, P R 88 (1841)

Received from parishes	£ 182,257	6	7
„ the treasury	102,229	1	9
	284,484	8	4
Poor's rate for the same district about one half more than the cost of the police say	426,726	12	6
County rates (say the proportion to the police rate in Marylebone, which is one-half)	142,242	4	2
Church rates, &c (say the proportion to the police rate in Marylebone, which is also one-half)	142,242	4	2
Paving, watering and cleansing rates (the proportion to the police rate in Marylebone is about equal)	284,484	9	4
Lighting (about one-half)	142,242	4	2
Sewers' rates (the expenditure in 1844 not including the City)	100,000	0	0
Metropolitan roads (P. R. 388)	71,596	11	4
Charity funds in Westminster, and the four metropolitan counties of Kent, Middlesex, Surrey and Essex	148,649	5	7
	1,742,667	18	

Total local revenue of the metropolis (approximate estimate) £2,649,651 19 9

ART VII.—*Of a Liberal Education in general; and with particular reference to the leading studies of the University of Cambridge.* By William Whewell, D.D., Master of Trinity College. Parker. 1845.

THE English universities are great national institutions, and the way that they are and ought to be conducted involves a question of national importance. They possess a monopoly of the education of the noble, the wealthy, and the powerful classes of England. In addition to their immense private property, they have large endowments and privileges directly from the state. They have extensive patronage in the church, and, by their fellowships, they can set apart a considerable number of their members for the advancement of learning and science. By their political influence, they can not only protect their own interests, but also play a powerful part in the general legislation of the country. The community may suffer severely from their mismanagement, or derive untold benefit from their wise administration. They are, therefore, legitimate objects of concernment and interference to all persons interested in maintaining the public welfare, and capable of understanding aright the business of education. Politicians, in and out of parliament, the public press, the private citizen of cultivated intelligence,—are entitled and required to look into the universities, no less than into the administration of justice, the government of the colonies, or the management of the poor. Abandoned to their own devices, as they have hitherto been, by the official authorities of the country, there is the more need of some sort of unofficial attention to their conduct. They ought by no means to pass unpraised or unblamed according to their deserts.

Dr. Whewell's books on University Education give the means of judging very accurately of the system pursued at Cambridge, and also of the improvements that are in progress through the influence of the leading men of the university itself. He tells us what it used to be in former days, what changes have been recently made, and what further improvements he proposes, and may be supposed, from his situation, to have some chance of carrying into effect. To any one capable of judging of the merits of a university system, these books will afford the necessary information in regard to Cambridge.

There are two separate matters to be considered in an educational scheme, namely, the subjects taught, and the manner of teaching. On both these points, the English universities stand very much in need of improvement, as Dr. Whewell fully con-

fesses. In respect to the first, or to the subjects of teaching, a very large and sweeping innovation has been lately announced in Cambridge, and is in the course of being submitted to the supreme tribunal of the university.

According to the existing practice, the subjects taught in both institutions are Greek and Latin, on the one hand, and the mathematical sciences on the other; these branches are substantially the whole curriculum, whether for the many or for the few. To attain the bachelor's or the master's degree a moderate share of them suffices; to attain the highest honours and rewards the student must merely advance farther in the same narrow tracks. A first-rate Cambridge man is undoubtedly either an able mathematician or an accomplished classic; an ordinary graduate has seen some service in arithmetic, algebra, and Euclid, in Homer and Virgil, with a trifle of Paley and Locke. All else that can constitute learning, intellectual power, or valuable information, must be obtained from other quarters, or wholly omitted.

It requires no argument to prove the insufficiency of these two branches of study to form a liberal or even a decent education. The modern world and modern science ought obviously to have a larger share of the attention of a modern man than is allowed in this system. But a difficulty arises as to the selection of subjects. What new branches ought to be introduced, and what old displaced? Shall we discard the mathematics, in whole or in part, to make room for physics, chemistry, or natural history? Shall we substitute living languages and recent speculation for the ancient classics? Human life and human capacity are very limited in comparison with the aggregate knowledge of the present time. Moreover, were it otherwise, it can never be necessary for one mind to drink in the whole; a limited draught can serve all the purposes of any single human being.

Now with regard to the arithmetic, algebra, and geometry required of the general mass of the University students, there is, in general, very little dispute among thinking men. These acquirements are so fundamental, so necessary both in the daily business of life and in the pursuit of the other sciences, and so valuable in the cultivation of the reason, that they are by no means to be dispensed with. It is also desirable, on many accounts, that a few individuals should master the entire course of the existing mathematical sciences. The only matter of controversy is the right of the classics to retain their ancient place in a college education.

We believe that the greatest enemy to classical studies could not wish them at a lower ebb than they are at the present day with reading men, after they have left school and college. Scarcely any one amuses his leisure or advances his cultiva-

tion by means of Greek and Latin books. The experience of publishers assures us, with all the certainty of parliamentary returns, that the classical writers of antiquity are not now read in this country. The two great houses formerly devoted to their publication are extinct. Priestley ceased in 1828, and Valpy in 1834; and since then there have been almost no classical publications apart from school-books. Booksellers are not applied to for the entire works of Euripides or Demosthenes, Plato or Cicero, except in rare instances, or to fill up unread libraries. A thinking man will often be found reading Bacon or Locke, but how few dream of opening Aristotle! When a member of parliament is heard quoting Virgil or Horace, we merely give him credit for retaining some fragments of school recollections. Whatever may be the opinion in schools and colleges, it is an established maxim among men engaged in the business of life, that modern literature is sufficient to satisfy every craving of the intellectual tastes.

We do not hesitate to express our opinion that the present abandonment of these studies is greater than it ought to be. We should wish that there were a select few scattered through society, at least one in every intimate circle, thoroughly versed in Greek and Roman literature; just as we should desire to see others perfectly at home in German, French, or Italian, while a different class made science, or history, or antiquity, their favourite accomplishments. It is a high gratification to hear a simile from Homer, a thought from Plato, or an interesting illustration of ancient life from Aristophanes, when they chime in aptly with the current vein of a social company. As an intelligent traveller is desiderated when foreign manners are in question, so we are grateful for the clear statements of an unpedantic scholar, when we wish to compare old times with our own. A single individual cannot know every known thing, but fifty individuals might; and in the intercourse of society the fifty brains might be, to a great extent, at the service of each. If every one were to study the same thing, society could not be greater in intellect than the greatest of its members. But if, by a proper distribution of subjects, each class of things were known to the uttermost by somebody, who should be in communication with every other body, the society would become omniscient for the benefit of the single man. Instead, therefore, of classical scholars disappearing entirely from the ranks of educated people, we should wish that there were, besides them, one person in a hundred profoundly versed in the comparative philology of the Indo-Germanic tongues, another equally versed in Hebrew and its cognate

literatures, and, in every town of fifty thousand inhabitants, an eccentric spirit that drew Chinese lore from the original fountains.

But these considerations do not decide the question—ought the existing apparatus of classical teaching to be always kept up to the present extent? Is there anything so supremely valuable in the acquiring of Latin and Greek as to make the operation its own immediate reward? Have the nine hundred and ninety-nine who never open the classics after their school days are over, out of the thousand who are taught them, received a benefit corresponding to the time and labour expended? There are not a few that will say “yes” to these questions, but it is distressing to witness their struggles in attempting to maintain their position. We have, however, no intention at present to enter into this particular controversy. It is more to the purpose at the present time, to take a review of some of the more important of our *modern* studies, and to consider in what way these may best receive the prominence that they deserve.

The subject of the introduction of modern sciences has been considered by Dr. Whewell in his most recent volume on the University-education question. In that volume he made a proposal on the matter to the Cambridge authorities, which we read with very great satisfaction; and still more have we been gratified to find, that the senate of the University has adopted his suggestions to their fullest extent, and is about to submit them to a general convocation, by whose sanction they will become the law and practice of the University.

It is well known that candidates for honours at Cambridge must at present aspire to the highest attainments either in mathematics or in classics; and that in consequence of the prizes held out in the shape of present renown and subsequent rewards of a more substantial kind, eminent proficients in these departments are constantly sent forth. Now the proposal that we are glad to see adopted in Cambridge, consists in making two new avenues to honours, one through the physical and experimental sciences, and one through the moral sciences. In addition to the mathematical tripos and the classical tripos, there is to be a scientific tripos, and a moral and political tripos, which are to include the great branches of knowledge whose cultivation is at present an entire blank in the University. Honours in the new departments are to be of the same value as in the old to the successful competitors, who are to be decorated and proclaimed with all the *éclat* of the mathematical and classical wranglers, and to receive equal consideration with them in the appointments to fellowships and livings that follow distinguished scholarship.

As a beginning, we think nothing could be better than this. A very small degree of exertion in the University authorities will produce a very great amount of effect, when the course pursued is to stimulate to the uttermost the best minds among the youth of the colleges. It has already been seen what rewards can do for mathematical and classical culture; and a like proficiency in the physical and moral sciences will as certainly result from the same stimulus being applied in their case. And by preparing in this way the higher minds of the University, the advantages will next extend to the mass of the students, whose tuition will be carried on by the newly-cultivated class in conjunction with the mathematical and classical scholars.

It being once determined to establish a tripos of the physical sciences, there can be little dispute about the subjects to be included in it. Nature and the genius of man have furnished these. They are physics (including mechanics, heat, electricity, light, &c.), chemistry, vegetable and animal physiology and anatomy, and the natural-history group of subjects. Such are substantially the departments announced in the list given by the Senate of the University of Cambridge, although that list is somewhat hampered in its detail by the reference to existing professorships that it has been thought proper to make in the new proposal.

The tripos of the moral sciences may give rise to more difficulty. With the same reference to existing professorships, the senate has fixed upon moral philosophy, political economy, history, jurisprudence, and the law of England. The great omission in the group is logic; but we imagine that it is fully intended that both it and psychology, or the general science of mind, shall be brought in under moral philosophy. If these two subjects do not in fact receive a prominent share of attention, we shall certainly regard the reformed curriculum as radically defective. Logic has now received a high degree of scientific perfection; and through the works of Whately, Whewell, and Mill, it has been completely adapted to the purposes of university education. And although the general science of mind is not all that could be wished, it yet possesses a large body of valuable doctrines, and as much of a systematic form as to render it easily communicable by public teaching. Moreover, it is a branch standing in need of express cultivation, and by being strongly brought before a few of the ablest rising men of a large university it might be taken up by some that would be able to advance it.

With regard to general history, as a branch of the moral tripos, some doubts will be entertained by many. The subject is in such a chaotic state, that there is no security for fixing down a

teacher to a really valuable course of instruction under it. The mere events of the past, as related in commonplace histories, are no fit subject for youthful training, and are unworthy of absorbing any portion of the precious season of school and college education. If history is to be taught, it ought to be as a *science*, with its laws and doctrines, which the current of events should furnish and exemplify. The laws that bind society together, commonly called the laws of social order, and the laws of social progress or civilization, when aggregated into a systematic whole, would make a branch of human knowledge of the highest worth and value. But such an aggregate science has not yet been fully formed. The best thing that can be done at present is to choose as a text-book some history that approaches most nearly to a history of civilization, founded on general laws of progress. Although Guizot's 'History of Civilization in France' is far from being a perfect scientific history, there would certainly be no waste of valuable time in adopting it as a text-book on the progress of the modern world.

It ought not to require much argument to prove, that a man that should pass with distinction through either of the new courses of study, must be a very important actor upon the present stage of the world's affairs,—a man very much in request, though as yet rarely produced by universities, or any other agencies whatsoever.

Let us consider shortly some of the points of human well-being that are wrapt up in these neglected studies, that we may see what an amount of good a public institution would create by commanding their energetic acquisition. And not to overload the question by attempting too much, or by going upon the class of subjects most liable to controversy, we shall mostly confine our illustrations to the departments of the tripos of the physical and organical sciences.

First.—There exists in the present day a vast store of energy and capital, requiring only to be linked to knowledge, in order to achieve new and endless acquisitions of material abundance. The knowledge chiefly necessary for this object is, or ought to be, contained in physics, chemistry, and the sciences of living beings, such as animal and vegetable physiology. In these various sciences lie the conditions of rearing structures and machinery, gigantic in strength and capacity, and delicate in action,—the fertilising of the soil,—the feeding, housing, clothing, carrying, and in many ways gratifying the mass of human beings,—the appropriation of all that is beneficial in the resources and agents of nature, and the resistance to whatever is hurtful,—the production of the means of outward splendour and sensuous

gratification,—and the facilities to man's cultivation of a material kind, as in the multiplication of books, engravings, maps, models, and apparatus. In every town, in every street, in every market-place, such knowledge is needed; not a week passes but some one feels that it is the very wisdom for him, more precious than rubies. The engineer, the manufacturer, the farmer, the man in every condition, is incessantly brought to a stand-still from being ignorant, and having no knowledge near, of the operations and resources of nature. Let the prizeman in the scientific tripos get himself engaged in the workshop, the dockyard, the railway, the quarry, the farm, or the place of merchandise, and old difficulties will be perpetually transforming themselves into new facilities, and a college education become henceforth respected among the most practical minded of men. Let first-rate scientific accomplishments be followed up by the usual apprenticeships to arts or business, and there will certainly be produced the very highest degrees of skill and inventiveness. Notwithstanding the aristocratic preference for the occupations of politics, war, law, medicine, or theology, not a few that study at the English universities would embrace, with the utmost alacrity, the prospect or possibility of coming to the head of some of the magnificent manufacturing or trading establishments now abounding all over the empire; and many would rejoice to be able to convert a rental of six thousand into ten. If *Alma Mater* contributed to such consummations, she would find plenty of defenders against the aspersion of growing vulgarised in her aims, which she would be sure to encounter at the commencement of her new career.

But even in the aristocratic occupations themselves, a full and accurate knowledge of the mechanical and chemical properties of things, and of vegetation and animal life, would prove of vast use to its possessor and to the public. Our legislators have the control of a great industrial nation, and they ought to deal with agriculture, manufactures, and trade in a manner consistent with the natural processes that they are based upon. Again and again, has a whole branch of industry been ruined, by the imposition of rules that destroyed the very conditions of its working. Some ill-placed tax, or absurd caution, or annoying system of inspection, may every now and then be found paralyzing all the efforts of skill and capital. If the framers of such enactments possessed a scientific education, they would be able to judge rationally of the representations of persons complaining, reasonably or unreasonably, of such risks. There is no possible operation that does not rest upon some natural law, the knowledge of which is a check upon every delusive statement regarding it. The legislature has also to pass bills

on water supply, gas manufacture, drainage and sewerage, roads, and the various kinds of sanitary improvements, all which ought to be in accordance with the laws of things. Again, the lawyer, whether counsel or judge, has to deal with patents and inventions, which are at this hour the subject of the grossest injustice and unfairness. Nothing could more directly promote improvements in the arts, than a system of adjudicating upon patents, founded on a good discrimination of their scientific merits. Frequently, also, are there brought before the courts, cases of nuisances arising from manufactories; and in order to decide these readily and justly, it would be well that the lawyers themselves had some knowledge of the agencies complained of. To cite another instance from the field of legislation, substances are sometimes so badly classified in the customs' regulations, that the merchant is subjected to imposts never intended by the law. But if the scientific properties of things were always chosen as their designating marks, such injurious mistakes could scarcely happen. With respect to the military and naval departments of public service, the need of a scientific training is partially recognised by the military schools of the Government and the East India Company.

By their neglect of the physical, chemical, and vital sciences, the English universities have lost the power of giving a *medical* education. Were these resumed, they could at least lay a foundation for eminence in physic, of which the practice is so deplorably empirical, even in our scientific age.

Secondly.—Besides adding scientific accomplishment to practical skill of all kinds, the scheme we are discussing would inevitably tend to the advancement of the sciences themselves. The intense devotion of great talents to scientific acquisitions, in the first place, and the attainment of endowed leisure, in the next place, are circumstances eminently favourable to original discoveries.

The encouragements held out in Oxford and Cambridge to the mathematical and classical departments of study, have led to their cultivation by many highly-gifted men. But the subjects now proposed to be brought under similar encouragements, are far more susceptible of enlargement than either the higher mathematics or the criticism of antiquity. In experimental physics, in chemistry, in natural history, in anatomy and physiology, to work is to discover; every effort of well-directed application is sure of its reward. A hundred and eighty years ago, Newton bought a prism, that he might try the curious experiment of obtaining colours out of the sun's ray, and the world has rung with the consequences. Remembering this, we

shall not listen unmoved, if we hear of an Oxford student or fellow buying a microscope, a balance, or a blow-pipe, for the purpose of seeing what the earth and living things are made of.

The people and rulers of Great Britain have hitherto been shamefully remiss in the encouragement of active scientific pursuits. They are blind to their own interests, and reckless of the progress of civilization. By a very small sacrifice of the wealth and attention of the public of this country, the actual rate of scientific advancement might be increased to a tenfold degree. We have little idea of what we lose by neglecting to keep up an adequate effective strength of the men whose inroads upon the secrets of nature put unlimited power into our hands.

Next to the maintenance of the peace and good order of society, the government is bound to support an instrumentality of progress, or to see that there exists in full efficiency a staff of scientific explorers, with all the requisite aids and furnishings. The complaint lately made in parliament of the inefficacy of existing science to throw any light on the terrible potato evil, might serve to remind the government that if its predecessors had looked a little more to the encouragement of research, the ignorance complained of might have been ere now dispelled. But, indeed, we doubt if there be a single public office where the backwardness of scientific truth is not repeatedly felt. The ventilation of the Houses of Parliament, old and new, has been a prolonged vexation of spirit to all concerned, owing to the little attention that has as yet been bestowed on the subject. In the Admiralty there is no certainty as to the building of war ships; an easy-sailing, comfortable royal yacht seems to surpass the entire amount of skill at the command of the state. The sanitary improvement of towns and villages is obstructed, among other causes, by the insufficiency of our present physical and chemical knowledge. If medical science were in a more advanced state, it would not have cost five years' worry at the Home Office to do nothing at all in the way of regulating the profession. If the knowledge of agricultural laws and processes were more perfect, the West India colonies might yet attain a thriving condition. These are the difficulties left by former administrations; they are evils removable by well-directed human ability. A ruler like Charlemagne or Napoleon comprehends the vast importance of such a department of public service, and directs everything to be done that can in any way further it. Why should not every authority in existence feel the obligation of increasing the chances of human welfare, as well as of removing stumbling-blocks out of its own sphere. It is directly in the power of the government to endow additional chairs in the universities, not to speak of

increasing the number of the universities themselves. Where there is one chair of physics or chemistry, it could create two; and it might constitute three professors of natural history where there are none. It could make up the salaries of all working professors, so as to enable them to live, and to afford the cost of research. The late government did right to give the eminent professor of natural philosophy in Edinburgh two hundred a year, but they erred in leaving the equally eminent professor of chemistry in *statu quo*. Pensions to aged and successful cultivators of science are good and dearly earned; but permanent situations, where research is accompanied with public teaching, are more direct and certain in their operation. A man will not abstain from a hopeful profession, and enter on a career of philosophic enquiry, on the chance of three hundred a year, after half a life-time of labour. With us there is no endowed institute like the French Academy, and we are not likely to adopt such a scheme; but by the endowment of lectureships in colleges we can achieve the end, along with another public benefit. We make sure of having public teachers; and in one case out of ten we have discoverers, and we might so arrange as to have these in one case out of four. The government, moreover, might consult its own advantage by keeping a larger permanent scientific staff in its immediate service. In addition to a hard-wrought and poorly paid chemist, it might surely afford to have two or three officials taken from the scientific class, instead of having to send for such men often when it is too late. In whatever way a large number of able men are set to work upon the discovery of the laws of things, the world is sure to be benefited, and to feel grateful to them, and to the powers and authorities that sustained them in their labours.

But it is a loud-spoken maxim, in the administration of this country, not to put everything into the hands of the central government. Local authorities claim to share with the supreme authority in carrying on the business of the state. The nation will never be disposed to allow education, for example, to be entirely under the control of a government board sitting in London. The same principle might be applied to the encouragement of science. The staff of original inquirers could be increased by local bodies as well as by the central power. Why should not every large town support a man of science, and enjoy the *éclat* of his achievements? The popular institutions, that make literature and philosophy attractive to the listeners of the day, ought to throw in a mite for posterity; and, if possible, increase the collective wisdom of the race. If Manchester were to support a chemist, and Liverpool an electrician; if Birmingham

maintained researches into light, and Bristol supported a physiologist; if botany were increased from Glasgow, and meteorology in Edinburgh; if Sheffield had a travelling zoologist, and Dublin an explorer of the earth's crust—we should soon feel a difference in the pace of discovery: the scientific journals would be less barren, and the British Association better worth attending. The wealth of such cities would not be oppressed by the charge, and there are abundant means of procuring the proper men. Inventive genius is always turning up in our schools, colleges, and mechanics' institutions, and if openings are provided, it may be prevented from passing away into routine professions. The municipal funds of several of our large towns probably exceed the entire revenue of the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, whose munificence sustains the career of Liebig. The entire cost of the Florentine Academy, so illustrious in the seventeenth century, during the brief existence allowed to it by arbitrary power, could certainly be raised in London at one subscription. The Royal Institution of Great Britain, now little more than half-a-century old, has earned the gratitude of the civilized world, by giving room to the labours of Davy and Faraday; and this is a mere private association, which could be repeated a hundred times in Great Britain. There is scarcely a county where the luxurious classes could not enjoy the rarest and choicest of intellectual entertainments,—to listen to new discoveries, in their first announcement by the discoverer himself, a discoverer that they themselves had set up. Moreover, the real and immediate value to humanity of many of the truths now coming into light, is a strong reason for earnestly pursuing them. The useful results of recent electrical discovery are almost beyond reckoning up; the thunder-rod, the correction of the mariner's compass, the increase of chemical resources, the electric telegraph, are merely a few of the more prominent; and by the further prosecution of the same line of research, we are almost sure to arrive at other novelties of equal consequence. It is now quite certain that each human body requires to have a peculiar electrical state in order to its healthy action, in the same way that it requires a certain supply of moisture and a fixed temperature. And since the earth and air communicate electricity to our bodies, of variable kinds and degrees, it must frequently happen that we receive an unhealthy charge. Exactly as, in our naked exposure to the elements, we grow too cold or too hot, so in our naked exposure to the electrical blast, we may receive a negative charge, when we ought to be positive. Thus many of our discomforts are of electrical origin. But we have apparatus that can imitate all the effects of the thunders and lightnings of the sky, or the magnetism of the ground. We can charge and

discharge, make poles and reverse poles, excite or neutralize this great agency. It will soon be in our power to play off upon the human body a machine-influence to neutralize a sky-influence. What fires, clothing, and the bath, are, to put the body in good states of warmth, and counteract the severities of climate, Leyden jars, voltaic batteries, and electro-magnets may hereafter be to remove the galling uneasiness of an adverse electrical sky. If six Faradays had been working on this subject instead of one, all that the next generation will rejoice in, might have been ours to-day. Let the towns, therefore, lay the matter to heart.

But to return to the Universities. The promotion of original discovery is one of their natural functions, one of the grounds of their existence. Oxford and Cambridge have the power of stimulating young men to the uttermost exertions in any line they choose to fix upon: they have also the means of dedicating their aptest pupils to a life of intellectual occupation. Whatever others do in the case before us, they are culpable if they do nothing. They have effected something in certain limited departments; we wish them to use their influence in other departments of still greater importance to human welfare. They have residences and salaries at their disposal, and expectations to hold out; and they might easily bestow these on men that would push forward the examination of heat or electricity, of oils or alkalies, metals or earths, the nourishment of plants, the formation of muscle, the causes of health and disease, the influences of climate, the powers and properties of food, or any other question in matter or mind that seemed nearly in turn for being taken up.

Thirdly. There is another weighty consideration that may be advanced in favour of an extended curriculum. The multitude of young men that flock to a university are of all varieties of intellectual character and native aptitude; and while there are certain things that they must necessarily learn in common, yet when their uttermost powers of acquirement are to be tasked, and the whole period disposable for their education usurped, some provision should be made for radical differences of character. Now we would contend, that classical literature and mathematics do not constitute a sufficient choice of intellectual occupation. There is a very large and important class of minds far better adapted for the natural sciences than for these subjects. Where the faculty of observation is strong, and the tactual discrimination delicate and nice, the character is eminently suited for the studies of natural history, of chemistry, and of physiology, in short for the sciences of observation and experiment. Where the reflective powers very much exceed the strength

and delicacy of the senses, we have a mathematician or a metaphysician by nature, or an abstract speculator in general; but in the reverse instance, of ordinary reflective powers and extraordinary keenness of external perception, a naturalist, an experimental enquirer, or a master of material and industrial arrangements is as certainly indicated. For this latter class, Cambridge and Oxford afford no aliment; they contribute nothing either to train the aptitudes peculiar to it, or to fit it for being useful. The only development permitted to great natural gifts of eye and hand, is in the extra-academical occupations of boating, cricket, or horsemanship. But the constitutions destined to be eminent in these pursuits, could also gain eminence in the chemical laboratory, in electrical or optical manipulation, in the discrimination of animal or vegetable species, or the nice perception of anatomical structure. He that handles a fishing rod to admiration, would find himself gifted for feeling a pulse or guiding a scalpel. On the principle that a man finds a gratification in the exercise of his most effective powers,—in doing what he can do well,—we may safely affirm, that if the university studies brought fully into play this order of capacities, it would convert many of its idlers into working students. If the mechanical precision that receives no commendation but in the fields and rivers, were rewarded with honours in the senate-house, the sporting clubs would dwindle, and the classes fill up.

It is almost a settled judgment on the English character, that it is more prone to grapple with real bodily things, than to indulge in speculations of a high degree of abstraction. When contrasted with the French character, we find in it action rather than disquisition, sureness of execution more than range of conception. Our military men can point a gun, or perform a manœuvre, or obey plain directions with unrivalled precision; a French official can contrive a comprehensive scheme, or write a beautiful and well-arranged report. In the field of science, the French have acquired the pre-eminence in algebraical analysis; the English had such a distaste for this extreme abstract mode, that they sustained the geometrical treatment of mechanical and astronomical questions to the very last. While the continent was producing a series of splendid analysts, Britain was represented by Newton, Maclaurin, Matthew Stewart, and Robinson, whose yearnings were for a more tangible style of calculation. In experimental research, England has stood its ground against the world: and if it had the encouragements afforded in other countries, it would soon surpass any nation in Europe. We shall bow before the speculative faculties and generalizing tendencies of the French; but we hope to assert our own superior

gifts in grappling with material powers and properties, in working with the crucible or handling the knife.

It cannot, therefore, be deemed fortunate that English universities should not be fitted to English characters; that the qualities whereby an Englishman makes himself most valuable to the world and most content with his sphere of life, should be pointedly discouraged in the school where he receives his education. Because a youth would be greatest as a naturalist, a physiologist, a chemist, an engineer, or a manufacturer, we resolve that he shall be a scholar, or an algebraist, or nothing. It would surely be enough, if we encouraged the less frequently occurring capabilities as much as the more common, without committing the cruelty and injustice of depriving young men of the openings where their faculties will yield the richest fruits. According to the Oxford and Cambridge policy, Aristotle might have been a poet laureate in full employ, and Cicero the auditor of the Quæstor's accounts.

Fourthly.—In throwing new weight into the scientific scale, it is to be taken into account, that in their present state of advancement, the subjects in question constitute a very high mental cultivation. By their means, a human being may acquire no ordinary degree of accomplishment. They give the power of comprehending, explaining, and being intensely interested in, the entire framework of nature around, as well as most of the subtle processes of man's designing. They contain the abbreviated statements of the procedure of creation in its grand and in its minute operations;—in the career of the winds and the launching of the thunder,—in the subtle movements of light and the multiform workings of heat,—in the transformations of matter and the powers of life,—in the ways of the creatures that tread the globe in our company,—and in the forms of races long departed from the earth. The human intellect is richly stored, by being filled with thoughts on things such as these; and there are perpetual occasions for reproducing their impressions in the current of waking meditations. The entomologist, as well as the poet, has at times his "eye in a fine frenzy rolling." Nature is ever showing impressive and exciting instances of her own laws, such as keep the intelligent spectator, as he walks abroad, all alive with expectation and interest. Moreover, these subjects contain a vast amount of important information about our own selves and the things that affect our well-being. They give us instruction, in language more trustworthy than the traditions of unnumbered ages of vulgar experience, regarding the agencies of health and comfort, strength and felicity; they sweep away prejudices, correct false modes of reasoning, and qualify

men for understanding their own constitutions, and appreciating the exterior influences of their life. To have a body and a mind like ours, and a world so vast and complex, eternally shedding impressions and influences upon both, is a heavy charge, and such as to make all sound direction and correct information earnestly sought after and prized. One's studies may be a mere gratification of the intellect, or they may, in addition, furnish profitable guidance to the life; and this, we must suppose, ought to make a motive of preference.

There is much to be said for the power of mathematics in disciplining and cultivating the reason, and in creating habits of precise dealing with all matters that have to be judged true or false. But processes of the soundest reasoning and judgment are now embodied in many sciences; in general physics, for instance, and to a very remarkable degree in chemistry, where strict quantitative truth is insisted on under all circumstances, and where, in fact, there is a discipline more than merely mathematical. The laboratory operations of testing and analysis, in which every blunder recoils upon the operator, and where his knowledge, ingenuity, and watchfulness are incessantly on the stretch, may be strongly recommended as a discipline of the reasoning and judging faculties; and in many instances, it would probably be the best training that could be chosen. A flighty-sanguine temperament that jumped to conclusions and neglected half the considerations of a case would find itself in an iron grapple of rigid rationality, if sent to the laboratory of Graham or Liebig. The natural-history sciences also produce very valuable habits of methodical and lucid arrangement, such as no assemblage of details can ever overpower. In fact, every one of the more advanced sciences has the capacity of conferring a valuable mental discipline peculiar to itself; at the same time that they have, one and all, the common tendency to render our judgments and procedure conformable to the reality of things, and to save us from tragic encounters with the irresistible might of nature's laws.

Fifthly.—It is also worthy of remark, in favour of scientific studies, that they are well fitted to infuse a healthful and ornamental culture in general society. They are better subjects for intercommunication in our social circles than any of the processes or results of mathematics, or than the materials of classical literature. They relate to things that come under the eye of the general population; they can make indifferent occurrences interesting, and interesting facts still more interesting. A chemist or a naturalist, of good acquirements, has numerous opportunities of repeating his knowledge; he can often communicate a word in

season to the excited curiosity of his friends. With his specimens and his apparatus he provokes the inquiries of his visitors, and his acquisitions frequently place him in the centre of an attentive and deferential circle. In his walks, he inspires his companions with his enthusiasm, and makes them wiser in the midst of their frolics. In his family, he sustains a current of interest, and kindles up the love of knowledge. It is hardly possible, in any company, it can never be in order in mixed society, to discuss the foundations of the differential calculus, the Æolic dialect, or the personality of Homer; but most people may be interested in the discoveries of Liebig or Wheatstone, or the generalizations of Cuvier or Owen,—not to speak of the natural curiosity to know of the subsistence and habits of animals,—the haunts of the eagle, the propensities of the elephant, and the life circle of the insect,—and the classification and affinities of plants. It is impossible ever to have a well-informed community, unless by an even sprinkling of well-informed individuals of cultivated address, giving line upon line, here a little and there a little, to the circles where they experience the joys of existence. Books alone are very inadequate instructors of the million. Hence, if any studies, good in themselves, are of a kind to be readily communicable to the unstudious throng in the hours when they meet to sympathise and to talk, they deserve to be specially encouraged;—they are at once intellectual life to the few, and the civilisers of the many.

Sixthly.—One other consideration may be urged in favour of the extension of the university field; namely, the additional good that would accrue to the whole body of students from a university residence. In a place where many distinct branches of study are carried on, and where the scholars mingle freely, there is a double education at work; each one enjoys the fruit of his own application, and also hears and sees many of the proceedings of the entire circle of studentship. The cultivation of the newly-proposed branches would give unavoidable instruction to the devotees of the ancient pursuits. Though Homer and Thucydides were a scholar's proper business, yet, in visiting the rooms of his friends, he would hear of the remarkable doctrines and experiments of the lecturer on optics, or the professor of chemistry; he would be shown the plan of the Menai bridge, the track of a hurricane, or the decomposition of water; he would come to know the appearance of trap rock, and get interested in the sutures of a skull. In walking parties, the ornithologist of the company would give his companions an eye for the flight of birds, and the botanist excite their attention to the flowering of plants. It would be impossible for the most

determined mathematician, or the most voracious swallower of dictionaries, to leave college in entire ignorance of the ordinary vegetable species, or unable to say wherein a fish differed from a reptile. We have already touched upon the importance of filling up the ranks of society with men of various acquirements; and the principle holds as true of college life as of common life. To have every one studying the same things, or occupying their minds with similar trains, will not produce the highest possible culture, either in the community or in the individual. There should be no distinct branch of the knowable that has not its living oracles; and when a number of people come together, each should have something to impart and something to learn. It is to be remarked also, that there is no one subject that does not receive lights from many subjects. Classical antiquity can be admirably illustrated by natural history, by chemistry, by physics, by political economy (all which contain the necessary conditions, true in every age, of industrial operations and material produce), by physical geography and human anatomy; and it must be of great value to the classical student to find the principles of these subjects passing as commonplaces in the university, or, at all events, accurately known to his fellow students. The floating intellect of the college atmosphere, the *genius loci*, would in this way be a mightier influence on all the individual minds.

For students of unusual scientific ability, for young Newtons and Herschels, there would be an admirable opportunity of bringing the entire compass of their intellects into play, to carry off the highest honours, both in the mathematical and scientific walks. Such a feat would be the proof and the cause of immense intellectual endowments, and would be the almost certain precursor of a great career.

We should hope that these various considerations—the fitting out of a high order of practical men, the advancement of science, the development of the strong points and capabilities of the national character, the communication of a distinct kind of valuable personal cultivation, the provision in society of centres of knowledge of a character well adapted for general diffusion and popular interest, and, finally, the increase of the cultivating power of a university residence—are well-grounded and weighty arguments for carrying into effect, without loss of time, the contemplated extension of the academic field. It is of course desirable that not only a section of the candidates for honours, but also some portion of the general mass of students, should receive a scientific education; but it is obvious that the first step

must be taken with the few ; and if that succeed there will be the means, through them, of acting on the many. •

We have a few words more to say on what Dr. Whewell's books indicate, as to the state of the Cambridge University on the second point relating to education, namely, the methods of teaching. Given a particular subject of study—algebra, chemistry, or Greek—it becomes a question how to conduct the teaching of it, so that the pupils may derive the utmost possible benefit from the instruction. Some processes are more effectual than others for conveying the lessons with precision and force ; and there are many useful devices for exciting the minds of the learners to vigorous self-exercise, which is an essential part of education. To facilitate the communication of knowledge and ideas, the subjects to be taught are usually laid out in the order that they can be most easily taken up, in lesson books, text books, grammars, and manuals. There are also the accompaniments of diagrams, models, specimens, and experiments. Dictionaries, commentaries, and books of reference, supply what is lacking in the straight-forward course of the expositions. Teachers are sought out that are masters of their subjects, clear in their statements, expressive in their manner and demeanour, quick in apprehending the stumbling-blocks in the learner's path, and ingenious in illustrative devices. To compel the active exertion of the scholar's own faculties, there have been many contrivances. In learning languages, the pupil is set to divine for himself the meaning of his author, and to attempt an exposition of this to the teacher, before receiving any assistance ; a method that very effectually answers its end. In arithmetic, and mathematics generally, the pupil receives a rule, and sees an example or two of its working, and is then set to solve other cases by his own unaided powers : which also is a very strong security for the mind's exerting itself. A very old and widely employed device for the like purpose is the system of public disputations ; this is applicable to a different class of subjects, such as ethics, politics, history, theology, and others of the like character. The exaction of original essays from the pupils has the same tendency. But of all methods, *viva voce* examination, in presence of a whole class or school, on whatever has been taught or discussed, is the most effectual and the most universally applicable way of bringing the acquirements of the scholars to the active test. A teacher's success will probably depend more on his capability of managing these examinations, than on any other point of his character. His eloquence may inspire enthusiasm, and his lucid expression and well-timed illustrations may make him intelligible

and interesting; but unless he can bring his audience individually to the proof of what each has learned, he will fail in depositing knowledge in the state requisite for its being turned to account. In addition to all these contrivances, we may reckon prizes, emulation, honours, newspaper paragraphs, and substantial promotion, as valuable stimulants to the students' activity in taking in knowledge up to the highest style of acquirement that can be prescribed. Much of the present agitation, in regard to educational matters, refers to the establishment of good artifices for facilitating the acquisition of information and discipline, and to the best regulation of the habits of mind and body that may be formed at school and college.

On referring to Dr. Whewell's books, and to other accounts, it does not appear that Cambridge stands high in the methods and art of teaching. The classics and the mathematics are doubtless taught according to the devices natural to the subjects: and the text books that have issued from Cambridge in both departments show that the order of good exposition is known there. But the extensive prevalence of verse-making by no means proves that the highest methods of dealing with the classics have been hit upon. There is evidently too little of the exercise of turning Greek and Latin into idiomatic English, as we infer from Dr. Arnold's practice in this respect being considered exceptional, and still more from the discreditable fact that, with two large universities, we have not obtained for our literature a set of respectable translations of the classics. This is a fact that no apologies or defences can set aside. It is the opprobrium of England among civilized nations.

We give credit to the English universities (or rather to their worthy benefactors) for applying powerful stimuli in the shape of prizes and promotions; and such is the efficacy of these things, that they will make a few good scholars with but indifferent helps. But it is not a little scandalous, that the system of class examination on subjects expounded by lecture, such as history, ethics, or geology, is unknown at Cambridge. Indeed, Dr. Whewell grounds all the arguments contained in his first book on university studies, on the assumption that classical and mathematical teaching implies examinations, and that professorial lectures on other subjects exclude every sort of examination, and are, for that reason, inadequate for the intellectual discipline of youth. He seems not to know that, whatever be the practice in Germany, the system of strict examination on the subjects of lectures on moral philosophy, logic, rhetoric, natural history, and physics, has been in force in some of the colleges of this country for generations. Let him go to Glasgow, and he will

find the students kept under as severe training in the logic and rhetoric class, as in the Latin, Greek, or mathematical classes, although at the present moment the conduct of these last is probably not surpassed in the kingdom. It is a long established usage in the Scottish universities to lecture and examine on alternate hours, whatever the subject be. There is not a branch that can be named, on which this practice has not been in operation for a century, if not for two. In his latest book, Dr. Whewell takes credit to himself for having found that something could really be done towards teaching ethics in the practical way, that is by examinations, and we should be sorry to refuse him this credit; but some one must bear the heavy blame of keeping the university in utter ignorance of what are the daily practices of the other seminaries of the empire. If Dr. Whewell had read Professor Jardine's admirable book on a philosophical education, the delineation of his practice for fifty years, put in action upon thousands, and among these some of the now most famous men of our time, he would have seen an example of practical teaching, compared with which the ordinary lessons in Euclid or Virgil would seem a sleepy rehearsal. The reports of the late commissions that visited the Scotch universities, might furnish some surprises to Cambridge men, if these would condescend to read them.

With regard to the tutorial system at Cambridge, or the plan of bringing forward men into the teaching office, we cannot but pronounce it lax and inefficient in the highest degree. It is a kind of voluntary system, each pupil choosing any one he pleases from among the resident members of the university. There is no account taken of the teaching capabilities of the tutors, except in so far as these may make them popular with the undergraduates themselves. But scholars are not the best judges of their teachers; nor is any graduate of a college a qualified teacher as a matter of course. In all other places—in schools, academies, and colleges not on the English model, a man's fitness to communicate knowledge is a primary consideration in setting him over the education of youth; and the person appointed is aware that such a capability is expected to be shown: he therefore pays some attention to the art of teaching, visits the schools where good methods are to be seen, and has a just ambition of being a proficient in his art. This is neither seen nor expected in a body of such a random constitution as the Cambridge and Oxford tutors. No appointing body stakes its credit on their fitness to teach; and the actual capabilities of a really good teacher are very little recognised: they are neither an example nor a stimulus to others. True merit may blush unseen in a college

tutor; his pupils cannot adequately represent it either by word of mouth, or by their own proficiency. But in the educational world at large, so much stress is laid upon aptness to teach, as distinguished from the mere possession of knowledge, that an apprenticeship to teaching is begun to be insisted on. We have normal seminaries, where the rising educator goes to practise the art under the direction of good masters and according to the most approved methods; and where any one naturally disqualified is excluded from the profession, and eminent proficient is designated for important situations. This is as it should be; it is our highest advance in educational method: while the English universities and many of the village schools exhibit the lowest state of the art.

It is not to be expected that Dr. Whewell, and the improvers of Cambridge education, who are ignorant of the plans pursued in our oldest colleges, should know of the improved systems of the best continental and English schools, or that they should be versed in the newest books on the teaching art. And yet it is somewhat hard, that, while other teachers are trying to facilitate the acquiring of difficult knowledge, and to increase the natural ardour for study, *their* pupils enjoy no mitigation of their labours. The pauper children of Norwood have a less thorny career than the sons of splendour and the heirs of titles. The most royal road to learning is trodden by the most ragged of learners. All-purchasing money does not find at the dearest marts the best schoolmasters. The making of these is reserved in the mean time to the haunts of the humble and lowly; they are given by bounty, and not procured by affluence.

But, indeed, the *private* character of the English University tutorage is radically opposed to its efficiency. It prevents the abilities and methods of one teacher from being examples to others. If a tutor sits in a room with one or five pupils, let him charm ever so wisely, his influence is but trivial. An eminent teacher, under the public system, sitting at his desk before fifty or a hundred pupils, keeping them all astir and attentive, is a shining light to a large circle; he reproduces himself in a large number of scholars, and spreads his arts and devices far and wide over society. People come from the uttermost parts of the land to witness his proceedings, and to catch the secrets of his success. But in the private system, though a man teach like Jardine or Arnold (which however is impossible, as they accomplished their triumphs partly through the influence of a large mass upon each individual), he can never reach a commanding stage, nor put out his talents to good advantage. In short, there exists neither a mechanism for imparting the high teaching

capability, nor an opportunity for it to do its perfect work, if it should chance to appear. There is no pedestal provided for a shining light, and no effort made to light it up.

We cannot close this article, without, in a few words, urging the absolute necessity of a systematic Government control of the Universities. We have no wish to see a Government office take the entire management of them down to the arranging of hours, and adjusting of fees, and hearing appeals from aggrieved students; but it is obvious on every principle of good government, of expediency, or of common sense, that such unspeakably important institutions should not be suffered to do what they like, and neglect as many duties as they please. The state pays them, charters them, and gives them honourable standing, but makes no inquiry what they are about. It appoints many of their officers,*but it never hears, through any one of its organs, how they are conducting themselves. It is not, in any official shape, aware if its bounties are deserved. Hence it is obliged to turn a deaf ear to all petitions for new privileges or for alterations in the rules anciently laid down. Being ignorant if the hundred pounds it gives to a professorship be a public good or a public waste, it cannot be expected to give another hundred in a similar way. For anything it knows, the Treasury might, without any inconvenience, be saved a great part of its outlay; or, on the other hand, a thousand a year may be causing more good to the country than many of the tens of thousands otherwise spent. But the nation ought to know how its money is used, and whether the pretensions on which it is received are answered by the corresponding deeds; and it ought further to know if there be in any one of our establishments an unoccupied field of usefulness, where a little expenditure and attention can yield a great harvest of good. There is no other instance in the country of state privileges conferred without the smallest shadow of state control; the principle itself was lately repudiated with vehemence by the bench and the legislature, when the Scottish Established Church asserted its independence of the civil powers.

Royal commissions are the instruments usually employed by government in the rare instances of its interference with the chartered colleges. The experience which the Scotch universities have had of these, proves everything that we have just advanced. These commissions have, in the course of inquiry, disclosed numerous abuses, some of which the mere light of day has caused to be remedied. They have discriminated between the valuable and noxious parts of the universities, and have enabled the government to give additional aid where it was much wanted. But in their reports we find repeated complaints by the pro-

fessors themselves of the deplorable evils arising from the entire absence of control.

Now, if an occasional inspection be of so much use, how much more desirable a permanent superintendence. None but a government deputation is really adequate to see what the universities are doing; to be to them, what the newspaper reporters are to law courts and town councils and public assemblies,—a vehicle of information to the public about their doings. No one but an official agent, carefully chosen, could be allowed to describe in a public document the conduct of every professor's class; to give opinions on the various systems and curricula, and report on the acquirements of students. And yet how many men drone away their existence in reading lectures that have neither instruction nor interest, or spare themselves useless trouble by dispensing with them, while the brief season of youthful study is wasting, unimproved, before them.

Actually to interfere in University tuition, to prescribe to the professors how they are to conduct their classes, would be a delicate operation, not rashly to be undertaken. A ploughman may hold his plough as his master directs him; but a teacher that has to bring all his faculties and acquirements to his work cannot bend his procedure to any man's will; he might destroy his capabilities entirely if he attempted it. But while very cautious as to actual interference, a government board would do almost unmixed good by a regular circuit of inspection, and by including in one and the same general report a true picture of all the universities of the empire. Let the inspectors travel from the infant college of Cork, to the venerable university of Old Aberdeen, not omitting in its visits a single establishment that can plead royal charters in its favour. Let Dublin be visited in common with the London University; the same eyes should see Edinburgh and Cambridge, the same note-book should include St. Andrew's and Oxford; and above all, in the general report, let each see the face of every other. There is no surer means of improving the entire circle of institutions, than by keeping them aware of one another's proceedings. In the present state of things, Cambridge might have been stationed on the inhospitable Caucasus, and Oxford protected by the black-feet Indians on the banks of the Missouri, for all that they have learned from the the experience of the other universities of their father-land.

A. B.

ART. VIII.—*Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Progress of the new Houses of Parliament.*

IN 1782, an Italian authority, writing about the condition of architecture, observed that in “England, instead of architects, there were house-merchants (*mercanti di casa*), who built to last 30 or 40 years, who would even insure against fire on *reasonable* terms, (*discreto prezzo*), but this is not architecture.”

It would be a great libel on our buildings now, to say they are only built to stand 30 or 40 years; they have, unfortunately, at least twice that extent of life in them: construction is far better understood and practised; building-acts and inspectors ensure greater solidity and security against fire; our architecture, which was then at zero, may have also advanced, and yet may remain far in arrear of all our general progress in science and refinement.

What are the causes that influence the diffusion of taste, the perception of architectural propriety, beauty, and effect? Are they susceptible of being defined,—can even an approach be made towards indicating them?

Some of the effects produced by architecture are at once so ample, imposing, or complete, that they no sooner strike the eye of the beholder, than they create and form a taste in him, of which they are at once the example and the rule. He may not be able to explain it to himself, he can assign no reason for the pleasure which he experiences, either in the contrasts or the harmonies of colour or form. The sources of success may be various and even opposite; some edifices please from their simplicity, others from their gorgeousness, others from their solidity, others from lightness or loftiness: the most contrary qualities are equally available for effect, provided they are so disposed and wrought up, as to contribute in their due proportion to the character and expression of the general mass. And it is here, whatever be the style, that we must measure the skill of the architect, by his combination of the requisite ornament, animation, and variety, with the due degree of repose,—the proportion that the purely decorative embellishment bears to that which is positively substantial,—the real prevalence of the useful and solid, and yet the apparent prominence of the ornamental adjuncts and appendages, the former appealing to the reason of the spectator, the latter agreeably flattering his eye. These are some of the principles that appear to influence, more or less, all styles. Even in those that have long passed away, their greatest and most imposing effect is due to some character that appeals to some mental perception, some imaginative quality in the beholder, something seated far beyond the reach of that ordinary faculty of

vision, through which their outlines are transmitted to him. The pyramids, the oldest monuments of the old world, as well as those existing in the new, in addition to a sense of their solidity and eternity of duration, impress us with a feeling of an unity of performance, the result of a strong will wielding at its pleasure the whole subject energy of a nation. Again, in the Indian, the Saracenic, and Chinese, however grotesque or unmeaning to us may be the details, however overloaded with barbarous enrichments, there is, nevertheless, an intuitive accordance of parts, an adjustment of colour, of form, of light and shade, a subordination of all minor features to some general outline or idea. It is something complete and in keeping with itself. The ogival curves, the pyramidal domes, the tapering spires, pagodas, or minarets, have all a definite relation to the buildings of which they severally form part, that at once, instinctively as it were, agreeably satisfies the artistic requirements of an ordinary spectator, even though he may be unacquainted with the origin and destiny of the edifice he contemplates.

These considerations are not always sufficiently present to the minds of the architects of the present day; and, notwithstanding the enormous demand, unparalleled in any other age or country, for inventive constructions of all sorts, churches, courts, markets, palaces, stations, and theatres, no great originality has emerged from this multitude of performances. Perhaps some of the most satisfactory to be met with are among the railway structures, the stations, or the entrances to the tunnels, viaducts, bridges, &c., and yet these are more the operations of the civil engineer, than the design of the architect. These erections are imposing from their dimensions and strength; their massive altitudes are often successfully made the vehicle and occasion of embellishment; engaged columns or nookshafts may strengthen the entrance to a tunnel,—an overhanging roof keep passengers dry, and be converted at the same time into sources of legitimate expression and ornament. They thus eminently comply with the Vitruvian precept, *1st, utilitas, 2nd, firmitas, 3rd, venustas*, that is, the two latter qualities being respectively subordinate to the former, while the first is palpably attained, we are inclined to award our approbation and our estimate of the last, in proportion as it successfully ministers and waits upon the two first and more important. Tried by this rule, the architectural works of the present reign are not entitled to an equal amount of approbation.

There are four, in particular, very different in their purposes, treatment, object, and origin, we mean the Houses of Parliament, the British Museum, the Royal Palace of the sovereign, and the Royal Exchange; all erected by different architects—each pre-

senting a fair opportunity for brilliant inspiration, or a happy idea—each, perhaps, accompanied with difficulties sufficient to call for invention on the part of the architects who undertook to contend with them, and yet not too difficult to be mastered by genius. It may be a question whether the best measures were taken to ensure the manifestation of the highest talent the country possessed. Competition was employed in two instances; and granting that it is liable to occasional error and abuse, it may be observed, that but for his success above his rival brethren through its means, Mr. Barry's abilities might have remained comparatively unknown. By far the most important of them all is the Palace of the Legislature, of which so large a portion is now complete as to enable us to judge, in great measure, of its future effect. All things considered, we may esteem ourselves fortunate that the fire which consumed the former edifice did not occur a few years earlier. For, undoubtedly, more knowledge of the details of the Tudor style has become common, not only with the architectural profession, but with a portion even of the public during the present generation. The extravagances of Strawberry Hill could certainly now-a-days find no favour.

Under the reign of George III., this country may almost be said to have attained the zenith of splendour and dominion, glory and power, and yet to have reached, coterminously, the very nadir of abasement in all the pictorial and plastic arts which usually attend as gorgeous handmaids on the former. Nothing could be inferior to the architecture, painting, sculpture, and dress, conception and practice, during the regency. Still we must admit, that from one cause and another, possibly even a re-action against absurdity, a better taste is now diffused, and, on the whole, the evil event which destroyed the old houses of Parliament has not been entirely unproductive of good, since the necessity of providing new ones, has turned the attention of refined society to the mode in which a building, with all its accessories of painting and sculpture, might be made worthy of its intended purpose, and at the same time fitly cultivate and promote the national taste.

The chief objections to this great undertaking are, excessive decoration, and want of height. So unaccountable, indeed, has been the inattention to this latter quality, that it almost seems as if the architect had been able to waste it and give it away; since the level of the basement moulding, from not having been properly attended to, appears likely, as it proceeds westward from the clock tower, towards Parliament-street, there to lose itself in the ground, from the rise of the earth, or to run so close to it as to be deprived of its just effect. If this is so, it is

unaccountable. The ground line should have been the same as that of Westminster Abbey, or Canning's statue. The suggestion was made to Mr. Barry. The objection, that the level of Westminster Hall was too low, was anticipated; it was proposed to raise the Hall, (it is eight feet below the base of the statue). Had this been done, the building, instead of being now sunk, as in a well, by the side of Westminster-bridge, would have been nearly on a level with the ground at the foot of it. A few hundred thousand extra cubic feet that might have been required for raising the basement some three or four feet, would have been but a trifling addition to the cost of the whole building, in order to confer upon it that importance which it wants, and which is now sought to be attained by raising the towers beyond their original intention. For, as a whole, whatever may be its individual beauties, however it may hereafter excel in sky-line and profile, the deficiency of altitude is a capital defect.

The original design was calculated for five acres of ground, but the wants of the state, or rather the pretensions of those who serve it in waiting upon the legislature, and the aspirations of the architect, extended it, though in a horizontal direction only, so as to cover two more acres with masonry, but without any corresponding addition to the elevation. What might have been a fair proportion for five is not suitable for seven, but this reflection does not seem to have occurred in time. However, the towers are to produce great effect; we are told to wait, and see when they shall have arrived at their height how they will rescue the rest of the mass from its comparative humility. This is doubtful. The towers themselves will rise into notice, but it will be at the expense of the rest of the block, which they will tread down; the mass is too large to be carried upward by them. These suggestions will occur to every one who has been in the habit of crossing Westminster-bridge; and, by-the-bye, we can quite understand the extreme anxiety of Mr. Barry for the removal of an object from whence the passing world looks too proudly down upon the best part of his works; but to do him justice, in his controversy with Messrs. Walker and Burgess, the engineers, some years ago, as to its insecurity, he was entirely correct. But even now that the roadway has been lowered several feet, it commands the edifice far too much, as an omnibus passenger will discover the serjeant-at-arms at breakfast, on the first-floor. From the river, again, which ought to afford one of the best points of view, the neighbourhood of the unconforming bridge is oppressive; there is no escaping its conjunction in the picture, whencesoever looked at.

Another view which disagreeably illustrates the observations

that intrude themselves whether we will or not, respecting the absence of height, is that which it presents from Vauxhall-bridge. There we have a sufficient distance; nothing is unfairly foreshortened as on the other side; we have, too, the advantage of seeing only the narrower end of the building, the stern rather than the broadside; yet even this the newer erection must be pronounced inferior to the venerable Abbey, with which comparison is prominently invited, by a front nearly equal to the south side of the cathedral, with a great tower which repeats those of its western end, and other towers which correspond with the truncated rise over its transept. Seen at that distance, all the costly ornament is lost, the richness of the carving, which has added so enormously to the uncontrolled expenditure, disappears, or produces only the effect of murky stains and dirt; the palace of the legislature hardly reaches to the clerestory of the abbey, certainly does not overtop the chapel of Henry VII.,—possibly in allusion to what has long been a myth in England, the due subordination of the state to the church.

One of the most questionable parts of the fabric will be the record or Victoria tower, at its further extremity. Its position is now irretrievably wrong. Intended, from its proportions and elaborate profusion of tracery, to form one of the principal attractions, certainly the chief external feature of the edifice, it is situated at what is, and always must continue to be, the most remote corner of it, unless the caprice of fashion should turn the Penitentiary into a Carrousel, just as Tyburnia has become habitable under the auspices of its ecclesiastical lord. The Royal entrance for the sovereign into this, the most splendid of her palaces, is poked into a corner, and Mr. Barry and the rest of his brethren might be challenged to show a single other instance of a building, one quarter of the size and pretensions of this, which is thus entered absolutely at an angle, whereby the unhappy notion is suggested of the pageant and procession cutting diagonally across the arrangement of the halls and galleries, in order to penetrate to the centre. Towers and main entrances do indeed, in our fine cathedrals, occupy the western extremities, and the towers themselves then form the angles; but when so constructed, the entrances are in the curtain between, rather than underneath them—at all events, when they occupy angular positions, they are rarely and sparingly pierced—never so awkwardly perforated as to appear, as does the Record one, “*stans pede in uno*” doing an eternal sort of goose-step at one end of the building;—the blue sky seen cornerwise through the huge arch, which seems to lead to nothing, making it appear almost like the portal of heaven to the pilgrim on his way to a place most unlike

that cœrulean region—the Nine Elms terminus of the South Western Railway. And though towers are often placed at the western angles of our minsters, it is not there that they produce their finest effect. York, Winchester, Westminster, and many others, still regret the interruption of the original design, which would have reared their loftiest spires and aspirations in more central situations, over the intersection of the nave and transept, whence the weight might have been evenly distributed over the eight abutting walls, and conducted down to the furthest extremities of the pile, thus presenting the beauty and harmony of a pyramidal* arrangement from whatever quarter it might be viewed. From this effect Mr. Barry has cut himself off. The mass now, with the huge height in the rear and the smaller towers in the north and centre, is something like a vessel under jury, main and foremasts, with a disproportionate mizen: a highly ornamented Bucentaur, with a standard-pole erected in the stern. There is no objection, on principle, to towers at the angles of buildings,—for defence and strength below, for enjoying the fine air and prospect above,—but in the case, the lower parts should be solid, the apertures few and small. Mr. Barry's practice in this part of his art is inferior to his other conceptions; his towers are often insignificant, and apt, as at Walton-on-Thames, to stand on insufficient legs and stilts—and their author evinces rather too great a preference for the debased style of Chambord and Fontainebleau.

We must revert for a moment to the ornament of the exterior, which, independently of the smoke and dirt it must entrap, is too general and profuse. It bids fair almost to rival Henry VII.'s Chapel, which of itself is more elaborate than successful, and would be probably less satisfactory were it not that the great extent of the comparatively plain surface of the Abbey supplied a contrast and a foil. It may indeed be considered a highly-wrought jewel, annexed to the simple garb of the Minster. But the same defence cannot be made for the New Houses. The carving is spread about equally over their exterior, allowing no space for the eye to rest upon unbeset by lion, unicorn, portcullis, or other impediment to repose. It is singular that the architect should not have understood that the value of all ornament, whether in architecture or in dress, depends much upon its being set off by some plain smooth space. What a source of beauty results from the exemplification of this principle in the buildings and attire of classical antiquity! How the plain repose

* How immeasurably superior from this cause is the outline of Lincoln, Salisbury, Wells, and Norwich, to that of the others named before.

and shade of the cella in the temple set off the flutings and capitals of the columns that surround it ; how the quiet architrave in the Doric brings out the richness of the sculptured frieze above ; how effective is the figured border of mantle or pepulum, or patera or shield, from the contrast respectively afforded by the simple texture or plain surface of the other component parts ! Later, how impressive is the sparing ornament of the Norman style on the massive solids surmounted by its strings and cornices, or pierced by its deeply-recessed apertures !

Again, the palaces of modern Rome (of which Mr. Barry himself has given a successful instance, on a reduced scale, in his Reform Club), derive almost the whole of their success from two or three very simple sources of beauty—the cornice, the string, the dressings of the windows and doors, always contrasted by a sufficient extent of unbroken area. This is the indispensable condition, but it has been disregarded at the New Houses. Indeed, it almost seems as if the architect had carefully excluded some of those accessaries, which in other countries, as in this, are so much relied upon. Along the whole river front, out of all the salient projections in which that façade abounds, there is scarcely one at right angles from the general line—oriels, buttresses, turrets, all are bevelled into octagonal shapes. This is more finished, more intricate ; but at the same time that it unduly bewilders the spectator from comprehending the general idea of the whole, it necessarily also precludes an important element of success, the play of light and shade that would have resulted from bolder forms at better defined angles. The value of lateral shadows in these matters is too little attended to in England. Our climate, the small elevation attained by the sun, forbid us to derive that variety of light and shade from those sources so profitable to architects of southern regions, overhanging cornices, projecting balconies : the sun is too low during a large portion of our day and year for this ; but why not avail ourselves of the charm which is procured from that lateral *chiaro scuro*, the result of bold projections and deep recesses on the plan—as exemplified in the turrets and counterforts of old keeps and fastnesses, the buttresses of convents and churches, and of which Windsor Castle, with all its imperfections, is so striking an instance ?

Some of Mr. Barry's admirers endeavour, unwisely as it should seem, to claim for him an extravagant meed of credit not only for the magnitude of the conception but for the rapidity of his execution. With all the appliances of modern science and machinery ; with an unrivalled coasting marine, a river unsurpassed for navigation, always open ; complete internal communication either by

water, road, or rail; with the power of transporting, of sawing up by machinery the most huge blocks of stone, of executing by the same means the most delicate carving on their surface; as well as that of drying, airing, and seasoning artificially every part of the building as it arose; and with the fullest command not only over the supply of stone, but of timber, and of metals used in the construction, it may be assumed that the erection in ten years time of so much of the edifice as we now see, is not after all any extraordinary performance. Calling to mind, too, the structures that have been raised in mediæval, or at least remote times, not by the united wealth of great empires, but by mere municipalities, often in the midst of civil discord,* Ghent, Louvaine, Bruxelles,* Audenarde,† and Maestricht,‡ comparing the smallness of the contributing area with the grandeur of the edifices they had the spirit to raise; we cannot withhold our admiration at their originality of design, their lofty elevations, their imposing proportions: while with all our wealth and experience, although we are bewildered with the display of profusion, we are hardly satisfied with the contour and taste.

Besides which, those great municipal halls in the low countries have, in their whole profile and air, that in which we cannot but consider our architecture generally, and this edifice in particular, to be sadly wanting—character. No one could mistake the Granducal palace at Venice, the Signoria at Florence, the Hotel de Ville at Paris, or those of any of the before-mentioned cities of Flanders, for anything but what they respectively are. Amidst all the external display wherewith those communities delighted to surround the actual seat of their chief domestic power and government, there is no *equivoque* that suggests a doubt about its use, or the probability of its having been erected for any other purpose. In the palace at Westminster there is a mixture: a stranger at first does not clearly ascertain whether its destination be ecclesiastical, collegiate, municipal, military, or legislative; for it savours of all the former quite as much as of the last.

In offering these remarks we wish to guard ourselves against the supposition of criticizing the Tudor style as inapplicable to such a purpose. Some purists, enamoured of antique simplicity, have regretted that a classical Grecian or Roman model was not resorted to. But in the first place, the *Senatus populusque Romanus* have left us no examples extant of the *locale* in which the government of the world was discussed in their day; next, if they had, it would have been wholly unsuitable to our climate, habits, and forms of business. The allowance of light in a

* A. D. 1400, Gothic. † 1626, lofty Gothic. ‡ 1652, Renaissance.

southern climate is utterly disproportioned to that which our darker latitude requires; and this alone, from entirely altering the area of the apertures as compared to the mural spaces they pierce for the purpose of letting in the light, unfits the strictly classical style for close adoption in this country, unless the roof can be made partly transparent, and even this only provides for the wants of one story.

In other respects we can discern no abstract superiority to our own approved model. The two English Houses of Parliament are neither the successors nor the representatives of any corresponding bodies in either Greece or Rome. They have had no prototype in antiquity, in either their origin or their functions; their attributes, now the growth of many centuries, have been developed by the march of events, accidentally, in part, no doubt; but from elements of order and the germ of freedom, which, from the earliest times appear to have formed part of the Anglo-Saxon type of character; one which, if not susceptible of the easy polish of the modern Gaul, of the fancy of the Italian, or the fire of the Spaniard, combines, more than any of them, the prudence with the energy, the moderation with the fortitude, which has placed us in advance of the civilization of the world.

Such a nation, then, has no need to recur to the imperfect though elegant patterns of the architecture of the heathen republics, in order to suit itself with precedents for a legislature so entirely aboriginal and innate. A purely Grecian or Roman building would be less unfitted for a republic of this year's date. Its citizens need not be particular, for to them all styles are alike: nay, as the unfortunate condition of their existence, the primary and indispensable necessity incumbent upon them, is that they should destroy all *prestige* of preceding influence and authority, since all the monuments of times gone by are to them of necessity redolent of regality, aristocracy and feudality, without any of those compensating benefits which attached to those phases of society in England. With those reflections, they must resort to something extra-national, since in the history of their own respective countries they can find nothing that would supply an adequate architectural type for a truly national assembly. In Great Britain the thing is otherwise. Within a century after the Norman invasion, the great principle of parliamentary representation, interrupted by that event, had been re-established; and, in spite of local and of temporary oppressions it continued, more or less, through the wars of the roses, gradually, but surely, to advance, in spite of Tudors first, and Stuarts next, till under the princes of the House of Brunswick it has become what we now see it. The Tudor period, however, has a certain fitness both in

its date and expression. It was under those sovereigns that England, though she had lost her French provinces, was first felt to be a power of importance on the continent: it was under them that she began to found colonies to develop trade; that the factions of York and Lancaster ceasing to ravage the land, its owners were enabled to emerge from their gloomy fastnesses and to indulge, from the growing security, in a less confined and suspicious style of domestic architecture.

Of so much of the interior as is completed it is impossible to speak without a certain degree of disapprobation. Some of the arrangements formerly contemplated were so objectionable that it is difficult to imagine how they could have suggested themselves to an architect of the ability and experience of Mr. Barry. In the midst of the Victoria tower was to have been a central pillar as a sort of pivot for the state coach with its eight prancing horses to wheel round; then, when this was abandoned as inexpedient, a gateway was provided for the admission of the royal equipages, but so narrow, that there were not six inches to spare on each side of the wheels to allow for a swerve of the quadrupeds, or for the passage of the attendants who on that occasion accompany the procession on foot. Her Majesty, on alighting, was to ascend 25 steps in a flight, without rest or landing-place, to find at top a square room to be crossed diagonally, the ingress being in one corner, and the issue at another—but with a pillar so placed in the middle as to create an unseemly embarrassment to the procession, dodging, as it were, as to which side it should steer its course. Some of these blemishes have been removed, or at least modified.* The stairs are to be eased, the pivot below not proceeded with, the passage for the coach taken down and rebuilt a little wider—the central pillar upstairs abandoned—changes of some importance, but for which Mr. Barry appears to have thought no authorization requisite but his own. Indeed, it is much to be wished that somebody besides the architect were responsible. The original commissioners are *functi officio*, the Woods and Forests abdicated all jurisdiction; and the only parties who have really been attended to, seem to have been the officials of either chamber, for whom the architect has obligingly provided, at the public expense, dwelling-houses and dining-rooms rivalling the magnificence of Belgrave-square.

The interior has been committed, it is believed, by Mr. Barry

* Partly in consequence of the able remonstrance and observations made by one of the original four commissioners, appointed in the year 1835 to examine the designs of the competing architects (generally understood to be Lord Sudeley).

to Mr. Pugin, an ardent admirer of colours and gilding; it must be admitted, that if so much of richness were to be employed, which is questionable, the general harmony produced, notwithstanding the brightness and opposition of the colours, is a successful achievement. There are errors, and some of them very prominent. The throne, and canopy above it, from being entirely gilt all over, present a too dazzling and yet a commonplace, it might almost be said, a gingerbread appearance: indeed gilding, however it may set off beads, edges, foliation and tracery, is not a material to be safely employed in large or continuous quantity;* its glare, and the absence of shade, at once attracts and fatigues the eye.† At the opposite end is a less excusable display of magnificence in the burnished brilliancy of the reporters' gallery, quite out of keeping with the assiduous industry of its occupants, and a ludicrous homage to the sovereignty of the press.

Another fault, trivial in all but its effect, for it might be easily altered, is to be found in the rails of the side galleries above. The form itself is poor, but the gilding renders them offensively intrusive. The like remark applies to the benches; the extent of red morocco, particularly when the house is empty, and which is the time when it is mostly visited by critics, produces a mischievous glare and reflection, which however vanish in a full sitting.

Much of the impression created by the new House of Lords depends on the side from which it is entered. The majority of the public approach it from the northern vestibule, which in itself presents an agreeable yet imposing character, not overlaid with finery. The chief sources of effect being the colours in its ceiling, glazing, and encaustic pavement, the walls themselves being only what the natural colour of the highly-wrought stone affords; it must be allowed to be somewhat cold as an introduction to splendour and warmth of colour, cushion, and carpet, which the house itself presents; those who enter the other way from the robing room have the advantage of a more gradual approach in tone and colour, through a chamber which has been treated with manifest skill.

In the public offices at Whitehall Mr. Barry has been unfortunate. An excess of gaudy decoration has here been married to a set of utilitarian sash windows, like an insolent daughter of fashion to some ambitious millionaire,—the man of sugar, iron, or silver,—equally ill-assorted. Garlands and cornices,

* An instance of this may be seen in a room of the Palazzo Serra in Genoa, which most foreigners are taken to see. The walls are exclusively covered by gilding and mirrors.

† “Keep such balustrades quiet,” says Milizia, “when they are painted and gilt, as is often done, *l'occhio ne risente uno stacco ingrato.*”

advancing and retreating in studied confusion, as if on purpose to distract and defy all criticism. Columns of considerable pretensions support an entablature more suited, from its emblems, to adorn an opera house, than a sober council office or board of trade. Windows elbowing the enrichments and each other for want of room, amid rustication and festoons, leave no repose to the bewildered eye from the flower-pots at top down to the balustrades at the bottom. In mere street architecture this finery, even were it in better taste, is mostly thrown away; the busy crowd of passers-by, on foot or in carriages, are far too much occupied to give any heed to such intricacy as has here been adopted; and save in a very few situations, where an edifice fronts the approach instead of forming a line with it, where the thoroughfare is not inconveniently crowded, and where, in short, circumstances permit and justify a pause, it would appear wiser to rely on more simple elements of expression, fewer in number but more prominent in character. The south side of Pall Mall will help to illustrate this position. The large salient cornices and well marked forms of its clubs, even the quaint but picturesque old red projections with their corresponding recesses, occupied by Messrs. Harding and Pearce, and the army agents' office, confer upon it, although all has been the result of accident and individual enterprise, an *ensemble* of a more imposing and agreeable character than has been attained in some of the new streets which have, nevertheless, had the advantage of being constructed upon one general plan. It is much to be wished that an opportunity should be taken of opening it to the Green Park, which would then be visible from the steps of the National Gallery. The removal of less than a dozen small houses, together with the late Royal Hotel, would form a street seventy or eighty feet wide, its north-western extremity handsomely terminating on the new Stafford House. It is not impossible that the mall, or drive, might be continued straight across the park, passing out towards Halkin-street, by a covered way under Buckingham-gardens. Could this be accomplished without undue invasion of the royal privacy, it would greatly ease the over-crowded thoroughfares of Piccadilly of some portion of its traffic; at the same time, as Buckingham Palace has unfortunately been fixed upon as the residence of the Sovereign, it would be desirable to indemnify her Majesty for the interference with the pleasure ground on the north, by the addition of an enclosure on the south. The public thoroughfare, instead of sweeping out of its direct course to make an ugly elbow at the equerry's gate, as at present, would then proceed westwards in a straight line, continuing that of the Birdcage-walk, until it issued into the Belgrave road.

Alas! for the palace itself. It had been perhaps unreasonably but fondly hoped by some, that inferior as was the original structure to all just notions of regal splendour and architectural taste, yet after all, the necessity of some enlargement of what was built as a bachelor-palace, did present an opportunity for covering and masking some of the principal defects. The thinness of the insignificant wings is now hidden, no doubt, but it is by something equally tame. The pre-existing horizontal lines might have been carried round the addition with increased importance; had the new part been deficient in height, a central* and two terminal pavilions might have given it consequence; always remembering that as the new part is for occupation by the Royal family, the state receptions still taking place in the old, there was not the absolute necessity for the general façade of the former being so much increased in height. Mr. Blore, however, has produced a most unfortunate jumble; for the new mass, devoid of invention and beauty (except such as is presented by an ordinary club-house, and some private residences), neither harmonizes with, nor yet surpasses the original, in anything but elevation. The cornices and several lines are all just so far different in level as to produce that most disagreeable of all results, a discord without a contrast; a breach of continuity without an excuse for the interruption; an unbecoming deposit of ungracious aspect upon what was more tolerable before. Yet there was an opportunity for something which, though far from perfect, might have been handsome, or at least agreeable. The marble arch, though inadequate to its original insulated position, has merit and beauty in itself, and might have been advantageously incorporated with the design by an artist of resource and genius; it would now require some ingenuity to find a suitable place of exile for it, since go it must. Again, an open loggia in the upper part of the front, somewhat like that in the court of the Farnese palace at Rome, and of which some idea may be gathered from those in the river front of Somerset-house,—an arrangement which more than any other suggests, from its air of lofty repose, the notion of royal leisure,—would, besides the enjoyment to the sovereign, have afforded a play of light and shade such as is rarely met with: and if this, which need not have occupied above one-sixth of the front, had interfered too much with the intended lodging or accommodation sought to be obtained, it might still have been remedied by adding a little to the breadth, or by extending the extremities.

* "If you want to give height" says *Milizia*, "to palaces, an architect may show his invention *malzando padiglioni nel mezzo e negli angoli, e torrette e belvederi coperti leggiadramente con cupoli e con ringhiere.*

The south front of the British Museum forcibly exemplifies how want of attention to perspective in the disposition of the component portions, in themselves excellent, may mar all satisfactory effect. The central portico recedes so far back from between the hexastyles that flank it on each side, as to be mostly enveloped in shade, except during the middle of the day. The wings advancing, usurp the importance of the centre, which, in order to predominate at that distance, ought to have been higher. Most unfortunately, the first portions of the museum that present themselves to the visitor, from either east or west, are those tall, narrow, dwelling-house appendages, stuck full of windows as a three-decker is of port-holes; and which, by advancing almost to the line of the street, protrude their officinal and domestic character as a disagreeable contrast, rather than as an introduction to the great national repository of natural history. Although meagre they are not devoid of costly pretensions. The great size of the stones paraded in their construction forms a certain claim to notice in the absence of higher and more artistic attributes. The thinness and want of profile in the openings and cornice, invest the edifice at once, no matter what its magnitude, with a meagre tameness. Plainness and simplicity do not necessarily exclude nobleness and breadth of effect; and even in less pretending elevations, a master of his art may, by a skilful study of perspective and of light and shade, produce a happier impression than we derive from the first examination of Mr. Sydney Smirke's great work. On entering, the hall or vestibule is striking from its simplicity and proportions; any severity of treatment is redeemed by the colours which have been introduced into the pannels of the ceiling and cornices, and judiciously limited to them. Outside, the single row of windows beneath the columns in the chief front (since windows there must be), have no bad effect; but the gloominess of the narrow gallery they light affords a proof of the difficulties of combining, in our dark climate, external columniation with the requisite degree of daylight within. The principal staircase on the left is a handsome composition; yet fifteen steps* in a flight are felt to be quite as much as are agreeable in ascending, or secure in descending. The parapet is almost solid, and this is perhaps a mistake, since the visitors standing on the upper balcony or landing, lose a great part of the internal perspective and agreeable movement presented by the

* Yet Mr. Barry, but for the timely remonstrance of the Committee of the House of Lords, at the instance of Lord Sudeley, would have introduced nearly double that number into the sovereign's entrance from the Victoria tower. At the Duke of York's column are three flights of eleven each, which it is no small exertion to mount.

view of parties ascending and descending. This extreme of opacity may have been resorted to, in order to avoid the opposite error committed in the northern staircases, where the clumsy yet stilted Tuscan collonats, introduced as balusters, create a feeling of insecurity.

The Royal Exchange is another instance of the slow progress which æsthetic perception, notwithstanding the demand for it, has made in our metropolitan structures. The general impression is one of ornamental heaviness, with a display of wealth certainly, but which had not been fortunate in securing the guidance of good taste. The best appearance is undoubtedly that presented towards Cheapside, whence the tower and cupola combine agreeably with the portico; but the latter is out of keeping with the rococo style of dress that prevails in other parts. The fenestration in particular is open to much question. The circles inscribed within other circles that are not concentric to them, as in the east front, engender an unpleasing mixture of plane and spherical trigonometry, very perplexing to those who have only time for the monetary calculations applicable to the *locus in quo*. Then again, in the interior court, the windows of the upper floor fatigue one with corresponding want of symmetrical arrangement. There is first a great semicircle coving round a smaller one, within which a triangular pediment is awkwardly introduced; below that a square, then again another semicircular head inscribed in this square, whose spandrils thus abridge the light which would have been welcome to the chambers within. In the court below the engaged Tuscan columns supporting an entablature no wider than their own capitals, which merely starts out from among the voissoirs of the arches of the colonnade, have a singularly ungracious and anomalous aspect. The columns in fact, both within and without, are an additional instance of the difficulties that unavoidably attend their introduction into the buildings such as our times and usages require. If they are dipteral, our rooms must be lit in some other way than they usually are; if they are engaged, *i.e.* merely decorated piers on the face of the wall, we then see two or more rows of windows squeezed in between them, and close underneath a cornice to which they are necessarily so near that it becomes uncomfortably oppressive: this is the case at Cornhill, in proceeding along which, the eye is caught by the protruding window-sills and dressings, just disturbing the vertical cylindrical lines of the columns.

The shape of the ground, an irregular trapezium, clearly forbids a rectangular plan. So far Mr. Tite has disguised the departure from 90 degrees at some of the corners with skill. Yet here was an occasion on which a little novelty might have been attempted;

or if not absolute novelty, at last a happy adaptation from other existing examples. There is one in particular whose proportions and disposition might have been advantageously substituted for the interior court and cloister—we mean the Pantheon of Rome: its area (of nearly 1,600 square feet) would exceed by one-third the total covered colonnade at the Exchange, and which is very indifferently protected from the weather; or including both the covered and open enclosure, it may be as 15 to 26. In point of accommodation, therefore, commerce would not suffer. Whoever has been accustomed to enter that noble temple, must have been struck with the unsurpassed beauty of its internal arrangement, the equable temperature, and the perfect repose that is always enjoyed there, while the organs of vision are at once satisfied and charmed. It is strange, that with all the public works required in this country, no one has as yet thought of turning to account one of the most precious examples bequeathed to us by the Augustus age. Yet everything would turn to actual use in a building, which contained in its centre such a structure. A large accessible promenade is required for the affluent mercantility that would be at once provided, together with protection from driving rain or scorching sun, an inconvenience to which the present court exposes its frequenters. Then accommodation for public offices all round—the domical form supplies, and even suggests them as counterforts to resist the thrust of its vault; and as room is required for archives, papers, muniments, in all of them, the convex form might have been adopted for one of their respective sides (even if it were not thought worth while to mask it) without interfering with their symmetrical disposition. There is but one objection that can be made, and that is the want of light, which, in the Roman Pantheon, only penetrates by a circular opening of 27 feet in diameter. This would be insufficient in London; but an ample quantity might be admitted by making the pannels of the cupola transparent for even two or three tiers from the centre—the glass either diapered or painted to match the polychrome arrangement of the rest of the ceiling.

Let not our architects be above adopting an exact copy of a really good thing. If we have a reasonable excuse for it and can afford it, let us by all means have a Pantheon on the next fitting opportunity that occurs. Michael Angelo, in designing the cupola of St. Peter's, boasted that he would raise that of the temple of Agrippa aloft into the regions of air; an astonishing conception, in which, however, interior effect is somewhat sacrificed for the sake of the aspiring sky-line. From within, the vault so upraised is too lofty to be beheld without an effort: and the same remark applies with greater force to the domes that have been

erected since, from the one over St. Paul's down to that of the National Gallery; as, from their smaller diameter, the angle at which they are viewed from beneath, necessarily occasions the same inconvenience, without compensating for the exertion by a corresponding amplitude of expanse. Such a form reared aloft in masonry (iron has not yet been tried) contains in itself the obvious element of its own ruin in the lateral pressure its shape occasions, unless counteracted by expedients. Accordingly, St. Paul's has three, the inner and the outer domes, with the intervening cone. *S^{ta} Maria del Fiore* has two domes; *St. Peter's*, one and a half—that is, the cupola is solid for a certain space upward, whence it diverges into two unconcentric curves to form an inner vault and an outer profile: but in that simplicity of construction which always most gratifies our reason where it exhibits a result attained by the scientific and economical arrangement of materials, and wherein one form is not artificially concealed behind another totally different from it, the principle of the single shell adopted in the Pantheon, and *S^{ta} Sofia* at Constantinople, has not been surpassed in the temples erected by modern science, after the interval and with the experience acquired in the lapse of a thousand years.

The statuary in the pediment of the Exchange has been a good deal criticised—but trade is so prosaic, so utterly the reverse of the scenic, that the sculptor may well be excused if, on so ungrateful a task, he has not solved the problem of combining the ideal with the practical—for that is the difficulty. The temples erected by antiquity to their gods, or to the heroes, or to the qualities they deified, invited the talent of the artist into a congenial field; the subjects were battles, sacrifices, or tragedies, blending the solemn with the terrible, but excluding the common-place, the fasti and triumphs of a nation or a potentate, not the routine occupations of its ordinary citizens. In all this, admitting and even suggesting something imaginative and typical, the sculptor was not condemned to produce the human form in its ordinary employment and attire. On the contrary, it is clear that most of the memorials remaining to us of Greek statuary exclude dress to a greater extent than it was dispensed with in real life; so far they were conventional in omitting all that might have damaged the artistic effect, or have interfered with the received requisite notions of propriety of treatment. The great masters of the classical times have left us no examples of the method of dealing with the more homely utilitarian subjects presented by our modern civilization. To the nocturnal form and incident of *Lucretia*, surrounded by her diligent virgins, succeeds the spinning-jenny and the sempstress, or worse, the man-

milliner behind the counter. Trades and manufactures were all below the level of the more warlike and political communities of antiquity. Now that our merchants wax rich, and our manufacturers aspire to name the government of the country, and to enlist the fine arts in its service,—the latter are embarrassed to know how to wait upon such a master, so ill calculated to set off their endeavours to advantage. There is so little precedent, so little of that of which we are generally so regardful, that the introduction of anything new is generally defended on the ground of its analogy or resemblance to some existing and recognised type. And it is singular that in those arts which result from the inventive faculty of the mind, which are the exponents of imagination, in architecture, sculpture, poetry, and painting, we are apt to insist upon precedent and authority quite as much as in legislation, cookery, furniture, of dress. It is only in mechanics and manufacturing processes devised by the talent of a few minds, and to which the assent or the multitude is not requisite, that absolute novelty is freely admitted. As long as this discrepancy exists, as long as we call upon modern art, pictorial and plastic, to give expression to things new and devoid of grace, and yet expect them to be clothed in forms of high quality, and with which they have nothing in common, so long must we be prepared for the disadvantageous contrast presented by the harsh solidities of modern industry, when attempting to invest themselves with the flowing idealities of untrammelled antiquity.

“Excudent alii spirantia mollius æria
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.”

One word more on the Westminster Palace. The task of advising upon the extent and character of the fine arts that are to adorn the interior has been entrusted to a Commission, at the head of which naturally stands the name of the consort of Her Majesty. His Royal Highness is said to have no mean knowledge of art. Lord Lansdowne is well known as its munificent patron. Sir Robert Peel's taste, if in accordance with his gallery, is perhaps too homely for us to accept him as a guide where historic events are to be commemorated in all their grandeur and elevation. But there was Mr. Rogers, who has both taste and perception, poetic, historical, and artistic — *si sic omnes*. Mr. Eastlake, as secretary, contributes the result of his long and successful studies among the purer Italian schools, with which we cannot but regret that the rest of the Commission were not more familiar, since no amount of learning, industry, or vigilance can otherwise enable its members to prescribe or judge of the appropriate forms and subjects

of illustration. There was much truth in Lord Brougham's pointed sarcasms on their award of prizes to the cartoons exhibited in Westminster Hall, in the summer of 1847. Much as we may doubt their artistic judgment, still less can we accede to the moral interlocutor pronounced, provisionally only, it is to be hoped, in the case of the protector Cromwell and the poet Byron. The former, among the very greatest of the rulers who have governed this country—he, the uncrowned, who humbled the haughty Spaniard and taught the insolent youth of Louis XIV. that respect for England which his degenerate successor, Charles II., showed him he might with impunity discard: Cromwell, who gave Blake to our navy, is not to be there. He was an usurper—that is, he was what William the Conqueror, and Henry IV., and Edward IV., and Richard III., and Henry VII. were, about whom we have not been scrupulous. Perhaps they lived in times too remote to exercise a deleterious influence over the loyalty of present generations. But then even William III. is somewhat of an intruder into a royal palace. He enters it only with a parliamentary title—a title not very superior to that which the bold protector can produce. “A Stuart by his mother, he overthrew the Stuarts;—son-in-law of James II. he dethroned him;—and that England which he had torn from his relations he bequeathed to those whom he hated, the princes of the house of Hanover.”*

We must not conclude without referring to the exiled effigy of one who was not only the first poet of the age but the very voice of the age, as having given utterance to some of its inmost and characteristic feelings.† That voice was like the moan of the surge, rolled on shore by the ground-swell, and foretelling, in its measured cadence, the tempest yet lingering beyond the verge of the horizon. It has been remarked recently, by Emerson, that it is “the privilege of genius to be the delegate of all men.” In representing so vividly and intensely the mental sufferings common at that period to a number of gifted and highly cultivated minds, Lord Byron virtually predicted the discords which are now vibrating through

* Michelet—‘*Precis de l'Histoire Moderne.*’

† The commission (in March, 1846) appointed a sub-committee from among themselves, consisting of Lord Mahon, Mr. Macaulay, Sir Robert Inglis, Messrs. Hallam, Rogers, Wyc, and Hawes. Seven is an ominous number, suggesting comparisons with sages—or sleepers, according to the wisdom or otherwise of their recommendations.

The seven were unanimous in favour of Chaucer, Spencer, Surrey! Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Richardson, Johnson, Cowper, and Scott.

Not unanimous about B. Johnson, J. Bunyan, Dryden, Pope, Swift, Goldsmith, Burns, and Sir William Jones.

Quite unanimous in ignoring Lord Byron and Grey!

the heart of society. To those woes, the harbingers of greater woes, he bore witness, and in doing so he was, in the true sense of the word, a martyr [*μάρτυρ*], and a benefactor to his kind; like all those who, by divulging sorrows and proclaiming wrongs, bring about the remedy sooner or later. It is not fanciful to assert that much of the sounder philosophy of this day, in regard to human nature, may be traced back to the impressions made by those melancholy pictures of self-consuming powers—of the “scorpion girt by fire”—though we have not yet learned how to educate genius. If the hopeless gloom which pervaded the creations of his imagination be made the subject of condemnation, we may ask whether Dante would now be esteemed less had he written *only* the ‘*Inferno*.’ But it was not denied to *him* to evolve himself in a lengthened career—to live on till personal feelings were more and more absorbed in a hallowed cause—till the Beatrice of Earth had become to the purified vision of the poet the Beatrice of Heaven.

His monument, raised on the shore of Missolonghi, in mournful isolation, or beheld only by alien eyes, will stand a tacit rebuke to the lettered senate of Britain.

L.

ART. IX.

DRAFT OF A PROPOSED NATIONAL ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN, ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE REPRESENTATION, AND THE GRIEVANCES OF MISGOVERNMENT, AS AFFECTING THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

May it please your Majesty,

We, &c.

Believing the prosperity of all classes of the community to be inseparable from the cause of peace and order, and that amidst the political convulsions which have rapidly extended over

the greater part of Europe, order can only be maintained by the removal of every just ground of dissatisfaction with the laws and institutions of this country as now existing, have learned with anxiety and alarm that no measures reasonably adapted to this end have been prepared, or are in contemplation, by your Majesty's Ministers.*

While we condemn and deplore all appeals to violence and riotous demonstrations, and rejoice to observe that they have been hitherto confined to a small section of the population, we desire to impress upon the mind of your Majesty our strong sense of the peril to the best interests of the country, attendant upon a stationary policy at the present crisis. The efforts of your Majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects to prevent the outbreaks of faction are greatly counteracted by the apparent indifference of the Legislature to its most urgent duties; and, consequent upon this neglect, a continual apprehension of grave social disorders is paralyzing commercial enterprize, depriving thousands of employment and bread, and daily adding to the elements of insecurity which too generally abound throughout the United Kingdom.

Your Majesty is surrounded by a rich and powerful aristocracy, separated by the privileges of their order from the mass of the people, and therefore practically unacquainted with the

* In the debate upon Mr. Hume's motion of June 20th. Lord John Russell, while he promised inquiry into the corruption of some electoral constituencies with a view to its correction, added his opinion that "there were reasons for opposing at this moment any great change: reasons connected with the events which, during the last few months, have occurred on the continent." The same language was employed in 1837, on the eve of an insurrection in Canada, which, after a great loss of life and treasure, ended in the concession of every one of the reforms demanded by the Canadians, and at first formally refused.

It is unhappily not understood by ministers, that when great changes, founded in reason and justice, have been resisted till the public mind has become impatient on the subject, they cannot then be safely deferred another moment. The period for calm discussion is passed when that of universal popular excitement has arrived. The present experience of the continent, and the lessons of our own past history show that when a government is but feebly supported by the middle classes of the community, and refuses to take the initiative in the reform of abuses, it practically resigns its functions to the populace. An interval of anarchy succeeds, and lasts until a new government has arisen, strong enough in public opinion to control and direct events.

real state of opinion out of the immediate circle of their own friends and dependents. Among the members of that aristocracy are men of kind and generous impulse, who have often shown their willingness to lend a helping hand to the poor; but who appear to have never learned that the Divine Being has implanted in every human breast the seeds of higher aspirations than the cravings of physical wants; and that the questions which recent events and the growing intelligence of the age have now caused to engross all men's minds, are those of **CIVIL RIGHTS**;—the rights recognized by the theory of the British Constitution, (which provides that all men should be equal in the eye of the law), but practically existing in name only;—Rights not to be exchanged for charity; and the struggle for which must eventually lead to the abolition of all imperfect forms of social polity, sacrificing the interests of the many to the few, and violating the eternal principles of truth and justice.

Petitions were first presented for a reform of Parliament towards the close of the last century, as a means of putting an end to the exclusive assumption, by a privileged class, of all offices in the state connected with legislative and administrative functions. Military events, and the subsequent triumph of despotism on the continent, defeated that object for the time, but the petitions were renewed on the conclusion of the war with Napoleon, during which a profligate expenditure had entailed a burden of debt upon the national industry unprecedented for its magnitude in the history of the world. Soon after the exclusion from France of the elder branch of the Bourbons, the necessity for an improvement of the representation became so urgent, that your Majesty's predecessor, King William the Fourth, was induced to exert his personal influence with the members of the House of Lords, for the passing of a Reform Bill, after the resistance of that House to the change desired had brought the country to the brink of revolution.

The reform thus obtained the experience of sixteen years has proved to be illusory. The majority of the House of Commons

continues to be returned, not by the people, but by the nobility. The patronage of every office in the state, of high station or emolument, is seized upon, as before, as the birthright of the same privileged class; and opinion, as before, can only make itself felt by public agitation.

To some extent the present system is even worse than the old, inasmuch as new constituencies have been created too narrow for independent action, and therefore open to influences of corruption which were unknown to the nomination boroughs, in which no constituencies existed. We refer your Majesty to the long and scandalous list of members unseated during the present session for bribery practised by their election committees; a list which is yet to be regarded but as the symptom only of a social disease known to exist in a far more extensive form, but of which the legal evidence has not been sought.

We lament that when the defects of the Reform Bill first became apparent, the public desire that they might be removed was not at once met on the part of Government by a frank and honest endeavour to carry out the provisions of the measure according to the popular interpretation of the spirit and meaning of the Act, and not by a rigid adherence to its letter. The confidence of the people in the wisdom of government and the progressiveness of their institutions, would then have been undisturbed, and no motive would have existed on their part for seeking new and sudden organic changes. Unhappily a contrary course was pursued; and a declaration was made by the ministers then in office, that the Reform Bill, while extending the suffrage, was intended to give a predominancy to the landed interest; and that whatever the imperfections of the Act, it was to be regarded as a final measure.

* The present House of Commons contains 6 marquesses, 8 earls, 27 viscounts, 32 lords, 41 Right Honourable members, 54 Honourable members, 59 baronets, 9 knights, 8 lord-lieutenants, 134 deputy and vice-lieutenants, 3 admirals, 3 lieutenant-generals, 3 major-generals, 23 colonels, 29 lieutenant-colonels, 13 majors, 42 captains in the army and navy, 16 lieutenant-captains, 4 cornets, 106 magistrates, 68 placemen and pensioners, and 88 patrons of 207 church livings.

It is now too late to satisfy the public mind with the amendments of registration clauses, and similar minor improvements. To avoid a principle by the discussion of details is to augment the irritation of the people by under-rating their intelligence, and trifling with their wishes; and we would humbly and respectfully but most earnestly warn your Majesty, that the greatest hazard to which the Crown and Government can now be exposed is that which may arise from the determination of ministers (which may God avert) to maintain the present ascendancy of the landed interest over other interests, or exclusive privileges of birth, over the rights and liberties of any portion of your Majesty's subjects, as men and citizens.

We now submit to your Majesty a plain statement of the public grievances which call for immediate redress; and pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to give an attentive and favourable consideration to these our just demands.

1. We demand A REAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.

We seek not to fetter your Majesty's councils by forcing upon them the exclusive consideration of any prepared scheme of elective organization as more complete or perfect than any that may yet be devised! Differences of opinion, which we do not seek to disguise, still prevail among the most earnest and conscientious advocates of reform upon the best modes of suffrage. But there are anomalies connected with the present system upon which no differences exist, and which are condemned alike by all honest men as rendering the existing representation a mockery of the name. These are most marked in the inequality of the existing electoral districts;—placing small towns, with a population scarcely greater than that of villages, upon the same footing as Manchester and Liverpool, and so following out a similar disproportion, even in the counties, that an insignificant

minority of only one-sixth of the existing body of the electors is enabled to return the majority of the members of the House of Commons.*

We ask, as a first step, which would be hailed by all ranks of the people as an earnest of a hearty desire to promote the true interests of the nation, *such an immediate extension of the suffrage, and re-arrangement of electoral districts, as will effect an enlargement of all narrow constituencies, (especially in cities and boroughs) sufficient to secure electoral independence; and that the measure to be framed for this object shall include a fair representation of the intelligence of the working classes, and be subject to periodical revision, with a view to its further improvement, and progressive adaptation to the wants of the community.*†

* An analysis made in 1836, by a Committee of the House of Commons, and presented to the House in their 'Report on Election Expenses' in that year, proves that 331 members of the House of Commons were elected by 151,492 electors. The total number of electors registered that year in the United Kingdom was 956,272, and the number of adult males of 20 years and upwards, by the census of 1831, was 6,148,468. Thus one-sixth of the electors, and less than one-fortieth of the adult male population, have the power of making laws to bind the other five-sixths of the electors, and the other 39-fortieths of the adult male population.

The number of the adult male population is about 7,500,000; and the electoral franchise is so distributed that in England, 1 male adult in 7 is entitled to vote; in Scotland, 1 in 11; and in Ireland, only 1 in 17.

Sixteen small boroughs, the united population of which is only 76,179, are enabled to send 32 members to Parliament to neutralize the votes of the 32 members sent by 15 of our wealthiest cities, whose united population amounts to 3,129,517.

† The question of extending the franchise, whether by universal suffrage or any other method, is important, but yet of secondary moment to that of new and large electoral districts. So long as the small boroughs, such as Harwich, Thetford, and Chippenham, continue to return as many members to Parliament as the large towns, an extension of the right of voting to every householder, or to every male of 21 years of age, would not change the character of the representation.

The existing system is without defence, because by a re-arrangement of the present electoral districts, an improvement might be effected sufficient to destroy the influences of corruption without any alteration of the present rates of qualification, and without even abandoning the principle of one standard for towns, and another for counties; while a large number of persons who are only now disqualified from voting by not residing within the limits of a parliamentary borough, would at the same time be enfranchised.

It appears to be desirable that no parliamentary constituency should consist of a smaller number than 10,000 electors; an object which might easily be attained by grouping together the small towns; including those which have not now the privilege of returning members.

2. We demand AN EXTENSION OF THE RIGHT OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The House of Commons is now unequal to the accumulating mass of administrative details which it attempts to direct. It is necessary for the proper regulation of local business, that the people should be entrusted with a larger share than heretofore in the management of their own affairs; especially in Scotland, Ireland, the Colonies, and other extreme parts of the United Kingdom: but subject to such general supervision on the part of the executive, as may be required for the maintenance of fundamental laws.

Since the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, (a measure of but limited operation), no reasonable progress has been made in the improvement of local administration. The most flagrant abuses, entailing heavy local burdens upon the people, have been allowed to remain unreformed and unrebuked; and no pains have been taken to simplify the machinery of local government throughout the country, and place it upon a satisfactory footing.

We ask *the consolidation, by one uniform law, of all local business for town and country, in the hands of local assemblies elected by the people, organized in constituencies of large and equal extent.* And we ask *the consequent abolition of the powers of the unpaid magistracy in regard to their interference with the rates; the abolition of the powers of all Boards of Commissioners*

The essential point in any new measure is periodical revision. No human institutions can be rendered perfect at once. To be adapted to the nature of man they must be made progressive. At the census of every ten years there should be a re-arrangement of electoral districts, and an amendment of all defects in the representation proved to have existed during the preceding interval.

The best qualification for electors,—the best limit, in respect to numbers for an electoral district, and for a deliberative assembly, which if too numerous (like the French National Assembly), may be incapacitated for calm discussion,—the best mode of returning members, so as to ensure the fittest choice,—whether through the indirect medium of provincial or state assemblies, as in the case of the senate of the United States, and the new German parliament, or by direct election, as at present applied to the House of Commons,—the best mode of ensuring a proper share of the representation to minorities,—and the share of women in the representation,—admitted by the English law to vote in parochial vestries as rated parishioners, and to wield the sceptre, as the lineal descendants of kings,—are all questions upon which unanimity is not to be expected without the further guidance of experience.

appointed under local acts, and of all select vestries and irresponsible public corporations.

3.—We demand **ECONOMY AND RETRENCHMENT IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUBLIC REVENUE.**

We witness with apprehension the growing financial difficulties of government consequent upon a wasteful misapplication of the resources of the country. The promises of good and cheap government made at the time of the Reform Bill have been forgotten, or set at naught. The expenditure for the United Kingdom has been augmented within the last twelve years by the addition of eight millions sterling per annum.* The army and navy have been largely increased, and are still maintained, without any adequate necessity, upon a war-footing. Your Majesty is at peace with all the world, and the present state of Europe, in the domestic affairs of which it is our duty, as well as best policy, not to interfere, is a guarantee to the people of these realms against the possibility of foreign aggression.† Yet no expectation has been held out by your Majesty's ministers of their being able to effect any material reduction of the present naval and military expenditure; and a deficit in the revenue of three millions sterling, incurred during the past year, has only been met by adding it to the burden of the unfunded portion of the national debt.

We ask a reduction of the Army, Navy, and Ordnance expenditure to the standard which was considered sufficient for the defence of the country in 1835,—less than the present expense by

* Public expenditure for the year ending			
January 5th, 1848,	..	..	£54,502,948 2 3
Public expenditure for the year ending			
January 5th, 1836,	..	..	44,422,722 15 8
Difference (including the grant to Ireland of £1,525,000)			<u>£10,080,225 6 7</u>

The above is exclusive in both cases of the charges of collection, &c., which, for the year ending January 5th, 1848, were £4,727,465 5s. 3¼d.; making the gross public expenditure for last year, £59,230,413 7s. 6¼d.

seven millions sterling; and we ask a reduction in the charges for foreign embassies; and the abolition of all useless offices and unmerited pensions.

4.—We demand A REVISION AND JUST APPORTIONMENT OF THE BURDEN OF TAXATION.

The public burdens are not only greatly larger than is needed for an efficient administration, and the discharge of national obli-

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN. 5, 1836.

Interest and management of the permanent debt	£23,731,807 16 7	
Terminable annuities	4 042,591 10 4	
Interest on Exchequer Bills	740 211 1 10	
	<hr/>	£28,514,610 10 8
Civil list	£510 000 0 0	
Annuities and payments for civil, naval, military, and judicial services, &c	524 400 15 10	
Salaries and allowances	167,310 8 0	
Diplomatic salaries and pensions	170 015 2 0	
Courts of justice	430,495 4 8	
Miscellaneous charges on the consolidated fund	274,465 13 9	
	<hr/>	£2,092 817 4 9
Army	£6 106,142 15 8	
Navy	4,009,129 11 5	
Ordnance	1,151,914 0 0	
	<hr/>	£11 057,486 7 1
Miscellaneous charges upon the annual grants of parliament		2,144,315 8 5
Deficiencies on the balance reserved for unclaimed dividends		29,463 4 0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		£44,422,722 15 8

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN. 5, 1848.

Interest and management of the permanent debt	£27 799 259 11 5	
Terminable annuities	3,905 973 18 2	
Interest on exchequer bills	436 298 5 0	
	<hr/>	£28,141,531 11 7
Civil list	£393,982 10 0	
Annuities and pensions for civil, naval, military, and judicial services charged by various acts of parliament on the consolidated fund	729,804 6 7	
Salaries and allowances	260,811 1 6	
Diplomatic salaries and pensions	171,445 18 0	
Courts of justice	1 046 593 15 2	
Miscellaneous charges on the consolidated fund	110,976 6 3	
	<hr/>	£2,713,513 18 2
Army	£7,540 404 15 0	
Navy	8 013 873 1 6	
Ordnance	2 947 869 0 0	
	<hr/>	£18,502,146 16 6
Miscellaneous charges on the annual grants to parliament		£3 561 066 15 1
Distress in Ireland		1 525 000 0 0
Deficiencies in the balance reserved for unclaimed dividends		59,688 17 11
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		£54,502,948 2 3

† Were it otherwise, and the danger of invasion, or of an attack upon our colonial dependencies imminent, the best securities of defence are a united people, and a full treasury. A nation that exhausts its resources before an attack anticipates the ruin of defeat.

If the army and navy be maintained upon a war footing for the sake of the power of an armed intervention, the temptation to exercise such a power at the present moment, without consulting the nation, is one to which it would be well that no government should be exposed.

gations, but the revenue is now raised upon a system of partial and unjust assessment. The land tax, the income tax, and the legacy duties, especially, are so levied as to throw upon the middle and working classes a large proportion of the burdens which should fall upon the rich. Other taxes are of a nature to interfere with the interests of production, and with public health.

We ask, that the legacy duties may be extended to landed property, and the stamp duties on the sale or lease of landed property abolished. We ask a re-assessment of the land tax, and an equitable adjustment of the income tax, in reference to the distinction between precarious incomes and incomes derived from permanent sources. We ask the abolition of the window duties, and the removal of excise restrictions; excepting those only which affect the manufacture of spirituous liquors.

5. We demand A FREE PRESS.

The spirit of protestantism, and the defence by John Milton of "the liberty of unlicensed printing" prevented the introduction into this country of a censorship; but different administrations, from the time of queen Anne,* have sought to attain, and to a serious extent have succeeded in attaining, the *object* of a censorship—that of restricting the rights of political discussion to a privileged class—by the indirect medium of fiscal burdens and restrictions. The worst portion of the laws passed with this view still remain on the statute-book, having been re-enacted in the session of 1836, with additional penal clauses of great severity.†

* A stamp duty on newspapers was first imposed in 1712, by the 10 Anne, c. 19. The amount was a halfpenny on a half sheet; a penny if not exceeding a whole sheet. Its first effect was to extinguish the 'Spectator,' of Addison and Steele.

† The measure of 1836 was one nominally for the reduction of the newspaper stamp duty to a nett sum of 1*d.*, from 4*d.*, with a discount of 20 per cent.; but the higher duty it had become impossible to collect, and it was admitted at the time by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Spring Rice, now Lord Monteagle), that the sale of unstamped journals, published in defiance of the law, had extended to 200,000 weekly. These were all sacrificed to the interests of the stamped press by the 6 and 7 William IV., c. 76.

The penny stamp is equivalent to a formal prohibition of newspapers of the class which exist in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, at the price of 1*d.* 1½*d.* and 2*d.* In those islands, as in the United States, there are few families

The effect of these laws is to give a practical monopoly in the diffusion of intelligence to a few capitalists, proprietors of London daily journals, often interested in its distortion; and to suppress the natural safety-valve of popular discontent; through which suppression your Majesty's ministers and others are continually misled upon the state of the public mind.* The effect in France of similar restrictions, by deceiving the government into a false security, and causing a fatal postponement of needful reforms, has led to the overthrow of the French monarchy.

The press is now free throughout France, and Italy, and Germany. It is also free in your Majesty's colonies, and in the channel islands, where its influence is felt to be salutary in producing a reading and an orderly population; and the peaceable solution of the questions which are now agitating the minds of the working classes depends upon the existence of that proper medium for their discussion (protected against abuse by suitable regulations), which is at present practically prohibited by law.

We ask the abolition of the newspaper stamp duty, and the duty on advertisements the removal of the restrictions now imposed to

without a newspaper at home. In Great Britain and Ireland it is only by frequenting a public house, and not always then, that a poor man can read the report of a trial by jury. He must obey the laws without discussing them, or learning the nature of their operation.

The privilege of postage conferred by the stamp would be a fair consideration for the penny, if the stamp were optional, but as the stamp must be paid whether postage be required or not, the postage privilege becomes a benefit to a few only of the London journals, and amounts therefore to another newspaper restriction, as affecting the diffusion of intelligence of local interest. The competition of the leading London journals, delivered by government carriage free, so aggravates the mischief of the stamp in the case of the provincial press, that a local daily paper cannot be maintained even in such towns as Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow. The substitution of a newspaper postage stamp of one penny, for the present stamp on a newspaper sheet, would remedy this injustice, and with but little loss to the revenue.

* This was never more apparent than at the present moment, when we see an exaggerated importance given to the violent language of men known not to possess the confidence of the people, while at the same time real indications of opinion are carefully suppressed. A disposition also to distort the proceedings of the French republic, so as to bring only its mistakes and disorders into prominent relief, may be daily remarked in the same quarters, by all persons well informed of the progress of events on the continent.

prevent an evasion of those duties ; and we ask such improved laws of newspaper copyright and responsibility as may tend to raise the character of the press, while extending its influence.

6. We demand A JUST ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL TRUST PROPERTY.

The people of your Majesty's realms are the heirs of estates set apart or bequeathed in ancient times for public objects, and now producing a large annual revenue, not included in the financial accounts of the United Kingdom. The full amount of this revenue has not been ascertained, but there is sufficient evidence of its extent to warrant the conclusion that if the funds of which it is composed were economically administered, and appropriated according to the plan of their original destination, every child in your Majesty's dominions might receive a sound education,—the necessity of rates for the repair of churches would be wholly superseded, and the burden of the poor's rates would be greatly relieved.

In the administration of one portion of these funds, presumed to amount to nearly two millions sterling per annum, the reports of your Majesty's Charity Commissions have shown the most extensive malversation to prevail; and yet year after year has been allowed to pass away without any steps for its correction, or for the prevention of future abuses of trust; and the inquiries of the Commissioners have been suffered to remain incomplete.*

The larger portion of these funds,—the revenue derived from tithes, glebe-lands, and rents of the confiscated estates of ancient monastic institutions, was originally set apart in times when the religion of this country was one and undivided, for the repair of churches, the payment of the clergy, and the relief and instruction of the poor. It is now exclusively devoted to but one only of these objects—the payment of the clergy; and that upon a

* The inquiries of the Commissioners were completed in only 28 of the English counties, and have not extended to Scotland and Ireland. The income of the charities investigated amounts to £748,178 5s.

system of distribution which permits the working servants of the Church to linger in poverty that the pomp and state of princes may be maintained for a wealthy hierarchy.

Your Majesty's ministers have surrendered to this very hierarchy the sole charge of the administration of these national revenues, and have culpably abandoned the attempts made by them during the last years of the reign of your Majesty's predecessor, to recover a small portion of this property for the moral and religious instruction of the poor. †

* Lord Morpeth, when Secretary for Ireland, brought in a Bill containing a clause known as "the appropriation clause," by which powers were to have been taken to devote a sum of £97,612 out of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church, to the moral and religious instruction of the Irish poor. It was passed in the House of Commons by 300 to 261, and rejected in the House of Lords by 134 to 47. This was in 1836. The same year the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Inquiry were constituted into "a body politic and corporate" for the administration of Church funds, by the 6 & 7 Wm IV c 77, the Commission was then composed of thirteen members, of whom a majority of eight, consisting of cabinet ministers, were laymen. In 1840 the government had the weakness to admit into the Commission, by the 3 & 4 Vic c 113, all the Bishops of England and Wales, with the Deans of Canterbury, St. Paul's, and Westminster, and the judges of the Prerogative and Admiralty Courts, the Admiralty Court being at the same time converted into an Ecclesiastical tribunal by the 3 & 4 Vic c 65, which empowers the Dean of Arches to act as an assistant judge and admits the advocates, surrogates, and proctors of the Court of Arches to the practice of the Admiralty Court.

The reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for 1831 give the amount of the *net* revenues administered by the Church as under —

CHURCH OF ENGLAND		£
Sees of Archbishops and Bishops		160 202
Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Ecclesiastical Corporations		208 289
Prebends and other preferments in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches		14 70
Renewal of tithes — average of three years		21 760
Benefices (10 718)		7 015 4 1
		£3,490,497
CHURCH OF IRELAND		
Sees of Archbishops and Bishops		131 128
Deans and Chapters		1 043
Monasteries of Cathedrals		11 056
Other subordinate Corporations		10 526
Prebends, &c., without cure of soul		34 482
Glebe lands		92 000
Tithes		75, 000
Ministers' money		10,300
		865,535
		£4,356,032

It is now known, from the progress of the tithe commutations, and other evidence, that the real incomes of the clergy were largely understated in these returns; and they do not besides include the incomes derived from college

We would humbly represent to your Majesty that the inequality and injustice of such Ecclesiastical appropriations are the cause of grave divisions and discontent among your Majesty's subjects,—keeping Ireland in a state approaching to rebellion ; and that the recent creation of new Bishops for the colonies, and for home districts filled with dissenters, with the view of maintaining and extending the same spiritual supremacy over the temporal interests of the people, has added to the prevailing disaffection.

We ask,—*in respect to the reform of charity abuses, for a department of audit and supervision, to extend to the accounts of all trustees holding money for public objects, not now subject to responsibility ; and for the protection of the national property in tithes, rents, glebe lands, and church buildings, the abolition of the existing Ecclesiastical Commission, and the appointment of a new Commission, composed of members not themselves interested by salaries or emoluments in the funds to be administered. And we ask that this new Commission shall be instructed to report upon the means to be adopted for such an administration of this national property as will best promote, upon the largest scale, the moral and religious welfare of the whole community.*

and school foundations administered by the church (supposed to amount to about £600,000), nor those derived from lectures and chaplainships. The church rates are of course excluded, not being a source of income ; the annual burden of which to the public is about £550,000.

The Commissioners state that the average of the stipends paid to English curates (5,282 in number), is £80 per annum. A re-distribution of the national revenues held by the church (assuming them to amount but to £4,350,000 per annum), would admit of the following arrangement :—

15,000 Curacies, or religious professor-ships for rural districts, with salaries of £100	£1,500,000
500 Religious professorships for towns, with salaries of £500 ..	250,000
15,000 Infant school mistresses, with salaries of £50	750,000
10,000 Masters for day and evening schools, with salaries of £100 ..	1,000,000
2,000 Masters for superior town schools, with salaries of £250 ..	500,000
500 College professorships (including school inspection), with salaries of £500	250,000
100 Heads of colleges and normal schools, with salaries of £1,000..	100,000
	£4,350,000

7.—We demand **FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE IN MATTERS OF RELIGION.**

Admittance to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the liberty of worshipping and expounding the Scriptures in the churches of our ancestors, are now made to depend upon subscription to certain articles of faith known as the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England.

This test, when first established, was a departure from the principle of the Protestant Reformation, founded upon the right of private judgment, without which there can be no progress in religious truth; and it led to those lamentable schisms which have since divided English protestants into churchmen and dissenters of various denominations, who would otherwise have remained a united religious community. These schisms have now widely extended, from the differences which have lately sprung up within the Church itself upon the meaning of the thirty-nine articles; and we call upon your Majesty, by removing this cause of sectarian distinctions, as a middle wall of partition unknown to Christianity, and by extending the application of the divine precepts of universal charity, to restore among your Majesty's subjects the "unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace."

We ask for the repeal of the Act of Uniformity (14 Car. II. c. 4); the abolition of all subscription tests for admission to universities, the houses of parliament, or for holy orders; and that in the case of all churches built, endowed, or supported with public money, the people, by their local representatives, or in their religious congregations, shall have a voice in the appointment of their own religious teachers.

8. We demand **FREEDOM FOR EDUCATION.**

The criminal returns, the reports of philanthropic societies, and of Commissioners of inquiry, have made the public acquainted with the fact that a large proportion of the children of the poorer classes of the population are growing up without the means of acquiring the simplest elements of human knowledge. The

necessary steps that should have been taken for the removal of this evil have notwithstanding been neglected, from the resistance of an influential portion of the clergy to all schemes of popular instruction not made dependent upon the condition that the children of Roman Catholics and dissenters should be educated according to the forms and discipline of the Church of England.

Your Majesty's Committee of Privy Council for Education have lost the respect and confidence of the public, by yielding to this resistance. After vainly endeavouring to overcome clerical opposition by a policy of expediency and compromise, they have adopted a system of encouragement for education which practically favours only the existence of schools directed by the clergy, and have sacrificed to the Church the right of a national supervision over national expenditure; giving to the clergy the power of diverting, as in former times, educational grants from secular to clerical objects, by the appointment of inspectors from their own body, and of their own choice.†

* By the Minutes of the Privy Council, under which the educational grants of the House of Commons are administered, it is provided that no government inspector of "National" schools shall be appointed without the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The consequence is, that *the whole of the twelve inspectors appointed for these schools are clergymen.*

The schools assisted by the Committee of Council for Education, during the years 1845-6 were as follows.

National Schools	..	.	..	.	..	..	346
British ditto	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Other ditto	..	..	..	..	..	..	31
							<hr/> 410 <hr/>

The schools called "National," are those in connection with the "National School Society,"—a society patronised by the bishops for the education of the poor in the principles of the Church of England. The reason of the preponderance of these schools, is not the superiority of their methods of teaching, which are extremely meagre and mechanical, but instructions given by the bishops to the whole of the clergy throughout 10,498 benefices, to assist in the establishment of "National" school to the exclusion of all others. The wealth of the clergy, and the influence of their position, of course enable them to raise subscriptions for such an object with greater facility than private individuals; and the rule of the educational grants being, that assistance shall be given, not in proportion to the need of instruction, but in and only of local

We would humbly represent to your Majesty that the right thus surrendered is among the most important safeguards of public liberty and securities for human progress;—that the experience of all ages has proved, that in proportion to the proper influence of religion upon the human mind is the danger to the state of entrusting its ministers with secular power; lest religion itself should become an instrument of secular ambition, and degenerate into abject superstition. Of this danger the histories of Egypt, India, and Italy have afforded memorable warnings.

We ask that the management of all schools for primary instruction, supported by public endowments, rates, or government grants, shall be entrusted to the local representatives of the people; and that the interference of ministers of religion in such schools shall be confined to the objects of religion, and limited to the children of parents belonging to their own communions.

9. We demand LAW REFORM.

Your Majesty's subjects are called upon to obey laws rendered unintelligible by their number, their complexity, and the confused technical phrasology by which their meaning is sought to be expressed.

The Courts of Law are surrounded with formalities, involving expensive processes and delays, which practically render justice a costly luxury to the rich, and place it wholly out of the reach of the poor. The consequent disposition of the public to submit to

subscriptions, the practical result is the surrender of education to clerical direction, and the general discouragement of all efforts for placing it upon a sound and liberal basis. The new minutes for apportioning salaries to "pupil teachers" will, it is hoped, render the schools thus established somewhat more efficient than at present, but will not alter their exclusive spirit.

Further to strengthen the influence of the clergy, the Archbishop of Canterbury has recently presented a memorial from the National School Society, claiming powers of arbitration for the bishops in cases of differences upon school management; and the following subscription test,—

"That all members of the managing committee of a school (except ordained ministers of the Church of England) shall qualify for acting on the same by subscribing a declaration that they are *bona fide* members of the Church of England, and not joined members or frequenters of the worship of any other religious denomination."

private injury, rather than be exposed to the greater evil incurred by seeking redress, lowers the moral tone of society, by giving impunity to offences that would never otherwise be committed.

We ask that the statute laws of the realm shall be simplified and condensed into one intelligible code; that courts of exclusively Ecclesiastical jurisdiction shall be abolished; and that such an improvement shall be made in the constitution of civil and criminal courts as will enable them to afford efficient protection in the enjoyment of civil rights to every class of your Majesty's subjects.

10. We demand JUST LAWS OF INHERITANCE.

The mischievous laws and restrictions of feudal times have as yet been but partially removed from your Majesty's dominions. The custom of primogeniture is still enforced in the case of landed property left intestate, and the law still permits the representatives of large estates to affect posterity through the medium of entails, by the same preferential and unjust distinction of the eldest born. The effect of this institution is to weaken, in the public mind, the influence of the natural laws which connect wealth and industry; — maintaining permanent examples of wealth obtained without labour; and to create from among the disinherited junior branches of the nobility a numerous class incapacitated by their habits for productive employment, and for whom provision has hitherto had to be made at the expense of the state. Its further and serious consequence is to prevent a full development of the resources of the soil; so locking up estates with incumbrances that capital cannot be applied to them, and that large districts, especially in Ireland and Scotland, have been either abandoned as waste, or left to the occupation of a pauper tenantry.

We ask the abolition of primogeniture, as affecting property that may be hereafter left intestate, and all property, exceeding one thousand acres of land, that may hereafter be the subject of marriage settlements, or testamentary bequests; and we ask that no

*future settlements, or testamentary bequests, shall be permitted that do not vest rights of ownership in the hands of adult persons living, as far as the exercise of such rights is necessary for purposes of improvement.**

11. We demand REFORM FOR THE ARMY AND NAVY.

Your Majesty's Soldiers and Sailors have long complained that every avenue of promotion is practically closed against the privates of both services, and officers of inferior rank, excepting in rare and extraordinary instances, by the influence of birth and wealth. A military and naval patronage, exercised almost exclusively in favour of the junior branches of the aristocracy, and the open sale and purchase of commissions, have become a scandal in the eyes of all Europe; and the injustice thus shown to the hardy veterans to whom the defence of the country is entrusted, is now, as it has ever been in times of popular commotion, a source of dangerous discontent. The crews of merchantmen complain that they are still subject to impressment for your Majesty's Navy, when on foreign stations; the intolerable slavery of which compulsory service caused the enemy's fleet to be manned with

* The English law allows the settlement of estates for twenty-one years beyond the lives of persons in existence at the time the settlement takes effect, which among the families of the nobility is usually upon the marriage of the eldest son. The greater portion of the soil is therefore left without any proper ownership, and is so held that its improvement, as far as it depends upon any considerable outlay of capital, is impossible. The apparent possessors of great estates have merely a life interest in them, and cannot sell an acre of land, nor even lease it, excepting for short periods, without the consent of the next heir, who may perhaps be unborn, or a minor. In Scotland, where the law of entail is even less limited than in England, the result is a gradual depopulation of the Highlands, and the shutting up of whole counties for forest deer. In Ireland where, from the same cause, there is in many parts of the country no ownership of the soil, while the landlords who have a life interest are non resident, the result is seen in an impoverished and disorganized population, paying no rent, and maintaining possession of holdings, which would otherwise be converted into sheep walks, by a species of guerilla warfare.

The evil extends to all property held in trust, whether for private or public objects. The trustees of charity estates are unable to grant building leases, excepting when empowered to do so by private acts.

British sailors, during the last war with the United States' government.

We ask—for *British soldiers and sailors, freedom of service, engagements of reasonable limit; a system of patronage having regard only to merit and seniority;** and a prohibition of the sale and purchase of commissions.

12. We demand PREVENTIVE POOR-LAWS.

The principle of poor-laws has been hitherto confined in its application to the relief of destitution, by alms—often so administered as to encourage pauperism. The means for its prevention, as far as destitution is occasioned by physical causes only, are known, but have been neglected or abused. Funds voted for public works have been entrusted to incompetent or to corrupt administrators, and have not been rendered productive; and the resources of our colonies for a population many times larger than that of the United Kingdom have been suffered to remain undeveloped.

We ask *an efficient public inquiry into the means of reclaiming the bogs and waste lands of the United Kingdom, upon such a plan as will always admit of productive supplementary employment for the able-bodied, when other resources fail. †* and we ask *an official public inquiry into the results of the various experiments that have*

* The British army consists of 20 regiments of cavalry, and 114 regiments of infantry; for which there are 9 Field Marshals, 66 Generals, 142 Lieutenant Generals, and 191 Major-Generals - nearly three generals to a regiment.

† The British navy consists of 660 armed vessels of every description, for which there are 152 Admirals and Rear-admirals, besides 51 retired Admirals—one Admiral to every three vessels.

‡ The improvement of land is a source of productive employment almost indefinite; but the reason that bogs and waste lands are not reclaimed by individuals, is that the return upon a large outlay is often too distant for the proper encouragement of private enterprise. This objection does not apply to the State; one duty of which is to extend the resources of the next generation. It is necessary only that works of this class should not be made so attractive by a liberal scale of remuneration as to supersede any other; and that they should be undertaken only at the intervals of seed-time and harvest, when more profitable employment is not usually to be obtained. The difficulty of providing proper machinery for this may be great, but ought not to be insuperable.

been made of systematic colonization in ancient and modern times ; with a view to the adoption, upon a large scale, of such plans as may offer the best guarantee of success for relieving the existing pressure.

And we ask, generally,

THAT YOUR MAJESTY'S COUNCILS MAY BE STRENGTHENED BY THE ADDITION OF NEW MEN, POSSESSING THE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE, WHO WILL HAVE THE NEEDFUL FIRMNESS, REGARDLESS OF ALL PARTY COMBINATIONS, AND CONSIDERATIONS OF OFFICE, TO PREPARE, AND SUBMIT TO THE LEGISLATURE THE MEASURES WHICH ARE IMPERATIVELY REQUIRED FOR THE SAFETY OF THE COUNTRY; AND THAT, SHOULD SUCH MEASURES BE REJECTED, YOUR MAJESTY WILL FORTHWITH DISSOLVE THE PRESENT HOUSE OF COMMONS, AND CAUSE ANOTHER TO BE SUMMONED.

FOREIGN LITERATURE.



- 1.—*Streifzüge in Schleswig-Holstein, und im Norden der Elbe.*
 [Rambles in Schleswig-Holstein, and in the country north of the Elbe.] By Theodore Muggé. Frankfort on the Maine. 1846.

THE political question between Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which at no time, we believe, excited any very lively interest in England, has so entirely changed its aspect since the visit of Mr. Theodore Muggé, that our readers will, we doubt not, readily excuse our entering into any of the discussions concerning it which occupy a considerable portion of these volumes, especially as the newspapers of the day will afford all necessary information on the subject. During the last few months, too, there has been such an incessant run upon our political sympathies, that we are really in danger of stopping payment, and though the Schleswig-Holsteiners are not without some serious grievances which we cordially wish redressed, we trust it is not our duty, as assuredly it is not our inclination, to say anything about them at present.

Most people have “supped full” of revolutions, and it would be necessary, as our American friends say, to “pile up the agony” a great deal higher than the truth in speaking of these fat flourishing provinces, before we could hope to get up the smallest emotion in their favour. As a necessary preliminary, however, to sympathy, should it be called for, we will draw upon our author and our own memory for a few particulars of the physical aspect and social condition of the country, which may serve to bring it more vividly before the mind’s eye.

Casting our eyes on the map of Denmark, we perceive that its continental possessions are included in a peninsula, extending from the river Elbe to the Skager Rack, which, though its greatest length is not more than 280 miles, and its greatest breadth 110, has, from being cut into countless creeks and bays, a coast line calculated at 4,000 miles. A very considerable portion of the Danish dominions, however, consists of islands.

Although little more than half a day’s journey from the capital, Jutland has until lately remained in a great measure a *terra incognita* to all but its inhabitants. A foreign traveller intending to visit it in the beginning of the present century, was charged by a learned Dane

with a list of queries concerning the natives and their modes of life, such as might have given to any one going into the interior of Africa or China. He was requested to pay particular attention to the tools and implements of agriculture made use of by the people, to make drawings of them, to write down carefully the peculiar words and phrases of their dialect, &c. Many Danish noblemen have long had estates in Jutland, but they have been mostly absentees; and no Danish tourist, until a few years back, ever thought of turning his face towards a country which he regarded as a kind of little Siberia.

Of late years, however, there has been a remarkable change in this respect. The great impulse given to the study of Scandinavian literature, sent many inquirers to the wild western coast of Jutland, where have been discovered some of the most beautiful and poetical of the Danish ballads and traditions: to antiquaries, this northern part of the peninsula has yielded a rich harvest, since it possesses, in its vast turf moors, an excellent magazine for the preservation of antiquities; geologists have learnedly investigated its structure, and novelists have "*exploité*" the romantic capabilities of this unknown cloud-land.

The Danes of Copenhagen, however, still often speak of the Jutland people as of dwellers in some distant country, "over the hills, and far away," or, in the formula which a certain old German lady was in the habit of employing towards all countries lying out of the range of her experience, "over there, where the blacks live."

The whole western coast, for a hundred and forty miles, is entirely destitute of harbours, being closed by an almost uninterrupted chain of *dunes*, or hills of shifting sand, beaten on perpetually by the heavy surf of the Atlantic. The only two openings are at the Limfiord, and at the little town of Rinkjoberg; but these are so insignificant that only very small vessels can enter them. At the promontory of Blaawands-Huk, or the Horn, about half way down the coast, a great change takes place in its character; the chain of dunes has been in many places broken through, the sea has forced its way in, and working itself a deep bed behind the sand hills, left them to form islands, between which and the mainland ships can find shelter; but perhaps in all Europe there can scarcely be found a tract of coast, of equal extent, so destitute of ports.

The peninsula, which is divided into North and South Jutland, and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, is intersected from north to south by a high barren moorland, dividing, in its southern part, regions of widely dissimilar character. On the eastern side of the duchies we find a beautiful country of waving hills and slopes, covered with a soft carpet of verdure, or crowned with fine beech woods, and glittering all over with lovely little clear blue lakes and fiords. To the west lie extensive flats of a rich heavy clay soil, which gradually sink till they are lost beneath the waves of the North Sea.

The central ridge of moorland gives birth to the herds of black long-horned cattle, which come in a very meagre condition to these marshes,

whence, after a brief period of enjoyment, they wend their way to the slaughter-houses of Hamburg and Altona, and afterwards, transformed into Hamburg beef, visit most of the regions of the known world.

The chief market for them is the town of Husum in Schleswig, where as many as ten or twelve thousand may sometimes be seen at a time, bivouacking in the roads under the care of the wild Jutland drovers. Large flocks of black-faced sheep are also frequently seen wandering over the wide heaths of Jutland, and their coarse wool serves to set in motion the domestic spinning-wheels and looms of the peasantry, and issues forth in the shape of warm winter stockings, which find a ready market among the opulent farmers of the marshes. The shepherds who have the care of these flocks, have been likened to those of the Catalonian mountains in Spain, and are a perfectly nomadic race, spending their lives in wandering from the extreme point of the peninsula to the shores of the Elbe; suffering their sheep to eat their way along, sometimes hiring a piece of grass land for their use, but quite as often paying a nocturnal visit to some fat pasture of the marshes, and being off again before day breaks and the owner discovers the unwilling hospitality he has exercised.

As the winter approaches they turn northward towards the highlands of Jutland; the shepherd builds himself a hut, sells or kills a great part of his flock, and leaves the rest to scratch their food as well as they can from under the snow, till the spring again calls the wanderers to the south. From the earliest time these shepherds of Jutland seem to have led a precisely similar life; and the ancient chronicles of the country speak of many a bloody strife that in wilder times has taken place when the German and Jutland shepherds met and disputed for a pasture or a watering-place.

These brown heaths, indeed, were for ages the battle-field of Danes, Frieslanders, Saxons, and Wends; and for centuries their names were connected with those of fierce encounters, and celebrated by one or other party with songs of triumph. Before the period of the great northern migrations, the peninsula appears to have been occupied chiefly by four tribes. There were Juts in the north, Saxons in the south, Angles in the east, and Frieslanders in the west. These relations were of course much changed when Saxons and Angles crossed the sea to Britain, and Danes pressed in from the north and from the islands; but striking distinctions, corresponding to them, are still to be recognised among the population of the different districts.

On the east of South Jutland and Schleswig there are perhaps a dozen of those long narrow arms of the sea, almost peculiar to the Scandinavian countries of Europe, and which the friths of Scotland alone resemble. Running up deep into the land, they cut it into a series of little peninsulas, each of which has a separate name. They are all fertile, hilly, and thickly peopled, and richly adorned with beech groves—a tree of which this country appears to be the peculiar home. Sometimes appearing in woods, sometimes in scattered groups crowning the hills, and sometimes fringing the margin of the bright blue

hords. Of Schleswig, as well as of its neighbour, Holstein, one of the chief occupations is dairy-farming, which has of late years extended also into the Danish islands and Jutland, though mostly under the inspection of dairy-men and maids from the duchies; the produce of their industry finds its way principally to Hamburg and England.

Among all the fiords that of the Schlei, at the head of which the town of Schleswig is situated, is one of the most considerable and celebrated. It is not a river, and nothing that could be called a river flows into it; but from its narrowness and great length, it is often spoken of as such.

It is celebrated on account of the great trade carried on in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the then flourishing town of Schleswig, between the North Sea and the Baltic. The goods from the former were brought up the Eider on the western side, and by a little stream called the Treene as far as Hellingstedt, and thence transported a short distance by land to Schleswig; but in the wars of one of the Danish kings, the entrance to the Schlei was entirely blocked up with sunk ships and stones, while on the western coast a less rapid but more constant process of destruction has been going on from natural causes; the accumulation of sand having made the entrance to the ports more and more difficult, till at length they have all become inaccessible but one, namely Husum, and even that can only be approached by small vessels, the larger being obliged to lie in the roads, three miles from the town. Tonningen, Tondern, Ripen, and others, were once flourishing ports.

“The town of Schleswig,” says Mr Theodore Mugge, “was in the ninth century a larger and more important place than it is now. It lies, like all the towns on the east of the peninsula, at the head of a gulf or arm of the sea, and is encircled by hills, between which and the water the town stretches round the shore to a considerable length. It consists of little more than one street, but to a stranger arriving in the evening, it may appear of prodigious extent, as his wheels rattle along the stones for three miles together. If it were as broad as it is long, it would be one of the largest towns in existence; but in spite of its magnificent extent in one direction, it really contains only 12,000 inhabitants, who carry on but an insignificant traffic—what formerly went to it having been absorbed by more favoured places. Schleswig is still, however, the capital of the Duchy; the seat of its government; the centre of its social life; and the abode of many men of information, talent, and energy. For many ages this town was considered as the utmost limit of German civilization, and from here ran diagonally across the country the Danish wall, a miniature representation of that of Clma, but now lying in ruins and overgrown with moss.”

The Schlei separates the little peninsula of Angeln from that of Huttun, in which the character of the landscape is exactly similar, unless perhaps Angeln may be the more fertile of the two. In the district of Schwansen, further on, are many large estates belonging to the Danish nobles, and throughout the country natural beauty has been enhanced by the efforts of human industry. You drive through large rich villages, whose inhabitants are all owners of the soil, and

whose substantial houses of yellow brick with large windows, and extensive out-houses, convey an immediate and correct impression of their prosperity. As soon as you have passed the village, you follow a road winding in and out among beautiful hills and slopes, and though the high hedges which form a peculiar feature of the landscape, hinder any very extensive view, you catch glimpses of rich corn fields, and numerous grazing herds, and of a pretty labyrinth of wood and valley and meadow: this east side of the duchy is indeed like one great garden.

The remarkably high banks and hedges which form the enclosures in these districts, have been much spoken of by German travellers, as they are uncommon on the continent, though frequently seen in England—especially in Kent.

“Every field is surrounded by a high breastwork of earth, surmounted by a hedge and trees, beech, oak, and ash, whence the inhabitants derive their supply of wood, as the strips of forest seen here and there are mostly Crown land It has often occurred to me, in looking at these numerous and solid enclosures, how difficult it would be for an invading army to make any impression upon it, if the inhabitants were really in earnest in their resistance. Almost every field would have to be conquered separately, and a small number of determined men could defend them against a force immensely superior in point of numbers. Soldiers accustomed to fight in regular order would be at a great disadvantage here, and only on the heaths in the centre is there room for the manœuvres of regular bodies. Were these peasants of Angeln and Hutten, accustomed to the use of the rifle like the Swiss and Tyrolese, or trained like our (the Prussian) people to military exercises, they would have little to fear from any enemy.”

The Schlei, which serves as the boundary between two districts, separates also two obviously different races. The Saxon tribes who settled in Hutten before their invasion of England, have remained ever since in undisturbed possession. The Danish conquerors of the country did not drive them out, nor has the Danish language ever taken root there—many of the people indeed do not understand a word of it. Their houses are built in the most ancient Saxon style; specimens of which may also be seen in Holstein, Hanover, and near Bremen. There is a long building like a barn, at the gable end of which appears the Saxon horse's head. There is no chimney, but the fire burns on the hearth; a large kettle is suspended over it, and the smoke draws slowly along under the roof, blackening the rafters, and, curing as it goes numerous hams, sausages, and sides of bacon, at last makes its exit at the large house-door. Many of the people indignantly resist the introduction of chimnies, asserting that the smoke gives an agreeable flavour to their food.

There are few large estates in Hutten, but from 80 to 100 acres is sufficient for the comfortable maintenance of a Bauer or peasant family, keeping ten or twelve cows, and perhaps four horses. They cannot, indeed, in these cases, enjoy all the advantages of great dairies, but they appear to do very well, and never fail of a market for their produce, which has more than doubled in the last twenty years.

Within the last eight or ten, their exportation of butter has amounted to 50,000 tubs, each, on an average, containing 240 pounds, and the amount of cheese exported has risen, in the same time, from a million to two and a half millions of pounds, though it is of very indifferent quality.

The district of Angeln, which lies north of the Schlei, between it and the bay of Flensburg, was, in the fourth century, when the Angles mostly passed over to England, overrun by Danes. It was afterwards distributed in great estates among noble families, principally of German origin; the old free peasant proprietors were dispossessed, and the people reduced to a state of serfage, and treated apparently with great cruelty, as we hear of maids who had spun badly, having the flax wound round their fingers and then set light to, and of serfs being even tortured to death; up to the end of the last century the peasants were in an extremely oppressed condition—serfdom having been only formally abolished in 1804. Since then, by the division of the great estates, the country has again become covered by peasant land-owners, and its prosperity has proceeded at a rapid rate.

It is not uncommon to find people attributing this prosperity to the circumstance of the large farms of Angeln being by law indivisible, although they need go no farther than the opposite side of the peninsula for an example of the feebleness of this argument, for in the marshes of the West the land is divisible, yet there the farmers are equally prosperous. This indivisibility has also given birth to a peasant aristocracy, whose influence is in many respects far from beneficial.

In the pleasing contemplation of the richly cultivated farms and handsome houses, and in remarking the superiority to the ordinary "*agricultural mud*" in their owners, who read the newspapers and discuss the topics of the day, with at least average understanding, travellers are easily led to overlook the condition of the labouring class, the dark shadow on this bright picture. A labourer receives only sixpence or sevenpence a day—a pittance scarcely sufficient, even in this country, to secure for him and his family the barest necessaries; and should illness or accident disable him but for a few days, he falls immediately into a state of destitution. This class is of course regarded as a burden on their more fortunate brethren, who complain bitterly of the poor rates, without considering that this poverty has been in some measure the produce of their own wealth. Lands acquired more recently than the hereditary farms, may be divided, but not into smaller portions than of seven and a half acres; but every proprietor is at liberty to build as many labourers' cottages as he pleases, and in spite of the poverty of their inhabitants, he often finds this a profitable speculation, for the outlay necessary to construct such wretched huts is, of course, very small.

"The marshes on the west coast of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, are enormous treeless flats, covered with grass and corn, and sheltered by

dykes from the inroads of the ocean. Villages there are none, but every farm stands on an artificial lulloek, as on an island in a sea of verdure, beneath whose rich vegetation lie many infallible proofs of its having been at no distant period beneath the waves that now dash harmless against the protecting dykes. The cost of maintaining this bulwark is however enormous, and often could not be supported by the parishes to which the dykes belong, were they not assisted by contributions from the country at large, which is divided for this purpose into *dyke unions*, of which there are three in Holstein and four in Schleswig. The rule is, whenever the dyke sustains any damage, that if it be not beyond a certain fixed amount, of two marks to the *demath* of land, the cost of repair is to be borne by the parish where it occurs; if it exceed this, the sum is made up by the dyke union. The burden is nevertheless considerable, and in some cases absorbs almost all the whole profit of the land; and thus, for instance, an estate of 700 demath, which the king of Denmark possesses on the island of Pelworm, is let at an annual rent of ten dollars the demath, of which however he seldom receives a farthing, as the whole is absorbed by the cost of the dyke.

"It is when standing on the top of these dykes, along which the road usually runs, and looking down into the marsh, that the peculiar and monotonous character of the country appears most strikingly. As behind the walls of a fortress lies the green fertile level below, intersected by numerous water ditches, which the inhabitants of the marshes pass by means of leaping poles. On the fields between these ditches, wheat, barley, oats, and beans grow thick and high, and the fresh grass is covered with herds of handsome cows and horses that neigh and low cheerily to you as you pass. The substantial houses peep out from their thickets of bushes and gardens, filled with fine vegetables, and rich crimson stocks and pinks of remarkable beauty. But if you turn away your eyes from this scene of plenty to the opposite side of the dyke, the blessing seems changed into a curse. There is the gray rolling desert in everlasting motion raging round the dwellings of man, as if eager for his destruction; and instead of herds of sleek cows, and human habitations surrounded with all the signs of peace and comfort, the white sails of ships, and porpoises, and seals, and flocks of screaming culls, and the ceaseless roar of the waves as they break upon the dyke."

In earlier times these marshes were frequently overwhelmed by the sea. The great flood of 1362 drowned the whole north-west coast of Germany, as far as the Weser; and in north Friesland alone swallowed up thirty parishes with their inhabitants. In 1532 came one scarcely less terrible; and forty years afterwards another, in which, taking the whole coast as far as Jutland, 400,000 people perished; but the art of dyking is now brought to such perfection, and carried on with such persevering industry, that as far as natural causes only are concerned, there is little fear that the country will ever again have similar calamities to encounter. What advantage an enemy might make from this peculiar position is sufficiently obvious.

The marshes of Schleswig and Holstein are wholly in the hands of a peasant proprietary, which has from time immemorial been celebrated for its hatred of and determined resistance to an aristocracy. It was once, indeed, a boast of the Ditmarshians, that there was not a foot of land in their country where the body of a noble had not lain. Political power is wholly in the hands of the owners of land.

the labouring class being here, as in most other countries, without any political rights; their situation with respect to their material welfare is by no means deplorable, there being always work, which is well paid, to be done at the dykes; and as the farmers in the marshes keep few servants, it is easy to find employment even in the winter.

The farms in these marshes, unlike those on the opposite side of the peninsula, are divisible to any extent; but this freedom does not occasion their division to be carried to any injurious excess, as most families are desirous of having the paternal estate transmitted undiminished to their heirs, and can be induced to partition it only by the most urgent necessity, and as the country has for years been making rapid advances in prosperity, this very seldom happens. Where there are several sons, it appears to be the rule—though we are not aware that there is any law to that effect—that the youngest shall inherit the land, and the other sons and daughters receive their portion in money. Bad management and extravagance of living are of very rare occurrence in the Ditmarshes, and notwithstanding an increase of comfort and even luxury that would have astonished their forefathers,—in spite of the “mahogany furniture, sofas, and looking-glasses” occasionally seen among them, the expenses of families are seldom greater than their incomes abundantly warrant. The land here is of higher value than almost any where else throughout Germany; it is wonderfully fertile, and corn-growing and grazing are the chief occupations, dairy-farming being little practised. Many of the marshes, as that of Eiderstadt, consist wholly of fat pastures; others, which lie rather higher, exclusively of arable land. The cattle are, as we have said, seldom bred here, but brought in a lean condition from the highlands of Jutland, and fattened till the autumn, when they are sent to Hamburg, which is far more the commercial capital of the country than Copenhagen.

“Great difficulties have always been experienced in the attempt to carry on hostile operations against the people of these marshes, with their narrow roads, numerous ditches, and sluice gates, by which the sea can at any time be called in as an ally; and the strong isolated dwellings, standing each on its own hill, have looked down in former ages on the destruction of many a mail-clad knight and noble. The roads have been improved of late, and there is talk of a railroad to the Elbe; but in winter or wet weather many of the marsh roads are at present unpassable, and no intercourse is possible but by the tops of the dykes. At such times as these the farm houses be more cut off from the world, surrounded as they are by a sea of mud, than if they were on so many islands. . . . Few countries can present fewer difficulties for the construction of railways, for there are no valleys to be crossed by viaducts, no large rivers, and no mountain or hill to be tunneled through. There is already a short line of eighteen miles from Rendsburg to Neumunster which might easily be prolonged over the heaths to Schleswig and Flensburg.

“Neumunster is a pretty village, boasting of the only cloth factories in the country; and from here to Hamburg, by the Kiel and Hamburg line, of which the above is a branch, is only a journey of two hours, though the same distance formerly took two days.”

Kiel has obviously derived great advantages from this increased

facility of communication, though it is still inferior to Flensburg, and of course still more to Altona. It is the chief place for the transit trade between Hamburg, Copenhagen, and the Danish islands.

“The town is beautifully situated at the head of a bay, among wood-crowned heights; the houses are handsome and massive; and the streets, though narrow, clean, well-paved, and full of life. Eastward from the town, along the shores of the Baltic, lies the ancient Wagria, the land of the Wends—but now occupied, almost to the shores of the Elbe, by great estates mostly belonging to nobles. A considerable part has, however, by the bad management and extravagance of the possessors, fallen into the hands of the *tiers état*. The value of the land here has lately risen enormously, but the entire prosperity of the duchies depends on free trade with Hamburg. This is the true cause of their resistance to the plans of the Danish government. These people could not easily be inspired with enthusiasm for mere abstract ideas, nor are they quite carried away with rapture by the hope of becoming the thirty-ninth state of Germany—were not more solid advantages at stake; but of a million of tons of corn annually exported by the duchies, only about seven or eight thousand went to any part of Denmark, all the rest proceeding by Hamburg to Germany. Of beef and pork, four-sevenths took the same road; and the case is the same with horses, cattle, and every article of export.”

The German Customs Union offers also, we must remember, many temptations to the Schleswig-Holsteiners, not only by opening a prospect to a great market of thirty millions of people, but as it promises to extend still further and secure the trade of the duchies, by bringing them within the network of railways, destined, one may hope, in spite of the unpropitious appearance of the present moment, to draw together many scattered limbs, and heal many gaping wounds of the German body politic.

2.—*Storia d'Italia, narrata al Popolo Italiano.* (The History of Italy, related to the Italian People). By Giuseppe La Farina. Vols. 1—4. Florence: Poligrafia Italiana. 1846.

It is no long time since all the forces at work in Italy appeared to be of a destructive disorganising character, tending to the corruption and decay of a body from which the soul, it was thought, had fled. The great spiritual power that once animated it seemed a mere phantom of a bygone time—the Pope was a poor feeble impotent old man, tottering imbecile on a height that only served to render his weakness more conspicuous.

But this process of decay has been mysteriously arrested—a new life has been infused into the prostrate frame—a re-organizing process has commenced, and the Papacy, shaking off the languor that was thought to be that of incurable infirmity, steps to the foremost rank in the onward movement of the world. But though it is truly said that where there is life there is hope; and though we are by no means inclined to dissent from the general anticipation of a favourable result to the present struggle; we cannot, if we would, overlook the

existence of many dangerous symptoms. Foremost among the evils, which, in spite of many promising appearances, tend to check any very sanguine anticipations of her immediate regeneration, is of course the moral injury which the national character cannot but have sustained from ages of petty mis-government; and not the least threatening is that fanatical hatred of foreigners, and especially of Germans, which appears at present to form the strongest bond of union between various parties.

It is not our business, and assuredly not our inclination, to attempt to make out a case in favour of Austria; but we cannot conceal our conviction that "*Morte ai Tedeschi*" and "*Fuori i barbari!*" are not the words of power that will conjure forth a free and united Italian nation.

Blind violence and injustice, into whatever forms they may be thrown, will not issue in virtue and happiness. We, for our part at least, have left off hoping to reap any considerable crop of figs from thistles.

One of the promising signs of the times in the Peninsula is the earnestness with which men are searching into the records of the past,—for the ground of experience on which alone any solid and durable reform can be built. We have little confidence in the dashing legislators who exclaim in so off-hand a manner "*Si la société est mal faite, refaites la:*" who would give us a new and improved world, as the phrase is, out of their own heads—and who find it easier to sweep away the work of past ages in one general heap of condemnation, than to make themselves acquainted with its contents, and endeavour to preserve what is valuable in them.

With time, doubtless the whole fabric of society may be, and indeed must be changed, as the natural body is; but it is indispensable that the process should be a gradual one. They who cut it to pieces at once with a view of reconstructing it, may find, like the Peliades of old, when they made mince-meat of their papa, that it is not quite an easy matter to put it together again. If at every new epoch we had to make a *tabula rasa* of the past, and to begin again from the beginning, there could never be any true progress, and society must remain perpetually in its infancy.

The zeal and activity with which the study of historical literature has been of late prosecuted in Italy, has been already manifested in the recent publication of collections of the highest importance, such as the '*Archivio Storico*' of Florence; and the '*Codice Visconteo Sforzesco*,' and others. The '*Storia d'Italia*,' though drawn from original sources, and exhibiting profound and extensive research, is, as its name implies, not addressed exclusively to the learned, nor yet to the class to which, for no reason that we know of, the name of "the People" is sometimes limited—but to the Italian nation at large. Such a work could hardly have been better timed.

The author commences with the descent of the Lombards into Italy, and the fourth volume proceeds as far as the rise of the Republic in

1152. At the former period Italy had just been what was called liberated from the barbarian Goths, and restored to the empire, but it had suffered more from its liberators than from its conquerors. The civilised Greeks, who came "with their inkhorns at their girdles," had ravaged the country from one end to the other, rather like bands of robbers than regular armies; and their captains, perpetually embroiled with each other, agreed only in grasping all they could reach. The country lay ruined and desolate, the cities were half depopulated, the rich impoverished, the poor oppressed, and people of all classes, overwhelmed with taxes and imposition, complained that they had fallen into a new servitude. At the Imperial Court of Constantinople no attention was paid to the complaints of the Italians, for the Greeks who had enriched themselves by despoiling them, had thus obtained the means of corruption, and of perpetrating their robberies with impunity. But while the Italians mourned over their wrongs they endured them; and though they desired a change, they made no effort to obtain it, or to throw off the yoke of the Greeks, whom they hated. "They were in want both of arms and of bread—but still more, they needed courage and resolution." Pestilence came also at this time to fill up the measure of their miseries; and the Lombards found them of course, in this condition, an easy conquest.

Of all the wild tribes who flocked in to divide and fight over the body of the deceased Roman Empire, the Lombards appear to have shown most sense of justice and moderation towards the vanquished; as indeed, in the absence of all other evidence, the very fact of their success may serve to prove, considering the enormous disproportion of their numbers to those of the people they conquered, without the assumption of a degree of pusillanimity in the Italians of that time, incredible in itself, and also liable to disproof on other grounds.

The first time probably that the Romans had heard the name of this tribe, was during the reign of Tiberius, when they inhabited a country north of the Elbe, afterwards included in the Bishoprick of Magdeburg. They are spoken of at that time as few in number, but maintaining themselves by their valour in independence in the midst of other greatly more numerous races. A few years afterwards they appear as confederates of Arminius, and subsequently we find them settled on the banks of the Rhine. Paulus Diaconus,* who lived at the time of their descent into Italy, says that in their first emigration they were under the guidance of a woman. In the sixth century they inhabited Pannonia, and had already been made acquainted with the charms of the beautiful country beyond the Alps, by having been summoned thither by the Imperial general, Narses, to lend him their assistance against the Goths; and it is even said that he advised their subsequent invasion, in revenge for the slights he had received from the Imperial court.

On the Easter Monday of the year 568, the Lombards arose

* *De Gestis Longobardorum.*

en masse, abandoned their homes in Pannonia, and taking with them their old men, women and children, their flocks and herds, and their household utensils, and all their possessions packed on cars, and shouting their warrior songs, they turned their faces towards Italy. They were accompanied on their march by twenty thousand Saxons; and it seems they had before their migration made an agreement with the Avari, their neighbours in Pannonia, that should their expedition prove unsuccessful, their lands in that province should be restored to them.

Arrived on the confines of the promised land, their king, Alboin, ascended the Alps, and from their heights surveyed the beautiful fields that were shortly to be his; he passed the mountains without drawing a sword: "for vain are mountains and bulwarks when hearts are wanting to defend them." He descended at Friuli, made himself master of the city, and established there as duke his nephew, and master of the horse, Gitulfas, and at his request left there some Lombard families, and some troops of fine horses. Paolinus, the schismatic Archbishop of Aquileia, withdrew into the island of Grado, taking with him the treasures of his church. The Venetians took shelter in the marshes and islets formed by the Po, where it falls into the Adriatic. The Bishop of Treviso, however, dared to present himself to the Lombards, and intercede for the safety of the people of his city, as well as the church property; and Alboin hearkened to his prayer, offered no offence to the inhabitants of the town, and confirmed the bishop in his possessions.

Longinus, the exarch, remained passively at Ravenna, his only movement being that of forming a palisade round the town or castle of Cesarea. The Lombards entered, without opposition, Vicenza, Verona, and almost all the towns and castles of Venezia, with the exception of Padua, Cremona, and Monseice, which were well victualled and garrisoned. Mantua offered resistance, and Alboin could not make himself master of it till after a long siege; but after this Trento, Brescia, Bergamo, and Milan fell into his hands; the Archbishop, Onorato, flying to Genoa with many of the clergy and citizens. It has been stated that Milan was sacked, and that the archbishop fled that he might not behold the slaughter of his people; but "the author of this statement is Landulfo the Elder, who lived many ages later, and whose narrative is besides so full of anachronisms and fables as scarcely to merit any attention."

The Lombards invaded Liguria, but without being able to get possession of Genoa, Albenga, Savona, Monaco, and other fortified cities; they surrounded and besieged Padua with a great part of their force, and with the other they conquered Tortona, Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Spoleto, great part of Tuscany and Umbria, and possibly some of the cities that constituted the march of Ancona. Before a year had elapsed from their descent of the Alps, the Lombards were masters of almost all upper and middle Italy.

"Cardinal Baronio, who is fond of assuming the difficult task of penetrating into the mysterious judgments of God, declares that the invasion of the

Lombards was permitted by Providence to punish the pride of the schismatic bishops; but the more clear-sighted Cardinal Norris shows that this conquest was a cause of increased power to them.

“The rapidity of this conquest was certainly marvellous, and it appears almost incredible how at the same moment the Lombards should have been able to spare time and strength for incursions into France and Switzerland. Yet they passed into the Valais, came to battle with the Burgundians, many of whom they killed, and took many prisoners. The Lombards and the Saxons together then made a second invasion, but this time they were beaten, and the Saxons, to save their lives, were compelled to abandon all their booty and return into Italy; and thence, subsequently, at the suggestion of Siegbert, king of Metz, their former lord, they determined once more to turn northward, and quit the peninsula.”

It was probably towards the year 571 that the Saxons, taking with them their wives and children, repassed the Alps and quitted Lombardy, and it seems likely that in this same year the Lombards created the Duchy of Benevento, of which the first duke was Zottone

Pavia surrendered, after a siege of three years and some months, and Alboin, enraged at such a long resistance, swore the extermination of the inhabitants; but it is related that as he was about to enter the city, his horse fell under him, and neither cries, encouragements, nor blows, could make it get up again; thereupon one of the king's officers said to him, “My Lord, recollect the oath that you swore! break it and you shall enter. Remember that these poor people are Christians.” Alboin thereupon drew back, the horse rose on his feet, and the king entered without offering the slightest injury to the inhabitants; and the wondering people soon crowded to his palace, filled with a joyful hope of better days to come.

Nor were they wholly disappointed. The Lombards, though occasionally guilty of ferocity towards the nobles, rather improved the condition of the lower class of people. They permitted the Romans to be governed by their own laws; though coming as armed conquerors, they abolished no ancient usage that was not inconsistent with the new order of things; though Arians, at the time when the dispute concerning that doctrine was carried on with the utmost fierceness, they evinced no disposition to persecute the Catholics; and though themselves rude and ignorant, they showed no inclination to despise and hate civilization and superior knowledge, and ultimately adopted from the conquered people, the language, the religion, and the customs which they believed to be superior to their own.

The question of the amount of liberty left by the Lombards to the conquered Italians has been much discussed by political writers. The author before us thinks there is no proof whatever of their having deprived them of any of the rights of Roman citizenship, and shows that, from their relative numbers, it is absolutely incredible that even the degenerate and pusillanimous Italians of those days, could have submitted to their dominion, had it been exercised with harshness and outrage.

“What was the number of the Lombards who invaded Italy? We know

that the Saxons, their allies, mustered 20,000 warriors, which supposes a total, including wives and children, of from 80,000 to 100,000 for the entire population. The Saxons proposed to live in Italy on an independent footing, so that it is probable that their numbers were not excessively inferior to those of the Lombards. Tacitus mentions the latter as, in his time, a small tribe, and some ages after, a song of a Gothland Scald, which records one of their emigrations, mentions their occupying seventy ships with a hundred men in each, making 7,000 fighting men, and a total population probably of 35,000 souls. It does not appear, by reference to the families of their kings, that population went on at a very rapid rate among the Lombards; but the certain increase, assisted by their union with the conquered tribe of the Gepidi, could not fail to have doubled the number by the time they came into Italy. Supposing them, however, even to have amounted to 100,000, this would not give much more than 20,000 warriors, which, united with that of the Saxons, would bring them to from 40,000 to 50,000."

These forty or fifty thousand warriors then descended into Italy, undisciplined and without machines, or any knowledge of the method of attacking walled cities. To take a town by assault was impossible to them. Pavia resisted their whole strength for three years, and they had no other choice than a long siege or a capitulation; but the Italians, weary of the cruelty and avarice of their Byzantine tyrants, appear to have capitulated very willingly, or whenever a Greek garrison was not present to keep them to their allegiance to the emperor. Vicenza, Bergamo, and Verona submitted at once to the Lombards, and it is not credible that such populous towns as these should have surrendered at discretion. If the long resistance of some cities proves the weakness of the Lombards, the facility with which others yielded, proved that the conditions offered were not extremely unfavorable. "The people of Ticino," says an ancient chronicler, "maintained themselves for three years, but afterwards seeing all the cities round in the hands of the Lombards, they surrendered." It cannot be supposed in this case that no conditions were made, and if there were any, it must be presumed that they would save the inhabitants from servitude. The Lombard king, Clefo, it is stated, put to death many noble Romans, and forced others to emigrate, that he might seize on their possessions; but if this fact proves his ferocity and cupidity, it also proves, at least, that the Romans had retained their property, or it would have been unnecessary for the king to drive them out in order to get it for himself.

"Let us come to the time of the Dukes, in which it has been said that the Lombards were completely plundered and reduced to a state of subjection. 'In these days,' says Paulus Diaconus, 'many noble Romans were slain from motives of cupidity; the others were divided among the enemies (or the strangers), in order that they might pay to them a third part of the fruits of their lands.'* But if the Romans had been reduced to complete subjection, and deprived of their goods, not the third part, but the whole would have

* *His diebus multi nobilium Romanorum, ab cupiditate interfecti sunt; reliqui vero per hospites (or hostes) divisi ut tertiam partem suorum frugum Longobardis persolverunt tributari efficiuntur.*—De Gestis Longobardorum. Paulus Diaconus. 1, 2, c. 32.

come into the hands of the Lombards. That they paid this third part as a tribute by no means implies their being in a state of servitude, since the Lombards for some time paid tribute to the Franks, the Greeks of Ravenna paid tribute to the Lombards, the Slavi to the Friulani, the emperor himself to the Avari, and for many ages the potentates of Christendom to the Corsairs of Barbary. That the Italians were disarmed is highly probable, for the conquerors were too small in number to leave arms in the hands of a numerous and conquered people. . . . Italian Lombardy presented a superficies of 30,000 square miles, and allowing a population of 150 persons to each (and no Italian state of the present day has less than 204), we shall arrive at the total 4,500,000. We must therefore suppose, if we imagine the Italians to have been reduced to a state of servitude, that every Lombard warrior became the master of 225 slaves, and a territory of a mile and a half square.'

“Is it conceivable that a nation of 4,500,000 people should allow themselves to be deprived of liberty, property, and laws, by 40,000 warriors, who, after the departure of the Saxons, were reduced to 20,000? It is also to be remembered, that it is the artillery which at the present day gives to regular troops so great an advantage over the people, but in those days the arms of warriors were the same as those of citizens. I shall be told, perhaps, that the Italians had utterly lost all worth and courage; but were they not Italians who, in Ravenna, and Rome, and the cities of the South, rose so often against the Byzantine armies, and gained victories over them? How could the Lombard Duke of Benevento, who had with him only a few hundred warriors of his own nation, have defended himself against a powerful imperial army under the conduct of the emperor himself, if he had not been aided by the Italians? Why, when these imperial armies approached Benevento, Friuli, and Tuscany, did the people make no effort to form a junction with them and throw off the yoke of the few Lombards who had reduced them to so miserable a state of servitude? Do not the numerous insurrections against the Greeks, and the absence of any against the Lombards, sufficiently prove that their yoke was the more tolerable of the two?”

The Lombards in their public acts expressed themselves in moderate and even humble language, and never uttered a word expressive of hatred or contempt for the Romans. The Franks, on the contrary, during their time of dominion, were haughty and insolent in their expressions, and were perpetually boasting of their own great deeds, and insulting the vanquished Italians.

“Now since even they left the subject nation personal freedom, and the rights of property, it can hardly be supposed that the Lombards, so much fewer in number, so much more interested in conciliating the affection of the natives, and so much threatened by the Greeks, should have deprived the people of liberty, property, and laws, have driven them together into one servile class, and divided them like a flock of sheep.”

The kings of the Lombards entitled themselves *Rex Longobardorum*, not *Rex Romanorum*, and this has been mentioned as expressive of the absolute nullity of the conquered people; but it may possibly prove just the contrary, namely, their making no pretension to be sovereigns of the Romans, and regarding them still as the subjects of the emperor, the title of king being one of minor importance and honour. The Lombard kings assumed the qualification of *excellent-*

assimi, like the Patricians, and so honourable was this title deemed that Charlemagne himself pleaded for and obtained it.

But although the Lombards, considering their relative position, left the Italians in a great measure undisturbed in the possession of their civic rights, they did not hold themselves aloof from them in any hostile manner, or endeavour to maintain a national separation. The rapid change of their customs for those of the Romans may show how great was the influence exercised by the more civilized over the more barbarous nation. In the course of a century they had abandoned their own language for that of the vanquished people, which they used both in their public acts and their private correspondence; and besides their language they adopted also the Roman arms and costume, which they certainly would not have done had it been associated in their minds with the degradation of slavery.

Of the discipline and culture of the Arian clergy at this period nothing is known, but in every city there existed, side by side, an Arian and a Catholic bishop. Up to the time of Theodolind, the Catholic clergy had to submit to the authority of the Lombard kings; but after they had embraced Catholicism, the clergy recovered their independence, and even obtained the jurisdiction over their own members and the vassals of the church.

Idolatry still existed in some parts of Italy, and in Sardinia a great proportion of the agricultural population was still pagan, and are said to have worshipped various stones. We find Gregory the Great reproving their lords concerning these, and advising them not to observe the same tolerance towards them as towards the Hebrews, but to endeavour even to force them to become Christians by aggravating their burdens. In Reggio we hear of a priest who was a worshipper of idols; and in some parts of Sicily, of that worship of angels on which St. Paul touches (Colossians ii. 18), and to which a letter of Gregory also bears witness. In the church itself, however, there must have been already great corruption; we hear of bishops fulminating their excommunications for money; of their making not only their ecclesiastical residences, but even the churches serve the purposes of hosteleries, and of their keeping women in their houses *for their consolation*; the priests were of course very ready to follow the example of their bishops, and the monks and nuns those of the priests; so that they probably well deserved the reproofs which Gregory bestowed upon them.

The church of Rome had, towards the end of this period, amassed a considerable amount of territorial possessions. The frequent donations of the faithful had enriched it with lands in Abruzzo, Calabria, the duchy of Benevento, in Sicily, in Africa, in Dalmatia, and the Alps; and on these estates was bestowed the appellation of the patrimony of St. Peter, as those of the church of Ravenna were called the patrimonies of St. Apollinarius, and those of Milan of St. Ambrogius.

“Some have dreamed that these patrimonies implied the sovereign dominion of the church in those countries, and it is grievous to find the

learned Scipio Ammirato falling into this error. The patrimonies possessed in any province were confounded with the province itself, and, in defiance of history, the Church of Rome afterwards asserted that it had possessed, in absolute sovereignty, Sicily, Istria, great part of Africa, the Duchy of Benevento, and northern Italy as far as the Cottian Alps, at a time when it had not in reality sovereign authority over a single castle. But it would now be lost time to enter on a question already discussed and resolved by Giannoni, Muratori, and the historians who followed them. I will merely mention that some of the administrators of these patrimonies attempted, in the time of St. Gregory the Great, to withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of laymen; but this learned and prudent pope not only disapproved of these attempts, but prohibited their renewal under pain of excommunication. These patrimonies paid tribute to princes, like other estates, though the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus granted an exemption for those in Sicily and Calabria in the year 681, and the Emperor Justinian II, for those in Abruzzo and Leucania in 687. When Leo Isauricus was at rupture with the see of Rome, he confiscated the patrimonies of Sicily and Calabria, which yielded at that time a revenue of 25,000 crowns a year.

“The riches of the church had already become considerable. the veneration for the relics of saints—the miracles, easily managed, and still more easily believed, devout pilgrimages, vows, and pardons for sin—all these were ever-flowing sources of wealth. Catalogues were made of the miracles that might be obtained from certain saints; saints were created who were never born, and every sepulchre was made to enclose the bones of a martyr.

“The people,” says Muratori, “moved by an ill-regulated enthusiasm for piety, ran to embrace every relic exhibited to them, and proclaimed as an undoubted citizen of heaven whoever died with the smallest reputation for sanctity. Saints were multiplied *ad infinitum*—for the body of a saint was a valuable property. . . . The fabrication of fictitious lives of saints and martyrs, afterwards called legends, was but too easy, when genuine ones were wanting, and such adventures, discourses, miracles, and torments were introduced, as were thought likely to be conducive to piety. The authors knew that such merchandize would have an easy sale, as there were no critics or learned persons who might have discovered the imposture, and the more marvellous the events they related, the more eagerly were they swallowed. Some people are unwilling to see these flourishing so called *pious* frauds, cut down by the critical scythe—and such deserve to be deceived. Perhaps they even wish to be deceived—if not also to deceive others. We have a multitude of genuine saints in the church of God, then lives have been written by religious and upright persons, often their contemporaries. Let us embrace these with fervent devotion; such as are doubtful let us examine, but let us reject with horror such as breathe falsehood or imposture. I will not now insist further on this matter, but refer the reader to the two very learned dissertations of the great Muratori, ‘On the manner in which the church, the chapters, the monasteries, and other religious establishments, obtained great lands and riches,’ and ‘Of the remission of sin, by which much wealth has been accumulated in religious houses.’

“The crimes which were at that epoch but too frequent in the world, occasioned remorse—and remorse urged many to retire into monasteries, or to endow the church with their goods. Testaments *pro remedio anime* increased beyond measure; and even children of tender age were allowed to make wills for pious purposes. Theodoric, a Greek monk, who came to Rome in the time of Pope Vitaliano (657), and who was afterwards made Bishop of Canterbury, published his famous *Libri Penitentiale*, in which was exactly fixed the penance due for every sin, and for some other acts which the church

had not before counted as sins. To every offence was affixed a penalty of months of abstinence, fasting, and prayer, so that a very short continuance in any habitual sin, would have made necessary whole ages of penance to atone for it. Then arose the idea of redeeming penance by alms and donations to religious establishments, or even of paying monks to perform the penance inflicted on the sinner; though subsequently the councils endeavoured to restrain this scandalous abuse—and they highly disapproved of confessors thus making a tariff of sins with their penitents.

“New churches and monasteries now arose; and instead of the coarse cloth which the priests originally wore, they adopted rich and pompous vestments; the sepulchres of the martyrs were adorned with gems, the catacombs illuminated with lamps of silver. Then too the church began to need many different officers to guard her treasures, to administer her revenues, and keep her archives, as well as attendants and slaves to serve her. The Lombard kings, Agilulfo and Ariperto, and the queen Theodolinda, bestowed magnificent gifts on monasteries and churches; and Gitalfo, Duke of Benevento, greatly enriched the monastery of Monte Cassino, and had the fame of being an unweaned seeker after relics.”

The revenues of the church were divided into four parts—for the bishop, the clergy, divine worship, and the poor.

“In Rome, on the first day of every month, the Pope was accustomed to dispense to the poor, according to the season, corn, wine, oil, cheese, fish, money, and clothing. Three thousand children received their food and clothes from the hands of St. Gregory; and a great number of noble families, fallen into poverty, had daily some pittance sent to them from the frugal table of this pontiff, who, it is said, when he one day discovered that a poor man had died of hunger,—in sign of grief, interdicted himself for three days from the performance of his sacerdotal duties.

“The monasteries, when they had become rich and powerful, endeavoured to shake off the yoke of the bishops, and, from the time of St. Gregory, they appear to have in a great measure succeeded in this attempt. The monastery of Monte Cassino soon drew to itself the favour of the popes: Zacharias consecrated it with his own hands, assisted by thirteen archbishops; and he granted to that convent and all its possessions and dependencies complete exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, declaring it subject only to the Roman Pontiff. After this example, other monasteries obtained similar favours, and this independence of episcopal authority increased at the same time the power of the convents and that of the Holy See, which acquired thus legions of defenders with the strongest motives for supporting its claims, as their own rested upon them.

“In the course of time even the chapters also withdrew themselves from the authority of the bishops, and latterly not only particularly convents, but monastic communities in general; and not content with this, the monks invaded even the tithes of the bishops and parochial priests, and persuaded credulous devotees that their prayers were more acceptable to God and the saints than those of the secular clergy, so that in succeeding ages the bishops had to struggle not a little to regain possession of their rights.”

One of the most mischievous consequences of the increase of power and wealth in the Church of Rome was, that the popes became political chiefs as well as ecclesiastical sovereigns, and soon began to struggle for the temporal interests of their dominions, till at length, to maintain their rivalry with the Lombards, they did not shrink from

calling in the assistance of the Franks—a fatal step, by which the peace and independence of Italy for ages were forfeited. By this time, it appears, notwithstanding some assertions to the contrary,* that with a common religion, a common language, similar habits of life, and five generations born on the Italian soil, victors and vanquished, notwithstanding some political difference, had become fused into one people. The calling in the Franks brought down upon the country all the evils of a foreign invasion; and this was but the commencement of the long catalogue of sacrifices made of the high and spiritual character of the ecclesiastical sovereign of Europe to the political passions and intrigues of the petty Italian prince.

It is now by no means impossible that in the difficulty felt of reconciling the new institutions and a representative system, with that of priestly government, this question of the double character of the pontificate may be brought to a final decision.

3.—*Allgemeine Deutsche Volks-Bibliothek*. 1st Band. *Käthi die Grossmutter-oder der wahre Weg durch jede Noth*. (General German People's Library. 1st Part. Käthi the Grandmother, or the true Way through all Trouble). By Jeremiah Gotthelf. Berlin. 1847.

Der Gerattersmann: (The Gossip.) *Volksbuch*, for 1848. By Berthold Auerbach. Brunswick.—London: Williams and Norgate.

WRITING for the poor is a peculiar art, demanding peculiar qualifications, and not to be attained without some study; and, notwithstanding the immense increase of late years in the numbers of the publications professedly addressed to them, it does not appear to us that there are, in English literature, many well adapted to the object aimed at. Perhaps a very simple explanation might be found in the fact that, among us, a very large proportion of the poor have not mastered the art of reading sufficiently to avail themselves of literature of any kind, and that the subscribers to cheap publications ostensibly addressed to them are really to be found among the middle, and even the higher of the middle classes, who take them for the juvenile members of their families. It is a great mistake, however, to confound the state of mind of the uneducated with that of children. A poor man may be ignorant, stupid, mentally degraded, but he is seldom or never childish, and often looks down with real contempt on the childish frivolity of the sons and daughters of fashion. Those who have been always cradled in the lap of prosperity, often—in spite of a certain amount of intellectual culture—remain children all their lives. But this can scarcely happen with such as have to fight the world's hard fight for bread. To them life has acquired a deeper, sterner significance; and they

* Machiavelli and Muratori have taken the affirmative, Manzoni and Troya the negative side of this question, which has been much agitated among Italian historians.

seek in books for something better or worse, but altogether different from the mere aimless sports of infancy. The ballads and tales of wonder that once formed so large a part of popular literature, written or traditional, went out with the maypoles; they are now banished to the nursery, and would be angrily rejected by the classes who once delighted in them. It may have been otherwise in different ages. As long as for the difficulties that arise in all thoughtful minds the poor man was satisfied with the authorised solution; so long as he reposed in childlike dependence on those who were placed in authority over him; he may have had leisure and freedom of mind for the enjoyment of the mere play of the imagination; but now it is otherwise: the most steady readers among the poor seek in books for the answers to the anxious questionings which they no longer carry to their "spiritual pastors and masters;" and such as require mere amusement prefer generally the coarse excitement and intoxication of novels of the Balzac and Sue school,—of which, unhappily, many have been made accessible to them through the medium of cheap translations.

Of the various associations which in England have undertaken to furnish literature for the poor, some have confined themselves almost wholly to the subject of religion; but the manner in which they have treated it, has made it evident to the smallest penetration that the object they had really most at heart was the preservation of the existing order of things, in which they were personally interested: others have wholly omitted religion and politics—the two subjects in which the poor are most deeply interested, and have set about the difficult, if not hopeless task, of engaging their attention to subjects of physical science, and even of the fine arts, for which but a small number even of the educated have a genuine and unaffected taste.

Among individuals who profess to have devoted themselves to this cause, there are now many who have taken up, as a matter of trade, the cry of sympathy for the poor—exactly as in a different age they would have done that of "down with the rabble,"—their real purpose being, not to benefit the poor, but to gain customers to their shop; which may doubtless be a very legitimate object, but which it is ugly to have in view when we profess to be actuated by pure benevolence. To what extent their wares have found acceptance, we have no means of knowing; but it is certain that the poor at least are little likely to profit by writings whose main purpose seems to be, to teach them to throw wholly on others the responsibility that belongs, in great part at least, to themselves.

Berthold Auerbach, and Jeremias Gotthelf are not of the class of writers for the poor who purchase their favour with the honied poison of flattery, as base as was ever proffered to monarch by cringing courtier: and that their writings have nevertheless found acceptance is obvious, from their almost unprecedented rapidity of sale; and from their being found, as we are informed they are, in the peasant's cottage, in the workshop of the artizan, and even with the shepherd on the hill side. The '*Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*,' is a serial

publication lately commenced by some distinguished men belonging to various classes of society and political parties widely differing from each other, yet all agreeing in the wish to see the elementary education received by nearly all their poorer countrymen turned to somewhat better account. Several extensive publishing houses in various parts of Germany have joined the association, and notwithstanding the extremely low price at which they are to be issued, it is the declared intention to publish none but works of high merit. Their first publication, 'Kathi, the Grandmother,' is by Jeremias Gotthelf (otherwise Herr Vizijs of Luzelflue, in the canton of Bern), some of whose former works we have deemed worthy of an introduction to English readers. Though writing professedly with a moral purpose, the author has not forgotten that this can only be attained by a work of fiction through the medium of the pleasure it affords. It is difficult indeed to calculate the amount of mischief done to the cause of morality and religion by the pro-y twaddling productions that often find their way into the world under the shelter of those high-sounding titles; and which associate them inseparably, in the minds of the young and ignorant, with feelings of weariness and disgust. The story before us is of a lowly Swiss peasant woman; a beautiful example of the charity that "hopeth all things, endureth all things, seeketh not its own;" and the simple events of her life give the author opportunities for affording us pleasant glimpses also into the life and character, public and private, of the Swiss of the present day.

The moral purpose is not impertinently thrust forward, but shines through the whole with a clear radiance. Here is a peaceful little picture, on which, in these days of turmoil, the eye willingly rests.

"Whoever should take his stand on a certain one of the pleasant hills encircling the valley of the Unne, will, when he has so far overcome the swelling rapture of emotion produced by the lovely prospect as to be enabled to observe details, perhaps notice, in a narrow dell, a cottage built of wood and thatched with straw. It lies so prettily in its green grassy nook, that many a one, worn and harassed with the cares of active life, has sighed as he gazed upon it, and longed to fly to it as to a haven of rest from the strife and tumult of the world. Whoever has felt such a wish, has certainly not felt inclined to withdraw it on a nearer view of the little dwelling. It is old, indeed, but very clean; and on each side it has a little bench to rest upon, and before it is a small garden where, though the hedge is somewhat decayed, there is not a weed to be seen, and instead of weeds there are pinks and roses, and some other pretty flowers. And beyond the little garden rise the vast mountains of the Bernese Oberland, with their mighty foot upon the earth and their white majestic heads in heaven.

"And if you sit down upon the little bench by the door, you have a beautiful meadow before your eyes, and at your feet flows a clear stream, from whose sparkling water the trout are leaping up to catch the flies.

"Some perhaps might prefer the view from the back of the house—a sort of rural pantry and store-room, planted with potatoes, and beans, and carrots, and cabbages, and turnips, and flax. Not far off is a thicket, from which rises the sweet song of birds of which it is a favourite resort. Even the nightingale, so rare in Switzerland, is heard here; and the rushing sound of a torrent behind

the thicket forms a low and monotonous bass to their melody. It is the wild Emme, to which the valley owes its origin, and which from time to time takes care to remind the dwellers in it that she is its mother, and, it must be owned, one somewhat violent and given to anger.

"Whoever happened to be passing that way, on the afternoon of the 12th of June, 1845, would have seen, besides the cottage, its inhabitants, in the potato field behind.

"These inhabitants were—an old woman, a boy between four and five, and two hens, a black and a white one. The old woman, who was hoeing out the weeds from her potatoes, was poorly but very neatly dressed, and her face was perfectly clean even between the wrinkles. The boy's face was smooth, and of a pretty red and white, but by no means so clean as his grandmother's—though that was no fault of her's, for she washed it often enough; but if she had washed it every quarter of an hour she would still have found plenty to wash. He was a pretty little fellow, with curly hair, who, it was easy to see, could do as he liked with his grandmother, and could, therefore, of course, if he liked, dirty his own face. It could not be said that he was well dressed—but at all events probably better than Eve's eldest son—though no one could have looked to his costume for any specimen of the tailor's art.

"He was at this moment engaged in cutting some splinters of wood for a hen-coop—and teasing his grandmother every minute to know whether it would be big enough. In the meantime, the black and white hens were keeping in a very friendly manner close to the old woman, who, in the hoeing up of the weeds, furnished them with many a delicate morsel. Sometimes one or other of them would walk up to the boy, and, with head on one side, look knowingly on, as if examining his work. The old woman, too, often looked at him with evident satisfaction, but without letting her hoe rest a moment—for she could use her eyes and her hands at the same time, which many a one cannot. Nay, it seemed as if every time her eyes returned from the boy, that the hands acquired fresh strength, and moved more nimbly than ever. The grandmother was not merely fond of the boy—but lived in him—would, with joy, have given her life ten times a day for him. You could see that, if you watched her eyes as they rested on him.

"It was a sultry afternoon, and black clouds were scattered here and there about the sky, like divisions of a grand army, waiting for the signal to form in order of battle. The heat did not, however, stop the old woman at her work—her hoe did not often stand still while she gathered breath. She knew how quickly time flies—how soon comes on the evening, and the night in which no man can work.

"Many people take no care of their money till they have come nearly to the end of it; and others do just the same with their time. Their best days they throw away—let them run like sand through their fingers—as long as they think they still have an almost countless number of them to spend; but when they find their days flowing rapidly away, so that at last they have very few left—then they will all at once make a very wise use of them: but, unluckily, they have by that time no notion how to do it.

"This had not been the way with grandmother Katie; she had toiled faithfully all her life, but became, if possible, still more industrious as she grew old; and to-day she was especially busy, for she had a job which she must get through: she did not know whether she would have time to-morrow, or how long it would be before the threatening storm came on.

"She could not help rejoicing in her heart when people said—'Katie was the most industrious woman in the valley'—'she had done her work when other people had hardly begun'—'if all poor people were like her, the houses of correction wouldn't be so full'—and so on.

“At length the last row of potatoes was clean hoed. ‘Thank God we’ve done with that job,’ said Katie to her grandson, as she carefully scraped and cleaned away the mould that was sticking to the hoc; ‘now, dear, we’ll go in; but first we must just have a look at the flax, to see whether it’ll soon blow.’ The flax was not very far off, for it was separated from the potatoes by two rows of beans, and as may be imagined it did not cover any great extent of ground; but it was nevertheless the treasury of the old woman, and gave her the best part of her rent. No field of flax could possibly be better kept than her little plot, which had also the advantage of a very favourable soil—a fine sandy loam, watered by the Emme. Katie was famous for her flax, and it did her heart good when she heard neighbours say that she had the finest boy and the finest flax in all the country round. This time she contemplated with particular complacency her little plantation, and said to herself, ‘Please God I shall have a good year, and needn’t be afraid but I shall be able to get on and pay my rent, and have plenty for us to eat too.’ And the little plot really looked uncommonly well. The flax stood at least two ells high; though it was not yet in blossom it was thick and fine, and stood straight upright in its net, that is to say, between the threads which passed and crossed from sticks standing upright at about a foot from each other, no one the tenth of an ells more or less. These threads formed little squares and triangles, in which the flax found support, so that the wind could not lay it down or entangle it, by which, as is well known, the flax is weakened, becomes thin and poor, and often diseased. Katie reckoned the produce in her head as she went home, calculated how much she would have to pay, and what would be the balance left.”

Well content. But, alas, poor Katie’s calculations were vain, her bright hopes destined to be sadly overcast. One of those storms, seen only in mountainous countries, accompanied by violent hail and flood, lays waste her little possessions; and after seventy years of cheerful, patient toil, and unremitting frugality, she sees herself reduced to beggary, and forced to depend on the kindness and compassion of her neighbours; but her religious hope and faith are not to be shaken by elemental warfare, or the sufferings that may arise out of it: the rainbow still brightens the dark clouds.

Another of poor Katie’s troubles arises from the character of her son, the baseness of which however she is far from perceiving to its full extent. He is no extravagant villain, nor even guilty of any decidedly vicious act, but one such as we meet every day; bent solely on grasping all the enjoyment he can, and shifting off the burden of his duties to whoever will bear them. The political disturbances of Switzerland, too, occasioning him to be frequently called out on military duty, afford him a not unwelcome pretext for leaving the care of his child—the curly-headed darling aforesaid—wholly to his poor old mother. But Johannes liked shouldering the musket much better than following the plough.

“It is cruel to think how politicians and *soi-disant* patriots will play with the militia as if they were leaden soldiers, calling them out at all times of the year for anything and nothing, but some party intrigue; forcing them to neglect most necessary work, and to leave their wives and children to hunger and cold; and while they are feasting their partisans with Strasburg patties and champagne, the little households are going to ruin.”

The visit of the son to his mother is characteristic of both. After he has been long looked for, and his mother has exhausted her invention in excuses to her neighbours for his non-appearance, she finds him one Sunday, on her return from the church, seated on the bench at her door.

"He was a fine-looking young man, but it was a pity that his face at the meeting exhibited by no means the heartfelt joy that shone on those of Katie and her grandson. There was a something in its expression that was hard to decipher—it might be embarrassment or discontent. He gave his mother a large bag, saying that was for her. 'You were always a good boy,' said Katie, 'but never mind me, do you see and take care of yourself.'

"'You don't need to thank me,' said Johannes; 'it was the master's wife that sent it for you.'

"'No! you don't say so! Well, to be sure, she must be a good woman. What beautiful pears—and what's this wrapped up in paper?—Bacon, I declare; and such a fine fat piece—quite a picture. And to send this to me, that don't even know her. You must be a great favourite with her, Johannes, or she wouldn't have done it.'"

Johannes, however, will hear nothing of his being a favourite, or of his mistress's goodness, and pours out a whole torrent of grumblings, by which it appears that his lot in life is by no means equal to his deserts. In the mean time, Katie is exerting her utmost skill in cookery to prepare him a magnificent banquet of fried potatoes, pancakes, and bacon, such as was seldom seen in her cottage; and after dinner comes the budget; and here the author takes occasion to touch on what we believe to be a common error in domestic education.

"In the higher classes of society, or even amongst what are called respectable families, there are always a hundred subjects that are not to be talked of before the children, who always remain in some measure strangers to the affairs of their own family, what they know about them being often obtained from servants, or in some irregular way; and thence arises that total want of sympathy with parents that often makes one's blood run cold. In poor families this is often better managed; nothing is concealed from the child; indeed he is a witness of the most of what is done and suffered. He knows precisely the state of the finances—whether the rent has been paid or not—if not, how much is wanting, and what chance there is of its being made up;—what the father earns—what the mother must spend—what must be bought, and what sold. Sympathy arises out of this intimate knowledge; the child is no longer a mere parasite plant, but a living branch of the family, knowing and sharing in all its joys and sorrows. When domestic affairs are concealed from the child, he grows up to be less the friend than the antagonist of his parents,—and—let us not deny it, a bad conscience is often at the bottom of all this mystery-making—some family sins, or a false position towards the world, unsuitable to the real circumstances,—and which there is not courage to alter."

Katie's great trouble, now that her hopes of a good harvest are entirely destroyed, is how to make up her rent.

"'Not that the farmer (her landlord) was hard upon her,' she said, 'but he would have his money. She had lived there forty years, it is true, and had never troubled him; but then he had to spend a great deal of money himself;

and those who had to spend a great deal, must of course see that that they got what belonged to them. For the rest she was not afraid: there were always good people who were willing to help the poor—so that she need'nt complain of her lot, or go about begging.' ”

Johannes was not quite so hardened as not to feel something for his mother. At the moment he was really sorry that he could not help her, but promised that he would do something very soon—that was, if the *nobs* did not take it into their heads to call out the militia again, and send them scouring the country after the Jesuits when there wasn't a Jesuit to be found; but it was all the same to them. They could sit enjoying themselves, and didn't care if the poor had to be eating up all they had, and other people's into the bargain.

“ ‘Oh, as to these Jesuits,’ said Katie, ‘never mind if they send you ten times over. They must be shocking wicked people, almost like Satan himself. Wherever they come, I'm told, they take away people's religion, and their money into the bargain, if they have any. As for the money, they would'nt find much to take with me; but the religion! Oh! think, Johannes, what would a poor woman like me do without her religion? So if they send you out again after these Jesuits, fight 'em, Johannes, as long as you can stand over 'em; but then don't be cruel to 'em either. Don't forget that they are christians like ourselves; and if you should catch one, be sure you let him go again; but tell him to run away as fast as ever he can, and never come in your way again—you hear!’ ”

“As for the religion, Johannes thought, there were many people who would'nt have much more reason to fear than his mother for her money; but the fact was they wanted to get what they could for themselves, ‘and we poor fellows have to bear all the loss. In Aargau there I lost my best shirt. I'd given it out to wash, when all of a sudden off we went. They promised to send it after me, but I never set eyes on it.’ ”

“ ‘The government certainly ought to have given you another shirt,’ said Katie, ‘but who knows, perhaps they had'nt any themselves, or at any rate not clean ones.’ ”

‘*The Gevattersmann*,’ (a word which we must translate by *Gossip*—in its old sense of friendly confidant) is a kind of People's Annual; in outward form a small pamphlet, and sold at the price of little more than sixpence, yet containing what might perhaps serve a working man with suggestions for thought in his leisure moments during a whole year. It does not affect to avoid politics, but touches, in homely and familiar style, generally in the form of comic apologue, on the most important political questions of the day; or gives old popular jokes, *improved* into a modern application, besides little essays on points of morals or education, or of domestic life. The longest is a tale of a tragic cast, called “A Battle for Life or Death,” descriptive of the mental struggles of a peasant, who, steeped in poverty to the very lips, approaches the brink of tremendous guilt, but gradually, by the most natural means, works himself out of the Slough of Despond, and finds a refuge and a home in the far west. As, however, no sufficient idea could be given of this by a short extract, we prefer presenting ‘The Gevattersmann’ in one of his more playful moods, in

which he relates a passage in the history of the Palace Clock of *Residenzlingen*.

"It is related of a certain savage tribe that the chief, every morning before the sun arose, seized his lance, and pointed out to the luminary the path he was to follow in his course through the day. Pointing to the east, he said, 'There, sun, thou shalt arise;' and then, turning to the west, 'and there shalt thou set.' By this means he persuaded his warriors that he ruled the world; for the sun always followed the path which had been pointed out.

"That was a piece of state-craft in the savage chief; but in civilized countries, where there are people who wear white gloves and gold-embroidered collars, things must be managed more cleverly.

"The city and capital of Little Residenzlingen is of course blessed with the presence of a royal family, and this family, '*Die Herrschaften*,' that is, 'the Masters,' as they are called, have always been in the habit of dining at three o'clock, and in old times they kept a public table; that is, a table to which every subject might come—not to eat, of course—but to see the princes eat, and to make sure that they did it just like other men. It seems, however, that in the winter the royal family found this hour of three rather too late for dinner, for they wished always to dine by daylight. A great question now arose—how this was to be managed? A raw young fellow, who had no experience in court affairs, thought it was very simple, and said, 'Can't they dine at two?' But there was almost a scream at this revolutionary suggestion. 'What's to become of us,' said the courtiers; 'what's to become of the world, if the ancient order of things is to be overturned in this way!'

"Then an old Hofrath arose, and taking a pinch of snuff, and waving his silk pocket handkerchief like a banner, said, 'It has long appeared to me that the pretensions of mere learned men to fix the time is nothing but a piece of presumption. We alone, your highness, have a right to settle what is the time of day.'

"This speech was received with great applause, and orders were immediately given that all the church clocks should be put an hour forward, but it was to be done quite quietly, in the middle of the night, when everybody was asleep; for above all things, in a well-regulated state, care must be taken not to disturb the public mind.

"No one knew anything of the great progress that had been made during the night; but in the morning there was terrible confusion in Little Residenzlingen, for all the maid-servants, it seemed, lay a-bed too long, and all the boys were too late at school, and all the parlour clocks and watches were wrong, and had to be set. Next winter, however, government was wiser than to run the risk of altering the time by an hour all at once: they did it by a few minutes at a time, so that it was scarcely noticed; if a stranger came to the capital, his watch was of course found to be different from those of Little Residenzlingen, but he got so unmercifully laughed at, that he was glad to alter it—just as some people do their consciences when they differ from those of the rest of the world. Things went on very smoothly for some years; but now came a terrible change in the position of affairs at Little Residenzlingen. A railroad was made to it: and lo! it appeared that for years together all the clocks had been wrong. The ministers set on foot negotiations with all the neighbouring courts, to get them to agree to their reckoning of time, and even tried to organize a secret conspiracy among the sextons who had the care of the clocks—but it was all of no use: and so the ministry of Residenzlingen resigned, for they declared it was all over with them if the people should once come to know really what o'clock it was."

4.—*Zwölf Paragraphen über Pauperismus, und die Mittel desselben zu stenem.* (Twelve Paragraphs upon Pauperism and the means of checking it.) By Theodore Hilgard the elder. Heidelberg: 1847.

It is nothing remarkable to find ourselves indebted to Germany for profound views of philosophy, for acute historical research, for subtlest criticism, for contributions to almost every department of imaginative literature. But we do not often look to that source for important practical suggestions on the business of common life. We seek her aid to afford us answers to our anxious questionings, concerning the mysteries of our spiritual existence—but not to remove the difficulties that entangle our feet in our daily paths, yet this is what we are presented with in the very valuable pamphlet before us; and it is not without surprise that we find these hints towards the solution of one of the most difficult problems of our time compressed into the few brief words of these “twelve paragraphs,” instead of being expanded into three or four thick closely-printed octavos, as is the wont of the author’s countrymen on subjects of far less importance. It is not improbable that this unusual talent for brevity may be attributable, in some measure, to the circumstance of his having been, for ten years, a resident in the United States, though previously, for five-and-twenty years, filling the office of magistrate in his native country.

The past year of famine has been a time of suffering and anxiety not to those only who were victims of actual hunger, or the fear of it; it was scarcely less so to many whose position placed them above the reach of positive want, whose mere subsistence was safe, but who, in the convulsed heavings that shook the lower strata of society, saw abysses occasionally opened, from which they could not but shrink back with horror. Another such year might have broken down all barriers that human power or foresight could raise; and though it has pleased Providence, for the present, to turn aside the threatened danger, we must not seek to banish the remembrance of it, to forget the solemn lesson we have received, or suffer our bitter experience to be without its fruit.

“The terrific, the heart-breaking cry of poverty and starvation,” says Mr. Hilgard, “has resounded towards us from all parts of England and France, it has become so loud and universal that we can no longer turn a deaf ear to it. The rapidly increasing impoverishment of whole masses of the population is, incontestably, the greatest evil of our time; to cure this evil, its greatest and most important task. To attempt to prove the fact of this destitution would be mere loss of time; he who has eyes can see it, he who has ears can no longer doubt. In England and France statistical reports have given us the same fearful results. In Germany we have not such complete tables, but there is still less possibility to doubt of the existence and magnitude of the evil. Two causes, it is alleged, have mainly contributed to its production and increase from year to year; first, over-population, encouraged by the progress of civilization, and by the long peace, to such an extent, that the increase in the means of subsistence can no longer keep pace with it; secondly, an excessive inequality in the distribution of property. The existence of this distress, and the pressing necessity for some remedy, have in recent

times brought forth two phenomena—which it is here necessary to touch on, and endeavour to estimate—these are Socialism and Communism. The former, resting on principles theoretically excellent will, nevertheless, as experience has sufficiently proved, always, in practice, strike on certain rocks, visible enough before to the eye of experience.

“Let us strip this system of all that is extraneous, and we find beneath it this principle—unquestionably true, but as old as the world itself—that united powers, physical, intellectual, and moral, will attain all the ends of life better, and more easily, than when they are isolated. All political institutions, all municipalities, all commercial companies, insurance offices, military establishments, nay, even the associations of bands of robbers, rest ultimately upon it. The only difference is that the socialists seek to extend it further, into private and domestic arrangements; for they maintain that all separate housekeepings should be abandoned, and instead of these, great unions established, by which property would be acquired more easily and more abundantly, life in all its relations rendered more dignified and fuller of enjoyment both for rich and poor, as well as the education of children more equal and more effectual. To the question whether these associations should be formed under the sanction of the state, and even assisted by the coercive power of the law, or left wholly to the voluntary movements of the members, the socialists do not seem quite prepared with an answer;—nor are they altogether agreed among themselves; for while some speak of these societies as perfectly free, and leaving every one at liberty to leave them as soon as he may think proper, others are incessantly making it a reproach to government that they pay no attention to this system, as if they expected and required the interference of the state.

“Here then we come to the difficulty: either the state must organise these associations, and keep them together by the power of the law, in which case the socialist system would give to the state a power over individual will, and a right of interference in the most intimate family relations, such as the worst and most absolute despot has never dreamed of claiming; and thus place itself in the most violent contradiction to the tendencies of the age, which require the distinct recognition of individual rights, and the rigid limitation of the powers of government within its own sphere,—or such associations must be perfectly voluntary; in which case, not only would they, could they once be brought to bear, be infallibly established on very various conditions, so that it would be impossible they should ever constitute one harmonious whole, but every single union would, in all probability, after a short time, fall to decay, by the effect of discord, inconstancy, and caprice among its members, of their distrust and jealousy of each other, or of those who exercised authority, or by their dissatisfaction with the administration of their affairs, which must be in the highest degree difficult; and partly also by that love of personal independence, which is an original principle of human nature, which induces a man to prefer the most inconvenient liberty to the most comfortable slavery, and which is sure to render the idea of being only a part of a great machine in the long run insupportable.

“It is only therefore to certain industrial enterprises, and within far narrower limits than Socialism contemplates, that its principles can be really susceptible of practical application; and in this point of view we are certainly indebted to it, for having pointed out so emphatically the great advantages of co-operation. But to expect from it a thorough reform of society, and a solution of the problem presented by the too rapid increase of population, would be an unpardonable delusion.

“Communism, taken in its strictest sense, is nothing but an abortion, sprung from misunderstood or exaggerated principles of Socialism, united with the feeling of despair occasioned by the misery of the masses; and therefore it

is not surprising that it should be chargeable with all the defects of Socialism, greatly augmented in degree; but, could it by any possibility be put into practice, it would, by its violent and illegal tendencies, produce nothing but an immeasurable chaos of confusion and misery. This case, however, cannot occur, for the system would at all times be opposed by the whole power of the state, and resisted and kept down by the whole influence of all intelligent, upright, and experienced men, as well as of all those who have anything to lose. For this reason, when the question is of practical remedies, we need say no more of Communism. Both Socialism and Communism are bubbles, which will swim for a time on the surface of society, in these unquiet times, and then vanish and leave no trace behind. They are proofs of the existence of distress, but no remedies for it."

The problem then is to find a remedy efficient enough to meet so great an evil, and afford a permanent cure for it, yet at the same time mild in its operation; requiring no violent political changes, no bloodshed, and no sacrifice of old and well-grounded ideas of justice and right, and the author of these "paragraphs" believes that there are two special methods, which, properly applied, and kept in connexion with each other, might suffice to this end. The first, though one in itself entirely insufficient, is systematic emigration under the guidance of the state. The second, and by far the most important, an *Alteration of the Laws of Intestate Succession*.

The idea of Emigration as a means of relief is, the author acknowledges, so far from being new, that it necessarily forces itself upon the suffering classes whenever they are in a position to adopt it; wherever the population is too great, nothing is more simple and natural than that it should flow over, and nothing can be more cruel and irrational than to throw any obstacles in the way of such a relief. By the way of emigration, peaceful or warlike, has the earth been peopled.

"How often has ancient Rome poured her population into conquered towns and districts! How many hundred settlements did not Greece sow on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea! How many colonies had not already proceeded from Phœnicia, Egypt, India—not to mention the great migrations of the middle ages! How comes it then that modern governments have not followed in this respect the wise example of antiquity? That instead of laying any hindrances, direct or indirect, in the way of emigration, they have not made it one of their most earnest considerations to support it by every means in their power, at all events in those countries where the population has for the moment reached too high a point, that is wherever it is so great, relatively to the means of subsistence, that every human being cannot obtain such a subsistence as is consistent with the welfare of mind and body?"

The opinion that emigration may be injurious to the parent state Mr. Hilyard combats on the ground that the presence of a discontented and languishing population can be no advantage to any country. In Germany this view is beginning to be adopted; in Switzerland it has long been the practice to assist poor emigrants from the coffers of the state; and France regards its newly won territory in Africa as valuable chiefly for an emigration field.

The opinion that systematic emigration on a large scale, and supported by the resources of governments, would meet with opposition

from the countries towards which its tide was turned, he considers erroneous, because it would naturally be directed towards such as possessed large tracts of fertile and unoccupied land, and countries so situated usually look with joy to an increase of population; and even in the United States, where it has poured in with such overwhelming force, the party most inimical to the emigrants has objected, not so much to their reception, as to what they consider their too early endowment with political rights by the American law; by which they obtain an undue influence over public affairs: and even if such a difficulty could arise, it would respect merely the amount of emigration, and might be arranged by diplomatic negotiation.

He considers it as the duty of governments, especially of those of Germany, with a view to the encouragement and protection of emigration, first to remove all legal obstacles, such as may hinder for example the realization of the property of emigrants, or that of children who may accompany them; secondly, to diffuse sound and correct information, not drawn from the reports of this or that traveller, but from those of responsible agents, especially appointed for the purpose at the given localities. That to those who may not possess the necessary means of meeting the expenses of the journey, such should be furnished from an appointed public fund, or that vessels should be fitted out to transport emigrants, free of cost, to the land of their destination. That to destitute emigrants, immediately on their disembarkation, a certain moderate allowance should be made to secure them from severe suffering until they should have had time to look about them and find occupation. That the emigrant should always find on landing a diplomatic agent from his native country, to whom, in case of necessity, he might apply for protection and advice. That governments proposing to sanction schemes of emigration, should come to an understanding, when necessary, with the governments of the countries for which emigrants are bound, in order to secure them as much as possible from casualties arising out of their new condition.

This may be considered as a general outline of the *positive* duties of government in such a case; they have, however, their negative side which must by no means be overlooked. This consists in not interfering too far in the private concerns of emigrants; in laying no restraint on the freedom of their choice with respect to their future home, especially as the government themselves generally possess no very exact or complete knowledge of the countries likely to be the goal of their wanderings, far less of particular districts of those countries. Such knowledge is, indeed, by no means easy to obtain; for even the older residents are seldom well acquainted with more than the exact spot they have inhabited, and the mere traveller sees usually nothing more than what lies immediately right and left of his route, and has seldom time for more than a very superficial observation even of that.

The reader may perhaps be tempted to ask, whence are to proceed the by no means inconsiderable funds necessary for a systematic support of emigration on the part of the state? This is indeed, a difficulty, but, in the opinion of our author, not an insuperable one.

He thinks he has discovered the means of meeting it, in an alteration of the laws of intestate succession, to which he looks as the great means for the relief of the impoverished classes. Emigration, even could it be effected on a larger scale than it ever has been in modern Europe, although a ready and effective means, cannot of itself be regarded as a complete and general remedy for so great an evil. The number of those suffering actual destitution, or whose subsistence is insufficient, void of all comfort, and liable to oppressive toil and anxiety, constitutes everywhere an important part of the population. It is not conceivable that such great masses of the people should be willing to emigrate. Many would remain at home, because attachment to their native soil would outweigh every other consideration; others would be induced to remain by particular contingences; sickness or infirmity of various members of a family rendering it impossible to undertake so long a journey; or from innumerable other circumstances. Experience has proved that even in those countries from which emigration has been most considerable, the natural increase of the population by births has been greater than its decrease by death and emigration together.

It, therefore, the great majority of the poor remain in their native country, and increase from year to year, our object must be to discover a method of raising them from the condition into which they have fallen. It has been sometimes supposed that this means might be found in voluntary benevolent associations, but these, though they do honour to humanity, and may afford relief in particular localities, must always be insufficient. The enthusiasm which leads to their establishment gradually decays, contributions fall off, and the results are felt to be partial and unsatisfactory. The beautiful edifice falls to decay, and the evil which it had for a moment alleviated, appears again in a more formidable shape than before.

“Is there then a better and more powerful remedy to be found? It must not be sought for in the land of dreams; it must be of a kind which shall in no way endanger public order, or interfere violently with the existing relations of society—and above all things it must respect the rights of property. I believe that I have obtained a glimpse of such a remedy, and I propose it with confidence, since long and earnest thought has convinced me that the difficulties which it may appear to present at first sight are easily removable, if we can only resolve to free ourselves from old, unessential, and ill founded ideas of custom, and seek a great cure for a great evil. This cure may be found in the establishment of a general hereditary fund, for persons possessed of no property, by means of a law which should entirely abolish intestate succession for *very distant* degrees of relationship, and appropriate such estates to a general hereditary fund for the poor, devoting also to the same purpose a certain percentage of estates falling to nearer kindred, the proportion rising with the distance of relationship and with the amount of inheritance.

“I have used advisedly the phrase *hereditary* instead of *relief* fund, because it is essential to my view that it should be regarded, not as an alms, but as a property to which the poor have a legal claim. As a mere benevolent institution it would involve something of humiliation, and in a great measure fail of its effect. It is to be regarded much more as a compensation offered for an

ancient injustice, and as a means of removing by degrees, and by the gentlest methods, the enormous inequality of property which at present exists, and which is the root of the evil in question."

"The same suggestion, that of the appropriation of estates for which there were no heirs nearer than the fourth degree, has been previously made by another German thinker, Dr. Paul Pfizer, in his '*Gedanken über Recht Staat und Kirche*.' He argues that the rights of property cannot strictly be considered as extending beyond the duration of the life to which they appertain; that the dead can hardly be said to have any just claim to the exercise of a will in the disposal of the things of a world in which they no longer exist. The inheritance of property by those who are nearest and dearest to the deceased person to whom it formerly belonged—is indeed a custom so natural, and so completely in accordance with our best feelings, that no regular society can long remain without a positive law to this effect; but the rights of the heir are founded, not so much on the will of the dead, as on the will of society, which renounces its rights in his favour. But if the rights of private inheritance are stretched to such an extent, that in no case can property revert to society at large, it is inevitable that there should arise such excessive inequality of possession, and such injurious restrictions in the means of acquisition, that large classes of the community must be plunged into want,—and may ultimately be driven to attempt a violent return to the law of nature, and the seizing by force what they can never hope to gain by honest labour. It is to obviate such a danger that it is proposed to set some limits to the rights of inheritance; and the events of the last century, in overthrowing so many time-honoured abuses, have, it is to be hoped, contributed to destroy the delusion that leads us to confound what is a mere legal claim, with the sacred demands of justice and humanity. However natural and just may be the law of inheritance amongst those who in their life time have enjoyed a sort of community of property, such as parents and children, and married people, who are in some measure one—yet the extension of such claims far beyond the domestic circle, far beyond the probable limits of family regard, has been the chief cause of the accumulation of wealth in few hands, of the terrible contrasts of riches and poverty, and of many crying evils to which habit alone could possibly have reconciled us.

The testamentary disposition of property rests of course on a different principle.

"If a person, either by the free act of another or by his own corporal or mental exertions, has become possessed of property, his exclusive right to it should be in every way recognised and protected by the state. Let the true rights of property be for ever inviolable; they are the most indispensable foundations of order, freedom, morality, and the happiness of life. The owner of property has incontestably the right, not only to its enjoyment, but to its disposal, according to his pleasure. Should he die however, the case is altered. By death, the person capable of the right—the *subject* of the right and the will, entirely ceases: and, strictly speaking, since a right cannot subsist without a person to whom it is attributed, what was his property must now be

esteemed as without an owner. But this influence has appeared to the legislatures of all times and nations as opposed both to natural feeling and social order. Opposed to social order, because the disputes concerning property which had no existing owner, would incessantly have disturbed the peace of society, and it was therefore deemed advisable to confer the right to its possession immediately on a living person; and opposed to natural feeling to take what had belonged to a deceased person from those to whom he had been dear. It was deemed reasonable that the owner of property should point out the person to whom it should belong after his death, and thus arise testamentary inheritance; but even in this, legislation, as we have seen, had, for sufficient reasons, taken a step beyond the simple nature of the case. Subsequently society assumed the right of setting some limits to the testamentary power over property permitted to the owner, and denied his right to withdraw a certain proportion of it from his near kindred, even should he wish to do so. The rights of inheritance have therefore already been modified by considerations of reason and expediency."

The laws of intestate succession rest on the supposed wish of the deceased, and in the case of the nearest kindred have the strongest presumption in their favour. This presumption is somewhat less between brothers and sisters, than from parents to children, and still weaker with one removal—the relationship of uncle and nephew, aunt and niece; yet it cannot be denied that a high degree of affection often subsists between people so related. With one more remove, however, its existence becomes very doubtful; cousins, as such, are in few cases warmly attached, and in many perfect strangers to each other. How many of us have cousins whom we scarcely know by name; and in such cases do we not feel that to be a mere legal fiction, which supposes that such a degree of affection might give a claim to the exclusive inheritance of property? If, therefore, it is more than doubtful in this fourth degree of relationship, how absurd does such a pretence become when it is extended to the twelfth, or *ad infinitum*. Such a law has obviously been a mere make-shift to avoid the evils which it was feared might result from leaving the possession of an inheritance undetermined. In Germany those who succeed to the property of very distant relatives, are called "laughing heirs," a term which sufficiently expresses the popular feeling respecting them, and it is hardly necessary to point out what kind of affection it is that usually subsists between the owners of estates, and distant relatives who have expectations from them.

The grudging ill-will that so often arises in the minds of one party towards those who, without the smallest share of their regard, can yet claim the whole of their possessions, the selfish greediness of heirs so situated, is an observation almost too trite to serve even for a joke, and these "expectations" are proverbially the worst inheritance a man can be born to. It cannot then be supposed that these parties would be really injured by the proposed severance of the tie between them; it is not a tie of affection, but an iron chain of the law.

For the details of the alterations which Mr. Hilgard proposes in the laws of succession to property, we must refer our readers to himself, but we may briefly state, that according to his suggestion,—

First.—All intestate estates, for which there is no claimant nearer than the fifth degree, should fall wholly to the proposed fund.

Secondly.—Of every intestate estate falling to the kindred of the fourth degree, the half,—of such as fall to uncles and aunts, one third,—to the same relationship in a descending line (that of nephews and nieces), one fourth. This difference resting on the presumption, that the worldly position is, in the former case, already more secure than in the latter. In the case of brothers and sisters, nothing should be taken from the first 5,000 florins, after that 10 per cent. up to 10,000, and should the property exceed a million of florins, 25 per cent. It is also proposed to subject estates falling to near kindred to a duty for the same purpose, but not till after they have reached a certain amount. All these particulars, however, are given only with a view of illustrating the general idea; and the author is perfectly aware that they must be varied according to the existing laws and circumstances of various countries; and should the attention of any legislature be drawn towards them, they would require to be in every case discussed, point by point, and subjected often to material alteration.

The designation of those who should be entitled to share in such a fund, and their registration, should be the business of a special authority in each locality; but the grounds on which these authorities should proceed must be exactly marked out for them, and the administration of the fund be the business of the general government.

Should this be once established, and administered in such a manner as to gain confidence, the author calculates on a considerable increase from voluntary legacies and endowments; as the noble purpose for which it was intended could hardly fail to inspire interest, and many benevolent societies, which now exhaust themselves in separate and vain efforts, would in this institution find a worthy point of union for their endeavours; but the probable amount likely to be produced by the proposed plan, can, of course, be determined by experience only. The amount of estates falling to distant collateral relatives, he estimates generally at about four-twentieths of those inherited by near kindred.

One question of great importance which presents itself is whether it should be permitted to the testator in such cases to withdraw his estate altogether from the destination assigned to it; or whether the claim of the poor should be regarded as irrefragable. On the one hand is to be considered the grand and sacred object in view, its pressing and indeed indispensable necessity to the welfare of the state, which seems to forbid its being left liable to be frustrated by individual caprice; on the other, the objections to laying such a restraint on the freedom of testamentary dispositions, as in the case of persons having no blood relations nearer than the fifth degree, would amount to a denial of the power of making a will at all. In this case it might be advisable to take a middle course, and make the restraint stronger in the inverse ratio to the proportion claimed for the fund, and absolute in cases where the proportion was at all events very small. For instance,

where the testator had no blood relations even of the fourth degree—to permit him to will away one half of it;—where a nephew or a niece should claim the property, not more than a sixth of it. In estates devolving on a brother or sister, in which case the claim of the poor would be very trifling, it should not be legal to refuse any portion of it.

“We cannot but hope, however, that were such an institution once in existence, were the incalculably happy effects that must flow from it once made evident, few testators would be found narrow-minded enough to wish to deprive the poor of their just share in possessions which they themselves could no longer enjoy; and that such an action would be regarded by society in general as a sin, and as casting an indelible disgrace on their name. So far, therefore, from fearing the frustration of the proposed object by disadvantageous wills, we should much rather look for its powerful advancement by voluntary munificence.”

Another, perhaps even more difficult point, would be the distribution of this fund, the conditions of which would have of course to be exactly defined by law. One portion might, it is presumed, be destined for the support and assistance of poor emigrants; another to the foundation and maintenance of establishments for the poor incapable of work, for hospitals, &c.; another be made to contribute to the welfare of such as were willing and able to work, but in need of help; and another perhaps might be left to the free disposal of the poor amongst whom it should be distributed. We may observe, however, that to prevent this last measure from being productive of more mischief than benefit, it seems indispensable that the poor should stand at a somewhat higher grade of moral and intellectual culture than unfortunately they do at present; and the first means to this end must be a more efficient system of national education.

Our author indeed is of opinion that such a distribution would not lead to idleness and immorality, because the most fertile source of the demoralization at present existing among the poor is precisely their hopeless poverty. He refers to the frequent experience, that those to whom a prospect has been opened of gradually raising themselves to a better position, have been far less addicted to idleness, drunkenness, &c., than others, similarly situated in other respects, who have had no such prospect; and he considers that the industry and morality which usually characterise the middle classes, would be found as frequently among the poor were their position less hopeless.

Many facts, however, for which (amongst other authorities we may mention the recent ‘Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry into the state of Education in Wales’) go to prove that a very low state of morals is often found co-existing with a very high rate of wages; so that it appears that something more than a prospect of improvement in material welfare is necessary before we can look for any considerable amelioration.

One mode of affording assistance to the poor, should be by the purchase of lands to be distributed amongst them in small allotments; by making advances for the purchase of tools, &c.; by affording instruc-

tion in the various trades; by founding schools of industry, collections of models, &c.; and diffusing useful publications.

By this institution, all that is of value in the socialistic theory might, it is thought, be brought into practice for the better organisation of labour; and it might reasonably be expected that a great moral effect would be produced by the mere prospect of such a change as that proposed.

It would prove to the impoverished population that their sufferings were understood, and that there existed a real earnest desire to relieve them; the very knowledge that such a plan was in preparation would be the most powerful source of consolation; and hundreds of thousands of those who perhaps now look towards a general overturn of society as their only chance for relief, would feel that they too had an important interest in the preservation of social order.

There can be little doubt that the laws of inheritance have been the chief source of the frightful inequalities existing in modern society, and have tended more than any other cause to heap up riches in the hands of a few, and to steep the many to the lips in poverty. In effecting a thorough reform in these, we attack, therefore, the very root of the evil.

“Most emphatically, however, we would call attention to the fact, that the measure we have proposed, is, of all conceivable methods, the mildest in its operation; the only one, we believe, that does not attempt to interfere with the actual possession of property; for as long as possession lasts, that is, as long as the owner lives, so long he would be wholly untouched by the proposed law. It would not affect his property until his possession had ceased, and it was about to pass to a new owner. Now it is well known how beyond comparison less irksome it is to obtain something less of that of which we have yet possessed nothing, than to have a long accustomed possession even in a small degree diminished. This is the fault of the Poor Law in England, which is felt as extremely oppressive, yet in a great measure fails of its effect; and this would be the case with every tax that could be invented, and even voluntary contributions would be felt as a far more important sacrifice than those of the plan we have been advocating.

“Another point also, which must be insisted on, is, that this would form a permanent cure for the evil—and that even the most complete levelling of all possessions, could it possibly be effected, would last a very short time. The natural and inevitable course of things would soon bring back the old inequality, and this would again gradually rise to an insupportable degree. By this plan we do not aim at bringing about a perfect equality (which is a mere idle dream) but of establishing a new organisation, which shall operate steadily and equally to all futurity, and prevent the recurrence of that enormous inequality of property, and the distress and danger to society inseparable from it.”

It will perhaps occur to English readers that some features of Mr. Hilyard's plan will interfere with our present system of legacy duties; but we believe few will be inclined to deny that the sooner this system and its scandalous abuses is brought under public discussion the better. We most earnestly hope that it will attract the attention of all sincere friends of social reform, and be brought under the notice of the statesmen to whose care the welfare of society has been confided.

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

- 1.—**THE ARTIST'S MARRIED LIFE; BEING THAT OF ALBERT DURER.**
Translated from the German of Leopold Schefer, by Mrs. J. R. Stodart. London: John Chapman, 142, Strand. 1848.

WE learn from the translator's preface that this narrative "purports to be an old manuscript entrusted by Albert Dürer on his deathbed to his friend Perkheimer, with instructions that it should be given to the world when all those to whom its contents might cause pain were no more." The author seems to have closely adhered to what, from the genuine materials preserved by the biographers of Dürer, we may conceive to have been the real course of 'the Artist's Married Life.' His wife's chief fault seems to have been an absorbing love for her gifted husband—a love which allowed no rival near its throne—not even parents, nor friends, nor child, nor art itself—all must be abandoned for her sake, and in order that he might be entirely, wholly hers.

"In her concealed love for her husband, nothing was indifferent to her which moved his soul or filled his heart. And many things, so much that was enigmatical to her, appeared to move his soul and to fill his heart! And she alone thought to fill that heart! while he appeared to know and silently to worship a still deeper and more holy power than her and her love, yea, the godly, the immortal, the mysterious. Then again, everything peculiar in his inward bent and manner of thinking appeared so clearly, and yet so doubtfully and impenetrably to her mind, to have its foundation in the world around, and to be closely connected therewith, that it was often well with her, and often seething hot."—p. 45.

Agnes, Albert's wife, was even jealous of their only child, who was devotedly attached to her father; and through the little Agnes additional wounds were inflicted upon the father's heart.

"But the feelings of children are inconceivably delicate and just. Little Agnes soon saw how unhappy her father was in his home, how little he was valued. Albert had perceived and learnt, first of all, from her own mouth, how much it grieved the loving little one to see him so ill-used. He saw it also in her soft blue eyes. But he saw it meekly and silently.

"When Albert visited a friend one day, against the inclinations of Agnes, who feared that he might perhaps complain of her, and thereby make public what appeared to her quite allowable in private,—and came home late, that she might not be awake, and yet found her keeping watch with the child, who had waited for her father, that she might go to bed with him;—then the mother scolded him, and called him a waster of time and money,—a man addicted to worldly pleasures, while she toiled away for ever in secret at home, and never had a single happy hour with him.

“ Thereupon he sat down, and closed his eyes, but tears may have secretly gushed forth from under his eyelids. Then the child sighed, pressed him, and kissed him, but said at the same time to her mother in childish anger, ‘Thou wilt one day bring down my father to the grave! then thou wilt repent it. Everybody says so.’

“ The mother wished to tear her from his arms. But he hindered her, wishing to punish his child himself. These were the first blows he had ever given her. The child stood trembling and motionless. ‘Do not beat her on my account! certainly not on my account!’ exclaimed Agnes,—thus indirectly irritating him still more. The father, however, struck. But in the midst of the sadness and at the same time of the anger which his sufferings caused him, he observed at length, for the first time, that his little daughter had turned round between his knees, and that he had struck her with a rough hand on the stomach! He was horror-struck, he staggered away, threw himself upon his bed, and wept—wept quite inconsolably. But the child came after him, stood for a long time in silence, then seized his hand, and besought him thus: ‘My father do not be angry! I shall so soon be well again. My mother says thou hast done right. Come, let me pray, and go to bed. I have only waited for thee. Now the little sun-man comes to close my eyes. Come, take me to thee, I will certainly for the future remain silent, as thou dost! Hearst thou? Art thou asleep, dear father?’

This danger then appeared to be overpast.

‘Almost luckily, might the guilty father’s heart say, the little Agnes had, some time afterwards, a dangerous fall,—luckily! in order that he might not further imagine that he was the cause of the child’s death. She continued sick from that day, became worse, and no physician could devise aught, even Wilbald who had studied seven years at Padua and Bologna, only pressed the hand of the father. That was intelligible enough.”—p. 100

The little one’s death is thus portrayed—

“During the night the child suddenly sat upright. The father talked with her for a long time. Then she appeared to fall into a slumber, but called again to him, and said in a low voice: ‘Dear father! father, do not be angry!’

“‘Wherefore should I be angry, my child?’

“‘Ah! thou wilt certainly be very angry!’

“‘Tell me, I pray thee, what it is!’

“‘But promise me first!’

“‘Here thou hast my hand. Why then, am I not to be angry?’

“‘Ah! father, because I am dying! But weep not! Weep not too much! My mother says thou needest thine eyes. I would willingly—ah! how willingly!—remain with thee, but I am dying!’

“‘Dear child thou must not die! The suffering would be mine alone!’

“‘Then weep not thus! Thou hast already made me so sorry!—ah! so sorry! Now I can no longer bear it. Therefore weep not! Knowest thou that when thou used to sit and paint, and look so devout, then the beautiful disciple whom thou didst paint for me, stood always at thy side! I saw him plainly.’

“‘Now I promise thee, I will not weep!’ said Albert, ‘thou good little soul! Go hence and bespeak a habitation for me in our Father’s house,—for thee and for me!’

“Albert now tried to smile and to appear composed again. Then Agnes exclaimed: ‘Behold, there stands the apostle again; He beckons me!—shall I go away from thee?—Oh, Father!’

“With strange curiosity Albert looked shuddering around. Of course there

was nothing to be seen. But whilst he looked with tearful eyes into the dusky room, only for the purpose of averting his looks—the lovely child had slumbered away!”—p. 101.

The charming air of quaint simplicity pervading this tale renders it a faithful picture of domestic life, the amenities of which are interrupted by the natural consequences of an ill-assorted union. The characters are all life-like: the enduring, high-souled artist and his loving though selfish wife; the sweet little Agnes; the gentle, broken-hearted Clara; are all delineated in a few masterly touches, such as we may suppose Albert himself would have employed upon them in the exercise of his own art. The tale must become a favorite. The “getting up,” too, deserves a word of notice; printing, illustration, and binding are all in keeping, and all harmoniously blend with the old-world style of the narrative, which admirably illustrates the truth of the proverb used as a motto to the first chapter, namely, “To be right in a wrong way is wrong.”

2.—*THE PLANT; A BIOGRAPHY.* In a series of Popular Lectures. By M. J. Schleiden, M.D., Professor of Botany to the University of Jena. Translated by Arthur Henfrey, F.L.S., &c., Lecturer on Botany at St. George's Hospital. London: Baillière, 219, Regent Street. 1848.

ONE of the consequences of the interchange of communication between British and Continental naturalists, which has freely taken place since the close of the last war, has been the introduction into this country of numerous valuable works on the various branches of natural science, demonstrative of the vast advances made in the study of natural history on a philosophical basis among foreign cultivators, as compared with its all but stationary condition in our own country. To Dr. Lindley is chiefly due the merit of having introduced to the notice of the English botanist, in a convenient form, the results of the learned labours of numerous continental phytologists of the highest standing; and in the successive editions of his many useful botanical works, he has carefully endeavoured to promulgate the newest and best authenticated opinions of those whose judgments are the most to be relied on. Among those so introduced by Lindley and others, the author of the treatise now under notice holds a very high rank.

We have already introduced his translator, Mr. Arthur Henfrey, to our readers, as the author of an exceedingly useful work on ‘Structural and Physiological Botany,’ in which are embodied the results of the latest researches of the continental botanists; and we have now to thank him for his elegant version of an agreeable addition to what may well be styled the polite literature of the science.

Schleiden, in his Introduction, thus explains his views in writing the lectures.

“A large proportion of the uninitiated, even among the educated classes,

are still in the habit of regarding the botanist as a dealer in barbarous Latin names, a man who plucks flowers, names them, dries and wraps them up in paper, and whose whole wisdom is expended in the determination and classification of this ingenuously collected hay. This portrait of the botanist was, alas! once true, but it pains me to observe, that now, when it bears resemblance to so few, it is still held fast to by very many persons; and I have sought, therefore, in the present discourses, to bring within the sphere of general comprehension, the more important problems of the real science of botany, to point out how closely it is connected with almost all the most abstruse branches of philosophy and natural science, and to show how almost every fact, or larger group of facts, tends, as well in botany as in every other branch of human activity, to suggest the most earnest and weighty questions, and to carry mankind forward beyond the possessions of sense, to the anticipations of the spirit."—p. 1.

Our next extract exhibits the author's mode of treating his subject in order to carry out the intentions expressed above.

"The vegetable world, if it be but looked upon as something more than the materials for a herbarium, offers so many points of contact to the human race, that those who devote themselves to its study, instead of having to complain of want of material, become oppressed with the multitude of interesting questions and problems which crowd upon them. The different subjects of consideration may be conveniently arranged under four aspects; firstly, the condition of the plant as a question of scientific inquiry; secondly, the relations of the individual plants to each other; thirdly, the relations of plants as organisms to the organism of the whole earth; and fourthly, the relation of the human race to the vegetable world. But since each of these four relations is fulfilled by the plant at one and the same time, it is infinitely difficult, if not impossible, to keep each aspect clear and unmixed; and when we enter upon one of these relations with the desire to subject it to closer investigation, we are always involuntarily constrained, sooner or later, to direct our attention to the rest, and to draw them within the circle of our researches. In the following essays, the division into these four branches can only be adopted to a limited extent, and a freer treatment becomes necessary from the abundance of material which continually allures us to turn aside from our path, to gather here and there a bright or fragrant flower; or the companionship in which we wander through the land of science, induces us oftentimes to leave the straight but dusty and fatiguing high road, now to pursue our course through lanes which wind among pleasant meadows, now to explore a shady forest path."—p. 3.

An extract or two from the lecture on the Cactus tribe, will show the exceedingly interesting manner in which his subject is treated by Schleiden. These plants, among which are exhibited some of the most *bizarre* forms to be found in the whole vegetable kingdom, are no less remarkable for the variety and oddness of their shape than for the beauty of their flowers and the importance of their products. About a dozen species of the family composed the whole number known to Linnæus; at present botanists are acquainted with upwards of four hundred species. Among them may be mentioned those which afford nourishment to the cochineal insect (*Coccus Cacti*), now forming a most important article of commerce. As Schleiden well observes:—

"Everything about these plants is wonderful. With the exception of the

genus *Peueskia*, no plant of the order possesses leaves. Those parts of the *Cactus alatus*, and the Indian fig, which are commonly called leaves, are nothing but flattened expansions of the stem. On the other hand, they are all distinguished by an extraordinarily fleshy stem, which, clothed by a greivish-green, leathery cuticle, and beset, in the places where leaves are situated in regular plants, with various tufts of hairs, spines, and points, gives, by its very varied degrees of development, the varied character of the plants. The torch-thistles rise in form of nine-angled or often round columns, to a height of thirty or forty feet, mostly branchless, but sometimes ramifying in the strangest ways, and looking like candelabra. The Indian figs are more humble, then oval, flat branches, arranged upon one another on all sides, produce special forms. The lowest and thickest torch-thistles connect themselves with hedgehog and melon Cactuses, with their projecting ribs, and thus lead us to the almost perfectly globular *Mammillarias*, which are covered very regularly with fleshy warts of various heights. Finally, there are forms in which the growth in the longitudinal direction prevails, which with long, thin, often whip-like stems, like that of the serpent Cactus so often cultivated here, hang down from the trees upon which they live as parasites.—p. 215

“The Cactaceæ have long been compiled, in science, to serve as the prop of a statement which, altogether false, has yet been frequently put forward by distinguished botanists, I mean, the assumption that many, or even all plants are capable of imbibing their nutriment from the air. Even in the present day has this idea been again revived, with all the long ago-refuted reasons, by Liebig, whose ‘Organic Chemistry’ has made so imposing an appearance. It is believed, that from the vast amount of watery juice in the Cactus tribe, joined to the fact that most of them, and exactly those richest in sap, vegetate on dry sand, almost wholly devoid of vegetable mould, where they sit besides exposed, often three fourths of the year to the parching sunbeams of an eternally serene sky, from this combination of circumstances, even, it is thought that we may the more safely conclude that these plants draw their nourishment from the air, since in our own hot-houses also it has been observed, that the branches of Cactus stems, cut off and left forgotten in a corner without further care, far from dying, have frequently grown on and made shoots three feet long or more. De Candolle first found the right path, when he weighed such Cactus shoots which had grown without soil, and found that the plant, though larger, was always lighter; therefore, instead of abstracting anything from the atmosphere, must rather have given up something to it. All the growth takes place, in such cases, at the expense of the nutritive matter previously accumulated in the juicy tissue, and it generally exhausts the plant to such a degree, that it is no longer worth preserving. It is that succulent tissue which enables the Cactus plants,—one might compare them with the camels,—to provide themselves before-hand with fluid, and thus to brave the aimless season. Their anatomical structure also assists them in this respect, in a peculiar manner. We know, from the experiments of Hales, that plants chiefly evaporate the water they contain through their leaves, and the Cactus tribe have none. Their stem, too, unlike that of all other plants, is clothed with a peculiar leathery membrane, which wholly prevents evaporation. This membrane is composed of very strange, almost cartilaginous cells, the walls of which are often traversed by elegant little canals. Its thickness varies in different species, and it is thickest, and therefore most impenetrable, in *Melocacti*, which grow in the driest and hottest regions, while it is least remarkable in the species of *Rhopsals*, which are parasites on the trees of the damp Brazilian forests.”—p. 221.

“The hairs, spines, &c, situated in the places of leaves, deserve a special mention. Generally speaking, three forms may be distinguished, all three

usually occurring together on the same spot. The first are very flexible, simple hairs, which form a little, flat, soft cushion; among these is found a bunch of longish but thin spines. These it is, chiefly, which, on account of their peculiar structure, make the careless handling of the Cactus plants so dangerous. These little spines are very thin and brittle, so that they readily break off, and are covered with barbed hooks directed backwards from the point. When touched, a whole bunch at once penetrate the skin; if an attempt is made to draw them out, the separate spines break in the skin, and the fragments pierce in other places; when the hand is drawn over them, they catch in, and an insufferable itching, terminating in a slight inflammation, spreads over all the parts which have been touched. The *Opuntia ferox* is especially remarkable for these spines, whence its name, the *savage*. Among the hairs and smaller spines arise very long and thick spines, in different form and number, which give the best characters for the determination of the species. In some, these are so hard and strong, that they even lame the wild asses which incautiously wound themselves, when kicking off the spines to reach the means to allay their thirst. In *Opuntia Tuna*, which is the kind most frequently used for hedges, they are so large, that even the buffaloes are killed by the inflammation following from these spines running into their breasts.* It was this species, also, which was planted in a triple row, as a boundary line between the English and French in the island of St. Christopher."—p. 223.

The subject is treated in the same popular style in the various lectures, in which the author has we think conclusively shown, that Botany is not necessarily that dry uninteresting science of hard names and dry weeds it is sometimes supposed to be. In some respects the book has disappointed us; but take it for all in all, we are content to receive it as a generally successful attempt to rescue an interesting science from the mistaken ideas entertained by those who do not understand it.

3.—PARTNERSHIP "EN COMMANDITE," OR PARTNERSHIP WITH LIMITED LIABILITIES, (according to the Commercial Practice of the Continent of Europe, and the United States of America), for the Employment of Capital, the Circulation of Wages, and the Revival of our Home and Colonial Trade. London: E. Wilson, 11, Royal Exchange. 1848.

THIS volume is a history of panics and the evil effects of trade monopolies, rather than an exposition of the principles and operation of partnerships or *sociétés en commandite*; to which, however, the author attributes much of the commercial prosperity of the American and European states. He says, for example,

"There are the strongest grounds for believing that the employment of British capital, by means of limited partnership, would be highly remunerative and safe. If there be prosperity in the United States—enterprise—full and profitable investment of capital—steam-boats traversing the rivers, and speeding not only along the coast, but to remote ports—a commercial navy traversing every sea, and sweeping 'even to the uttermost parts of the earth'—railroads, which intersect the entire of that mighty continent—and cities springing up, as it were, in a single night—this has mainly resulted from the

aggregation of small means into large amounts, by means of limited partnership. Capital, energy, industry, and skill form a very formidable combination. The cotton-spinners of this country complain that they are too many, and have even held meetings, and set on foot subscriptions for the purpose of drafting a portion of their number out of the country. The labour-market of England may be over-stocked; but the United States will receive this surplusage, employ it, and pay it with high wages. There, provided they are temperate in their habits, and attentive to 'the main chance,' there is great probability that they will not only do well but prosper. The small cotton-spinning factories in America are all doing well. There is no such thing as 'short time' nor 'half-wages' there. The American factories are founded and worked in this manner: a man of capital in the United States gets three or four good cotton-spinners, and sets them up in a small factory driven by water-power, of which there is abundance; the cost of the first factory established in Lowell was only 3000 dollars. They pay him a rent for the factory, and a partnership is formed to work it. The capitalist puts down a limited sum—say £2000. The men put down what they may have to invest; small sums, perhaps, but their real capital in the concern is their labour. Here is one partner with money, and three or four with skill. The workmen strain every nerve to gain a profit—for it is profit which alone can give permanency to the concern. They know that, in case of loss, their moneyed partner, whose £2000 is sunk, will leave them. If they succeed, they can throw their gain into the concern to increase the capital; and the moneyed partner would probably join in extending a profitable concern. All this would be done—it is done constantly, because the law of limited partnership was free there.

“Nor is it in connexion with the United States only that we should consider the beneficial working of this system. In Germany it has been the means of collecting and employing capital, a variety of projects which have rewarded the risk of the money-owner—called into operation the productive industry of labour—contributed largely to the exigencies of the state, and given a great impetus to the circulation of wages. Without this system in active operation, the Prussian *Zoll-Verein* could never have succeeded as it has. This has helped to provide Saxony with the machinery which has made her cotton manufacturers drive us out of the Transatlantic markets,—this has materially aided the trade, manufactures, and commerce of Holland and Belgium,—this, which was confirmed by the far-seeing political judgment of Napoleon, has made up, in France, for the deficiency of capital. for if there be comparatively few great money-owners in France, the facilities afforded to the smaller *rentiers* to engage their money, with limited liabilities, in what are called *Sociétés en Commandite*, have compensated for the paucity of absorbing capitalists. They have been the means, also, of checking, if not of very greatly prohibiting that tendency to speculation, which, in this country, appears inseparably attendant on the possession of wealth by the middle classes. In consequence, there are very few failures in France, as compared with the bankruptcies, insolvencies, and compositions in this country.”—p. 210.

There can be no doubt that the legalization of partnerships with limited liability in this country would be of great advantage to the mercantile community: but we would ask, does not the author confound two different descriptions of association with limited liability under the term, “partnerships *en commandite*?” Mr. Mill, in his recently published work on Political Economy, thus clearly defines the two. He says,

“Associations with limited liability are of two kinds: in one, the liability of all the partners is limited, in the other, that of some of them only. The first is the *société anonyme* of the French law, which in England has no other name than that of ‘chartered company:’ meaning thereby a joint-stock company whose shareholders, by a charter from the crown or a special enactment of the legislature, stand exempted from any liability for the debts of the concern, beyond the amount of their subscriptions.”—vol. ii. p. 461.

“The other kind of limited partnership which demands our attention, is that in which the managing partner or partners are responsible with their whole fortunes for the engagements of the concern, but have others associated with them who contribute only definite sums, and are not liable for anything beyond, though they participate in the profits according to any rule which may be agreed on. This is called partnership *en commandite* and the partners with limited liability, to whom, by the French law all interference in the management of the concern is interdicted, are known by the name *commanditaires*. Such partnerships are not permitted by English law: whoever shares in the profits is liable for the debts to as plenary an extent as the managing partner.”—vol. ii. p. 465.

Our remark however applies solely to what seems a misnomer in the title of the volume, and is not intended as an objection to the principle of partnerships with limited liability, whether as *sociétés anonymes* or *sociétés en commandite*, both which systems have been found to work well wherever they have been tried: in America, associations on the former plan are perhaps the most numerous. As Mr. Mill has well observed, complete freedom in the conditions of partnership is indispensable with reference to the improvement and elevation of the working classes: and even with regard to the middle classes, we believe there is much truth in the following extract from the volume before us, with which we must conclude:—

“If the absurd enactments of the British legislature as to the liability of partners were annulled, and if the system of limited partnerships were admitted into operation—as it is in Holland, Belgium, France, and America—persons in the middle classes, even with comparatively contracted means, might unite to supply that aggregate of capital, necessary to carry on different branches of trade and commerce, by which their personal resources would be augmented and the requirements of the country be adequately provided for. Thus, instead of bloated, plethoric houses, started with a *minimum* of capital, and conducted with a *maximum* of dishonesty, we should and ought to have firms with adequate means, whether belonging to a few moneyed individuals, or resulting from the aggregate contributions of numerous persons joined together in an extensive co-partnership, and liable only to the extent of the capital stock which each had brought into that aggregate common stock.”—p. 7.

4.—SERMONS PREACHED IN THE CHAPEL OF THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL, WITH OTHERS PREACHED IN ST. STEPHEN'S, WALBROOK, IN 1847. By the Rev. George Croly, LL.D., Rector of St. Stephen's Walbrook, and St. Benet's. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 65, Cornhill. 1848.

THIS volume is published under peculiar circumstances, inasmuch as it is, in some measure, an appeal to the public from the judgment of a

committee. Some time ago, Dr. Croly was elected to the office of afternoon preacher to the Foundling Hospital. The election seems to have given umbrage to the treasurer, and, in the author's words—

“From that moment, whatever were the motive, every sermon which I preached, nay, every syllable of every sermon, became the subject of crude and empty cavil. It would be burlesque to call it criticism. No man living can be more submissive to intelligent criticism than myself; but opinions on literature or theology, from the unfurnished coterie before me, *must* be ridiculous.”

The chief objection to Dr. Croly's sermons appears to have been that, in the opinion of the committee, they were “above the comprehension of the foundlings and servants of the hospital.” The cavils becoming unbearable, Dr. Croly tendered his resignation, which was accepted with “unanimous thanks” for his services, and so the matter ended so far as the committee were concerned; but Dr. Croly deemed it necessary to say a word or two in explanation, in order to prevent any misconception on the part of the public.

Fully recognizing “the importance of religious knowledge to children and servants, as well as to all others,” it was never Dr. Croly's intention to *limit* his afternoon lectures to the comprehension of the children and servants of the Foundling Hospital, who, in religious matters, are more especially placed under the care of the learned and estimable chaplain of the institution. It is well known that the Sunday afternoon service in the chapel of the Foundling Hospital is attended by many persons of practised and vigorous intellect, including the *élite* of the British bar, and other learned professions, numbers of whom reside almost under the walls of the institution. Knowing from experience that the indifference to religion with which these men are frequently charged, arises from their intolerance of the “pulpit sentimentalism of the day,” and not from any contempt for Christianity itself, it was Dr. Croly's wish, without rendering his discourses too abstruse for the comprehension of the less educated portion of his hearers, “to have supplied those evidences of scriptural truth, which to candour of enquiry are irresistible; to have appealed to logicians by reason, and to men of learning by references to substantial knowledge,” and “to have urged them to that process of heart and understanding, which had fixed the faith of the wisest of mankind in the holiness and the consolations of Christianity.”

Of the fourteen sermons preached in the Foundling Chapel, six are here submitted to public opinion. We have vainly looked for that *abstruseness* which so alarmed the committee of the Foundling Hospital. They are eminently plain and practical discourses, such as might have been listened to with profit by even children and servants, and possess numerous claims to attention even from hearers of a higher grade: in fact, the charge of abstruseness appears to have originated in the obtuseness of those from whom it emanated.

5.—A STORY OF THE SEASONS. By H. G. Adams, Author of 'The Poetry of Flowers,' &c. With Illustrations by Marshall Claxton, engraved by Thomas Gilks. London: John Johnstone, Paternoster Row. 1848.

THE 'Story of the Seasons' is the first of a new series of works for children, under the title of 'Johnstone's Pictorial Library for the Young,' the object of which is to present illustrated narratives on subjects descriptive of the natural history of creation. In the pretty little book before us, the four seasons of the year are personified, and each in turn appears to a little child, who, for no fault of his own, had been deserted by cruel parents, and "left alone in the world to wander where he pleased." On a cold March morning, when, exposed to the pelting hail and the drenching rain, just as the poor child was sinking in despair, overcome by terror and exhaustion, having wandered far and gone many hours without food, suddenly there fell a ray of sunshine upon the spot where he stood, which warmed and cheered him:—

"The hail-storm ceased, the sharp north-east wind swept no more, whistling and howling across the common; the clouds rolled away above, and the air grew bright and balmy; then there arose a twittering of birds in a hazel copse hard by, which the child had not before seen for the blinding showers, and presently a little lark sprung up from amid the green fresh grass, and spreading out its glossy brown wings, soared and soared high up into the blue heavens, singing the while as though in a perfect ecstasy of delight, and then a black-bird and a thrush, not liking to be outdone by the saucy little songster, began talking to each other from opposite sides of a meadow that lay beyond the copse of hazel trees which were just coming into leaf; sweet it was to hear their rich musical voices, contrasting so pleasantly with the shrill piping of the merry lark, and sweet it was to smell the perfume of the violets, which put forth their purple and white blossoms on a mossy bank, that ran along the side of the copse, and to see, twinkling here and there, the golden stars of the pilewort, or celandine, as it is commonly called, and the daisies, like silver studs set in a cloth of emerald green, for as yet their delicate pink-tipped leaves, or petals, which ever in wet and gloomy weather fold up closely, had not spread themselves out again to the sun."—p. 11.

While the poor child was kneeling and offering up the homage of a grateful heart for this cheering change, a gentle hand was laid upon his head, and SPRING, as a being bright and beautiful, stood smiling before him,

"And in a voice which seemed like the mingled sound of birds, and bees, and whispering breezes, and rustling leaves, and all the softest and sweetest harmonies of nature, bade him be of good cheer, for God had heard his prayer, and had commanded the Seasons to take him under their particular care, and therefore had she—the kind and tender Spring—the first and fairest of them—come to conduct him through her pleasant domain, to provide for his bodily wants, to amuse and instruct his young mind, and thus perform her part of the duty assigned to the 'Children of the Year.'"—p. 16.

The child delightedly wanders with the beautiful Spring, imbibing

instruction from her conversation, in which everything indicative of the season is pleasingly portrayed. Spring at length hands him over to her elder sister—Summer—who in like manner leads him through new and ever varying scenes, enlivened by the birds, the bees, the butterflies and sweet flowers. Manly Autumn succeeds to Summer, and in turn gives place to Winter, with ruddy face and beard white as snow.

The volume contains four beautiful illustrations of the Seasons, well engraved by Thomas Gilks, from designs by Marshall Claxton; and is altogether the prettiest book of the kind that we have met with since the appearance of Mrs. Austen's exquisite 'Story without an end.'

6.—**IRELAND BEFORE AND AFTER THE UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.**

By R. M. Martin, Esq., Author of the 'History of the British Colonies,' &c., Third Edition, with Additions. London: Nichols & Son, 25, Parliament Street. Dublin: McGlashan. 1848.

A book which has been so far marked by public approbation as to have reached a third edition, can scarcely require any other notice than a reference to modifications of views formerly entertained by its author, or to matter now for the first time added. An unbiassed examination of the proposition for repealing the Union, has not only strengthened Mr. Martin's previous conviction that none of the evils which afflict Ireland can fairly be charged upon that legislative measure, but has further confirmed his opinion that no greater calamity could befall Ireland than a disunion of the solemn compact of 1800. To those who may not already be familiar with Mr. Martin's book through the earlier editions, we may state that it is filled with the most elaborate statistical data relating to almost every subject connected with Ireland, which conclusively show, as only figures can show, that so far from Ireland having degenerated since the period of the so-called "glorious independence," that is, from 1782 to 1800, she "has derived from the Union many benefits and advantages, which would have been greatly enhanced but for the continued agitation in which she has been sedulously kept for years,—an agitation which would have utterly ruined any country connected with a less opulent neighbour, or united with a kingdom of despotic rule." But, says Mr. Martin, and very justly too "granting, for the sake of argument, that the union has caused the evils alleged, the wiser and more practical course would be to endeavour to correct those evils, and to make the Union beneficial; for it is the direct and manifest interest of England, that Ireland should be prosperous and happy."

The principal additions to the matter contained in the former editions of this work, consist in a number of proposed remedial measures for the evils under which Ireland is confessedly labouring: these are briefly summed up in the fourth of the following propositions; the three first of which are conclusions fully warranted by the elaborate statistical details with which the volume is filled.

- "1st.—That Ireland was not benefited in her shipping, commerce, or manufactures, by having a 'Resident Parliament;' but that, on the contrary, she suffered materially by the existence of that institution.
- "2nd.—That since the legislative union and commercial incorporation of Great Britain and Ireland, the shipping, trade, and manufactures of Ireland have largely increased; as evinced by augmented tonnage, imports and exports, customs duties, and also by official and general manufacturing returns and statements.
- "3rd.—That on these grounds no argument can truly be raised in favour of a Repeal of the Union; on the contrary, it is demonstrated to be the direct, immediate, and vital interest of the people of Ireland, THAT THE UNION AS NOW SUBSISTING WITH GREAT BRITAIN BE PRESERVED IN PERPETUITY.
- "4th.—That the remedial measures necessary for the relief of the poor of Ireland, and the improvement of the agriculture of the country are: 1st, a drainage and reclamation of 3,000,000 acres waste land by the issue of Exchequer Bills: 2nd, the extension of a sound banking system on the Scotch principles, together with an augmentation of capital. 3rd, a national system of emigration to our colonies 4th, a development of the resources of Ireland, and attention to the production of flax for the British markets: 5th, an improved system of land tenures—a defined landlord and tenant law—and a general registration to simplify and economize the transfer and sale of land.
- "5th.—That these and other remedial measures do not require a 'Repeal of the Union' for their execution; and that they are retarded by the agitation for a separation from England."

Our limits forbid any detailed examination of these propositions; we must therefore content ourselves with a brief exposition of the grounds upon which Mr. Martin's remedial measures are founded. The first of these is, the drainage and reclamation of waste lands. In the Appendix is given a tabular statement of "the nature and extent of the several bogs in Ireland, their elevation above the sea, means of drainage," and its estimated cost. From this it appears that the bog land covers 2,830,000 acres, and the estimated cost of drainage, 10s. per acre, amounting to about £1,500,000, the cost of reclamation is estimated at about £5 per acre. The greater part of this bog land belongs to large landed proprietors; and Mr. Martin states the difficult question to be, "whether the state should purchase these bogs at a valuation, undertake their reclamation, and then re-sell them; or whether the drainage and reclamation of the bogs should be left dependent on the proprietors, who would require to be aided by loans from the state." His own opinion is in favour of the state at least commencing the work; and he says,—

"The immediate funds for purchase and drainage might be provided by the issue of Exchequer bills of a low denomination—say £5 each—to be current in Ireland only, receivable in payment of all duties and taxes there; and three years after their issue, these Exchequer bills might bear an interest of 2 per cent. per annum, which would be guaranteed by the state, but payable out of the profits derivable from the re-sale of the reclaimed lands, on which a report would be laid annually before Parliament. By this means an increasing and useful local currency would be given to Ireland, productive labour would be found for the unemployed, additional food would be raised, that which is now

almost valueless would become landed property, the whole of Ireland would be benefited, and a most effectual measure adopted for the consolidation and perpetuity of the United Kingdom."—p. 87.

The drainage and reclamation of the Irish bogs is evidently the measure on the results of which, as a remedy for the present evils of Ireland, Mr. Martin is the most sanguine; the materials for legislation and action, he says, are ready, in the shape of the valuable surveys of the bog commission, on which, nearly forty years ago, our government spent £37,721 18s. 2d., exclusive of the cost of printing and engraving maps and reports, the great bulk of which, when printed, was, we believe, sold for waste paper; a hopeful beginning truly!

Another measure is the establishment of "a sound banking system, on the Scotch principle, in Ireland, where now there is not 10s. per head of banking capital, while in Scotland there is at least £5 per head;" and connected with this is an augmentation of capital, which, according to the testimony of numerous writers cited by Mr. Martin, "is wanting to till the soil of Ireland, to clear its bogs, to convert its wastes into valuable flax fields, to drain its morasses and lakes, to render its water power available for manufactures, to work its rich mines, to obtain from the ocean stores of food, to provide employment for labour, to secure peace, and to elevate the condition of the country." He candidly confesses, that in order "to obtain this 'capital,' confidence must be imparted to its possessors before they will apply it to the purposes required;" and that "so long as the infatuated agitation of the 'Repeal of the Union' exists, there is little hope that money will be invested in Ireland," there being "no hope for the permanent improvement of the country, so long as this most pernicious agitation exists."

Under the head of development of the resources of Ireland, Mr. Martin lays the greatest stress upon the encouragement of the growth of flax, as one of the most lucrative sources of wealth, and gives several details to show that it is so. Other sources of wealth are the mines of coal and metals, in which Ireland is peculiarly rich: and, sensibly enough, the author attributes the cause of the non-development of the riches thus placed at the disposal of the Irish, not to their union with England, but to their own character, which no repeal would rectify. In proof of which, he quotes a speech of Mr. Smith O'Brien, printed in the Coleraine Chronicle twelve months ago, wherein the *patriot* plainly tells his countrymen that it is their own pride which is the grand hindrance to the amelioration of their present degraded condition.

Improvement in land tenures, and the relations of landlord and tenant, as well as measures for simplifying the transfer and sale of land, are also treated on; and an effective and organized system of emigration, under legislative control and national superintendence, is powerfully urged upon the attention of government, as a means for relieving Ireland of a considerable portion of her superabundant population, which has long been increasing more rapidly than the

production of food, and at the same time of benefiting our colonies, where labour is wanted and well remunerated, and where millions of fertile acres are ready for the plough of the husbandman.

In urging this important subject upon the attention of the legislature, the author well says that "it is a disgrace to us as a christian community, to shovel out hoordes of famishing paupers (300,000 emigrated last year from Ireland), regardless whether they perish by famine or shipwreck in the ocean, or reach some distant foreign land, where they may be assisting to strengthen another nation jealous of our power and eager for our downfall:" and concludes the enumeration of his proposed remedial measures with the following eloquent and truthful appeal on behalf of an overpeopled portion of the United Kingdom, with which we also must conclude.

"Whatever elevates or depresses the condition of Ireland, must produce some corresponding effect at this side of the salt lake which separates the two islands—whose inhabitants should not be treated or spoken of as separate nations with distinct interests. Their legislative as well as social union obliterates all diversity of object; and I cannot help saying, that I think it injudicious to speak and write of the Irish people as if they were antagonistic in every way to England, and as if they were all rebels to their sovereign—all indolent—all improvident—all faithless—all beggars—all desirous of separation from Great Britain. Such language has a prejudicial effect in both islands. I believe the mass of Irishmen are as loyal, as industrious, as frugal, as honest, as peaceful, as contented, and as true, as any other portion of the subjects of Queen Victoria.

"Poverty and distress unfortunately exist to a great extent among the labouring poor in Ireland, arising from remediable measures which are not attainable by a 'Repeal of the Union,' and a severance from England. But many of the humbler and some of the better classes, not seeing these remedies applied, and naturally sympathizing with the distress around them, are led to concur in the designs of artful demagogues, and to think that a parliament legislating in and for Ireland would provide the remedies which the united legislature has not yet sanctioned, but which, it is hoped, will, when maturely considered, be carried into effective operation.

"By these means, some of the evils of Ireland may be anchored; and although the condition of the middle classes and landed proprietors who are above the position of day labourers has undoubtedly been greatly improved since the Union, there remains much to be done for the island which 'Repeal' would not only fail to accomplish, but which, if granted, would inevitably cause anarchy, civil war, and ruin to all classes of society."—p. 98.

7.—CALLIN'S NOTES OF EIGHT YEARS' TRAVELS AND RESIDENCE IN EUROPE, WITH HIS NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN COLLECTION. Two Volumes, with numerous Illustrations. London: published by the Author, No. 6, Waterloo Place. 1848.

WITH pleasant reminiscences of Mr. Catlin's former interesting volumes fresh upon our mind, we must confess to a slight feeling of disappointment in the perusal of the present work. It contains much curious and interesting matter; but we miss the enthusiasm which

gave animation to the author's narrative of his eight years' wandering among the untutored Indian tribes in their own land. But the very different circumstances under which the materials for the two works were collected, will in great measure account for any difference in their tones. In the one case, unfettered by the conventionalisms of fashionable life, the author roamed amid the wilds of the far West as free as the children of the soil whose memory it was his wish to rescue from oblivion; in the other, surrounded by the luxuries of civilization, it was hardly possible not to imbibe something of its tone and to be affected by its restraints. Nevertheless, with all its minor drawbacks, the present is an exceedingly amusing book, and valuable as exhibiting the children of the wilderness under a new aspect.

It will be recollected that about eight years ago Mr. Catlin opened a most interesting exhibition at the Egyptian Hall, consisting of portraits and groups illustrative of the personal appearance and customs of forty-eight of the North American Indian tribes; together with thousands of articles of their manufacture, such as dresses, weapons, &c. The volumes before us commence with the author's embarkation at New York, with his collection, in 1839; describing the passage to England, the landing at Liverpool, and subsequent transactions and adventures up to the opening of the exhibition in London. Many amusing incidents connected with the exhibition are related; but perhaps the most interesting portion of the book is that containing anecdotes of the three parties of Indians brought to Europe by other parties, and associated with his collections by Mr. Catlin in a great measure as an act of kindness rather than as a speculation of his own. Mr. Catlin explains his connexion with the first party of Ojibbeways to have commenced at Manchester, while exhibiting his collection there previously to embarking on his return to America. They were brought over "on speculation" by Mr. Rankin, who, learning that Mr. Catlin was exhibiting in Manchester, wrote, and made proposals to him respecting the Indians. Mr. Catlin, in reply, stated that he had "always been opposed to the plan of bringing Indians abroad on speculation; but, as they are in this country, I shall, as the friend of the Indians under all circumstances, feel an anxiety to promote their views and success in any way I can." After making very liberal arrangements with the person who had brought them over, it was settled that the Indians should be exhibited in the collection.

"Their first airing in Manchester was a drive in an omnibus to my exhibition-rooms, which they had long wished to see. The mayor of the city, with the editors of the *Guardian* and several other gentlemen, had been invited there to see the first effect it would have upon them. It proved to be a very curious scene. As they entered the hall, the portraits of several hundreds of the chiefs and warriors of their own tribe and of their enemies, were hanging on the walls and staring at them from all directions, and wigwams, and costumes, and weapons of all constructions around them; they set up the most frightful yells, and made the whole neighbourhood ring with their howlings; they advanced to the portraits of their friends, and offered

them their hands; and at their enemies, whom they occasionally recognized, they brandished their tomahawks or drew their bows as they sounded the war-whoop."—p. 107.

The exhibition of the Indians in Manchester was highly successful, and after ten days the party moved off to London, leaving the curiosity of the Manchester folks quite ungratified, so much were they pleased with the Indians, who, in addition to the large amount paid for admission, individually received many substantial tokens of their visitors' favour, in the shape of presents.

Their journey to London was made in a second-class carriage, which the party had to themselves,—

"And in it had a great deal of amusement and merriment on the way. The novelty of the mode of travelling, and the rapidity at which we were going, raised the spirits of the Indians to a high degree, and they sang their favorite songs, and even gave their dances, as they passed along. Their curiosity had been excited to know how the train was propelled or drawn, and at the first station I stepped out with them, and forward to the locomotive, where I explained the power which pulled us along. They at once instituted for the engine the appellation of the 'iron horse:' and, at our next stopping place, which was one where the engine was taking in water, they all leaped out 'to see the iron horse drink.'"—p. 125.

Almost immediately upon their arrival in London, Mr. Catlin's friend, the Hon. C. A. Murray, paid them a visit; and learning their wish to be presented to the Queen, proposed that the Duke of Cambridge should first have an interview with them: the Duke and the Indians were mutually gratified by the meeting, and the Duke undertook to procure an audience with her Majesty. Whilst waiting for this, they had no public exhibition, but took occasional airings about town and in the country.

"After one of their first drives about the city, when they had been passing through Regent-street, the Strand, Cheapside, Oxford-street, and Holborn, I spent the evening in a talk with them in their rooms, and was exceedingly amused with the shrewdness of their remarks upon what they had seen. They had considered the 'panies still on fire,' from the quantity of smoke they met; one of the women had undertaken to count the number of carriages they passed, but was obliged to give it up. 'I saw a great many fine houses, but nobody in the windows; saw many men with a large board on the back, and another on the breast, walking in the street, supposed it was some kind of punishment; saw men carrying bags of coal, their hats on wrong side before; saw fine ladies and gentlemen riding in the middle of the streets in carriages, but a great many poor and ragged people on the sides of the roads; saw a great many men and women drinking in the shops where they saw great barrels and hog-heads; saw several drunk in the streets. They had passed two *Indians* in the street with brooms, sweeping away the mud; they saw them hold out their hands to people going by, as if they were begging for money: they saw many other poor people begging, some with brooms in their hands and others with little babies in their arms, who looked as if they were hungry for food to eat.' They had much to say about the two Indians they had passed; and seemed much affected by the degradation that these poor fellows were driven to, and resolved that they would carry some money with them when they went out, to throw to them."—p. 129.

On the occasion of their visit to the Queen at Windsor, after the interview, the party were treated to a hospitable feast, with plenty of champagne. The Indians being under a promise to abstain from spirituous liquors, at first declined to partake of it, but being absolved from their promise on the occasion of the Queen's health being proposed, they were allowed to drink the champagne, which was declared to be not a spirituous liquor. The name of *chuck-a-bob-boo* was given to the champagne; in illustration of the etymology of this name, the war-chief told a story of what occurred after he and the other chiefs had decided on tomahawking every keg of spirits that might be brought into their village, numbers having lost their lives by their devotion to *fire-water*.

“ ‘Not long after that,’ continued he, ‘a little old man with red hair, who used to bring us bags of apples, got in the way of bringing in one end of his bag of great many bottles filled with something that looked much like whiskey, but which, when we smelled it, and tasted it, we found was not *fire-water*, and it was much liked by the chiefs and all, for they found, as he said, it was good, and would not make Indians drunk. He sold much of this to the Indians, and came very often; and when he had carried it a great way on his horse, and in the sun, it sometimes became very impatient to get out of the bottles; and it was very amusing to see the little old man turn a crooked wire into the bottle, to pull out the stopper, when one was holding a cup ready to catch it. As he would twist the wire in, it would go *chee—e—*, and when he poured it out, it would say, *pop-poo, pop-poo*. This amused the women and children very much, and they called it at first *chee-pop-poo*, and since, *chuck-a-bob-boo*. And this the old man with red hair told us at last was nothing but the juice of apples, though we found it very good; and yet it has made some very drunk.’ ” —p 140.

Mr. Catlin narrates the circumstances connected with the marriage of Cadotte, the interpreter, to a young English girl, a step to which he was strongly opposed. It appears that Cadotte had made a deep impression upon the hearts of many of his fair visitors, young and old; but the only one destined to capture his own was a pretty black-eyed damsel, the daughter of a person living in the next house to that in which the Indians lodged. It seems to have been a regular siege on the part of the young lady, who, it is needless to say, conquered not only poor Cadotte, but the repugnance of her parents also. Mr. Catlin's remarks upon this union are so just that we must be allowed to quote them, especially as his part in the affair has been much misunderstood.

“ ‘Most curiously, all this affair of Cadotte's and the sweet-mouthed, black-eyed little girl, had passed unnoticed by me, and I had of course entirely mistaken his malady, having sent my physician to attend him. His symptoms, and the nature of his disease, were consequently fully understood by examinations of the patient and others who closely watched all the appearances from the commencement of his attack. Getting thus a full report of the case, I held a conversation with Mr. Rankin, who at once told me that it had been well understood by him for some time, and that Cadotte had asked for his consent to marry the young lady, and that he had freely given it to him. I told him I thought such a step should be taken with great caution, for the

young lady was an exceedingly pretty and interesting girl, and, I had learned, of a respectable family, and certainly no step whatever should be taken in the affair by him or me without the strictest respect to their feelings and wishes. He replied that the mother and sister were in favour of the marriage, and had been the promoters of it from the beginning; that the father was opposed to it, but he thought that all together would bring him over. I told him that I did not know either the father or the mother, but that, as long as there was an objection to it on the part of the father, I thought it would be cruel to do anything to promote it; and that, much as I thought of Cadotte, I did not feel authorised to countenance an union of that kind, which would result in his spending his life in London, where his caste and colour would always be against him, and defeat the happiness of his life; or she must follow him to the wilderness of America, to be totally lost to the society of her family, and to lead a life of semi-barbarism, which would in all probability be filled with excitements enough for a while, but must result in her distress and misery at last. To these remarks his replies were very short, evidently having made up his mind to let them raise an excitement in London if they wished, and (as I afterwards learned) if he could possibly bring it about."—p. 183.

Mr. Catlin's opposition to the match afforded Mr. Rankin an opportunity of proposing a separation of interests; he taking the living Indians on his own hands and leaving Mr. Catlin his collections. This proposal, the agreement being but a verbal one, was agreed to; but the indecent notoriety of the marriage, and the subsequent impudent announcement that the "beautiful and interesting bride" would preside at the piano on the platform, so disgusted the public that Mr. Rankin's independent speculation proved a losing game: and the summary dismissal of poor Cadotte for having most properly protested against the unwarrantable advertisement of the exhibition of this pretty bride, threw Mr. Rankin upon his own resources, and compelled him to undertake the office of interpreter, without knowing five words of the language of the Indians.

Mr. Catlin was the principal sufferer by this sudden removal of the Indians from his rooms, which he had taken at the Hall for a period to terminate in three months from that time, and the excitement of the Indians being removed, the receipts of course fell off. The author, however, most philosophically took advantage of the leisure thus afforded him to complete his large work on the 'Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the North American Indians,' determining, when that was fairly published, to pack up and return to the United States: in this, however, he was prevented, by the arrival in London, of fourteen Ioway Indians, under the auspices of Mr. Melody, by especial permission of the American Secretary-at-War. This party also determined on exhibiting at Mr. Catlin's rooms at the Egyptian Hall. He was personally known to some of them, as he had been to the Ojibbeways upon their arrival in England: and the Ioways speedily became as great favourites with the public as their predecessors had been. The most curious character among them was the Doctor, who wore a pair of buffalo-horns on his head, and had a strange *penchant* for clambering up to the roofs of the houses, where he would remain for hours in silent meditation.

Soon after the arrival of this party in London they were invited by Mr. D'Israeli to breakfast at his house, at the fashionable hour of 12. The Indians could not understand the lateness of the hour, and all, except three, partook of their own substantial morning meal of beef-steaks and coffee. The three abstinents were the doctor, *Wash-ky-mon-ya*, and *Roman-nose*, who chose to adhere to the custom of their own country, which prescribes that when an Indian is invited to a feast, he must go as hungry as possible, so as to be fashionable by eating an enormous quantity. The author explained that this did not exactly conform to the etiquette of fashionable life in civilized lands; which elicited from the doctor the philosophic reply, "that they should prefer to adhere to their own custom until they got to the lady's house, when they would try to conform to that of the white people of London." He accordingly so far succeeded in showing the delicacy of his stomach at the breakfast table, as to give pain to the ladies who were urging him to eat.

But, with all his oddities, the doctor's heart was in the right place. An instance of his charitable disposition is related under the head of the stay of the Indians at Birmingham; and an incident which occurred on board the steamer in which the party were proceeding from Edinburgh to Dundee, reflects so much honour upon himself and his kind companions, that we must quote it.

"On board of the steamer, as a passenger, was a little girl of twelve years of age, and a stranger to all on board. When, on their way, the captain was collecting his passage-money on deck, he came to the little girl for her fare, who told him she had no money, but that she expected to meet her father in Dundee, whom she was going to see, and that he would certainly pay her fare if she could find him. The captain was in a great rage, and abused the child for coming on without the money to pay her fare, and said that he should not let her go ashore, but should hold her a prisoner on board, and take her back to Edinburgh with him. The poor little girl was frightened, and cried herself almost into fits. The passengers, of whom there were a great many, all seemed affected by her situation, and began to raise the money amongst them to pay her passage, giving a penny or two a-piece, which, when done, amounted to about a quarter of the sum required. The poor little girl's grief and fear still continued, and the old doctor, standing on deck, wrapped in his robe, and watching all these results, too much touched with pity for her situation, went down in the fore-cabin where the rest of the party were, and relating the circumstances, soon raised eight shillings, one shilling of which, the Little Wolf, after giving a shilling himself, put into the hand of his little infant, then supposed to be dying, that its dying hand might do one act of charity, and caused it to drop into the doctor's hand with the rest. With the money the doctor came on deck, and, advancing, offered it to the little girl, who was frightened and ran away. Daniel went to the girl and called her up to the doctor, assuring her there was no need of alarm: when the old doctor put the money into her hand, and said to her, through the interpreter, and in the presence of all the passengers, who were gathering around, 'Now go to the cruel captain and pay him the money, and never again be afraid of a man because his skin is red; but be always sure that the heart of a red man is as good and as kind as that of a white man. And when you are in Dundee, where we are all going, if you do not find your father as you wish, and are amongst strangers,

come us wherever we shall be, and you shall not suffer; you shall have enough to eat, and, if money is necessary, you shall have more."—p. 169.

Many kind acts of a similar description are related, and prove that, as the doctor said, "the hearts of red men are as good as those of the whites."

We have not room to accompany the Indians to the sights of Paris, whither the author escorted them. They were treated with the utmost kindness by the king and royal family, at the Tuileries, and by the public generally in their own exhibition rooms. The king related to the Indians some of his own adventures in America. They were greatly puzzled by the sight of so many ladies carrying and leading dogs in the streets, upwards of 600 of whom they counted in about an hour in the course of a drive; and this, as Jim (the wag of the party said) "was not a very good day either." At an evening party the old doctor was completely fascinated by the playing and singing of a pretty young lady, and paid her the oddly-sounding compliment of saying that "her voice was as soft and as sweet as that of a wolf." This comparison Mr. Catlin explains by the remark that the soft, plaintive, and silvery tones of the prairie wolf, often surpass in sweetness those of the human voice.

At Paris the party was further reduced in number (*Roman-nose*, and *Corsair*, the infant child of the *Little Wolf*, having previously died in London) by the death of *Little Wolf's* wife: the poor fellow was quite heart-broken at this fresh misfortune, and hired a cab daily to take him to her grave in the cemetery of Montmartre. At Paris also, and soon after, died Mrs. Catlin, leaving four little ones to the care of their father.

This party of Ioway Indians having embarked at Havre, on their return to America, were succeeded in Paris by eleven Ojibbeways, who had arrived from London and put themselves under the guidance of the author, as the others had done. They were invited to the Louvre, where they breakfasted with Louis Philippe and his queen, the king and queen of the Belgians, and many of the members of the royal family, and other guests, in number about thirty; and the king related to the assembled company many of his American reminiscences. A visit was subsequently paid to the king at St. Cloud, which was highly enjoyed. Soon after this seven of the Indians were seized with small-pox, which carried off three of their number; the remainder, after their recovery, returned to England, where, notwithstanding Mr. Catlin's exhortations, the chief persisted in travelling about and exhibiting the survivors, and lost by death his wife and three children, thus making a total of seven deaths out of a party of twelve.

Mr. Catlin, in the closing chapters of his amusing book, sums up with candour the probable results of the visits of the Indians to Europe, and, we think, most justly concludes that such visits are calculated to do much more harm than good, inasmuch as they learned too suddenly that to the bright aspect of civilized life, comprising its virtues and blessings, there is a melancholy and gloomy reverse of crime, of

of misery, and degradation, which their untutored minds are unequal to the task of separating and estimating according to their deserts,

“Teaching,” he says, “I have always thought should be gradual, and but one thing (or at most but few things) taught at a time. By all who know me and my views, I am known to be, as I am, an advocate of civilization; but of civilization as it has generally been taught amongst the American Indians, I have a poor opinion; and of the plan I am now treating of, of sending parties to foreign countries to see all that can be seen and learned in civilized life, I have a still poorer opinion, being fully convinced that they learn too much for useful teachers in their own country. The strides that they thus take are too great and too sudden for the slow and gradual steps that can alone bring man from a savage to a civilized state. They require absolutely the reverse of what they will learn from such teachers. They should, with all their natural prejudices against civilized man, be held in ignorance of the actual crime, dissipation, and poverty that belong to the enlightened world, until the honest pioneer, in his simple life, with his plough and his hoe, can wile them into the mode of raising the necessaries of life, which are the first steps from savage to civil life, and which they will only take when their prejudices against white men are broken down, which is most effectually done by teaching them the modes of raising their food and acquiring property.”—p. 308.

There are a few portions of Mr. Catlin's volumes which we would, in a friendly spirit, advise him to expunge from them in a second edition. Indelicate innuendoes and *double entendres* should have no place in a work which really contains much that is exceedingly valuable in reference to an interesting people now fast disappearing, and to whose memory he has long been labouring to erect an enduring monument.

8.—ITALY, PAST AND PRESENT. By L. MAIOTTI. Two Volumes. London: John Chapman, Strand. 1848.

IN the natural course of events, what was the *present* of Italy when these volumes were penned, and a portion also of her then *future*, have now become the *past*: and so far Charles Albert of Sardinia, to whom the author (not, however, without sundry misgivings as to his sincerity) turns as the probable emancipator of Italy from Austrian domination, has bravely performed his part and done much to verify the prediction that “so long as he remains true to Italy, Austria can either not advance or only rush to her doom.” The army under the command of the king has no less justified the eulogium passed upon it, of being the only efficient one in Italy; and the noble conduct of the Piedmontese troops is praised, as contrasted with the vacillation or pusillanimity which the Roman soldiers have just exhibited, and which has now thrown the whole weight of the war upon Charles Albert, who will soon have an opportunity of showing by his further conduct whether the doubts or the hopes of the Italians are in him to be realized. The author asks:—

“Is he the man for bold, decisive measures? To those of the Italian as to those who do not actually mistrust him, his conduct is a riddle throughout; all good if they are still willing to look upon him as a prince evidently cast

after the model of his noblest progenitors of Savoy; faithful to that native instinct, which, from his earliest years, prompted him to great things. They refer, with pride, to his sober and soldier-like habits—to that activity and energy that never allows him to sit more than ten minutes at his meals, and urges him daily to idle one of his chargers to death; they recall, with complacency, the laurels he reaped in 1823, at Trocadero, at the head of a column of French grenadiers, against the Spanish Constitutionalists, and in opposition, also, to those Piedmontese exiles he had so lately denied and forsaken; in their fond conceit, the diadem of Italy gleams still temptingly before his eyes, and he is only biding his time. On the other hand, his heart and soul has long been with the priests. Those who have seen him at the head of his ten thousand gray, brown, and black-hooded friars, during the solemnities of the *Corpus Domini*, or who witnessed the holy wrath that was kindled in his manly heart, when his people refused to volunteer their oil for the general illumination ordered by him in honour of the handkerchief of Santa Veronica, do not hesitate to express their opinion, that the title of sceptered Loyola, or king of the Jesuits, is even dearer and better suited to him than that of Liberator of Italy.”—p. 120.

The author's earnest invocation to his countrymen deserves to be widely known, and his advice might be advantageously followed nearer home.

“But to whatever results their present portentous expectations may bring the Italians, it behoves them to be up and doing. Wind and tide are now in their favour. No obstacle remains to hinder their great work of moral regeneration. Let them proceed actively, cheerfully, unannounced. Let them begin their revolution by a domestic and social reform. Let them call to mind the noble precept of their poet:—‘Freedom weds not with corruption; it shrinks from the polluting contact of vice.’ Let them wash off the sores by which long thralldom has defiled their national character. Their princes could only allure, not force them into immorality. Let this faint dawn of a happier day be spent, as the morning should, in a general ablution. Let them learn to revere the sanctity of family ties. Let their conduct give the lie to malevolent foreigners, whose finger of scorn is still levelled at them.

“Let also public spirit keep pace with the sanctity of private life. Let them beware of SLIM! It steals to our hearts under a thousand disguises; it blends and identifies itself with our purest motives. If they love their country better than themselves—if desire of fame, or thirst for public applause have no share in the deliriums of their popular leaders, they will not commit themselves in hasty and immature enterprises. They will not act by chance; they will not obey an instinctive want of action; but wait until they have secured the success of their cause, or until they feel certain that they cannot succumb without crowning it by their devotion.

“Much is there to be done by them even in this peaceful interval of preparation. The moral and material improvement of the condition of the people will afford them long years of employment. There are prejudices to overcome, errors to combat, animosities to hush up—a whole brutalized mass to redeem. Every man they educate becomes a soldier in the national rank; nor can they ever have one too many. One great object have they—to avenge against their common enemy; and education, in their case, is a meat and drink, an armament.”—p. 433.

To all who feel an interest in the regeneration of Italy,—and who does not sympathize with a people nobly striving to displace a

yoke?—these volumes may be recommended as affording an interesting and temperate *résumé* of the whole question of Italian history and independence, written by one who is evidently a true and consistent lover of his country; neither concealing nor palliating her errors, nor shrinking from energetically advocating the righteousness of her cause.

9.—INSANITY TESTED BY SCIENCE, and shown to be a Disease rarely connected with Permanent Organic Lesion of the Brain: and on that account far more susceptible of Cure than has hitherto been supposed. By C. M. Burnett, M.D. London: Highley, 32, Fleet-street. 1848.

DR. BURNETT is of opinion that the commonly-received opinions that insanity is more common in England than in any other country, and that the disease has of late years been greatly on the increase here, are not susceptible of proof. He also attributes the comparatively trifling amount of success, in a curative sense, which has hitherto been accomplished to the popular idea that the disease is mental; and to the conflicting evidence of its nature furnished by pathology; and to a misunderstanding as to the value and meaning of restraint. Reverting to the doctrine held by physicians, from the time of Hippocrates to that of Hoffman and Cullen, that insanity owes its origin to a morbid condition of the animal fluids, he repudiates the more modern idea that it is to be regarded as a disease of the brain, at least in the earlier stages, and often to the last; but believes it ought rather to be looked upon

“As a disease floating in the blood, having no fixed or local character, but producing the morbid phenomena which are comprehended under the title of insanity; it arises from a derangement or mal-assimilation of those particular materials of the blood—carbon and phosphorus—which constitute the bulk of the elementary tissue of the brain and nervous system generally. When, therefore, we say we believe the disease to be in the blood, we consider it to exist there in the form of either deteriorated or wrongly-constructed chemical components. In this sense it must be the *seat*, although Fletcher and Broussais consider it only in the light of the vehicle of disease.”—p. 5.

Dr. Burnett supports this opinion by many arguments founded upon pathology; and justly observes that when we see the heart the liver, and other viscera, so often implicated in many mental affections, we are led to refer the cause of the malady to some remote organ: which idea is strengthened by the fact that, in examinations of the bodies of the insane after death, instead of being able to trace any organic lesion to the brain, anatomists are frequently compelled to seek it in other organs. The following quotation may be considered as a summary of the author's opinions.

“From close observation, we are convinced that the disease called insanity, is unavoidably connected in some instances with organic lesion, and even lesion of the brain, as after many mechanical injuries, is in four cases out of five, in the first instance, a functional disease, quite unconnected with any alteration or change of structure in the brain; and in many of those

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