

THE
WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

VOLUME I

JANUARY—APRIL, 1824.



PUBLISHED BY
BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY.
LONDON.

1824

CONTENTS

OF

No. I.

	<i>Page</i>
I. I. MEN AND THINGS IN 1823	1
Boone's Men and Things, a Poem.	
II. MOORE'S FABLES FOR THE HOLY ALLIANCE.....	18
III. IRVING'S FOUR ORATIONS	27
IV. LITERARY EDUCATION	43
1. Bentham's Chrestomathia.	
2. Public Education.	
V. POLITICS AND LITERATURE OF RUSSIA.....	80
1. De Pradt, Parallele de la Puissance Anglaise et Russe relativement à l' Europe.	
2. Poliarnaia Svæsda.	
VI. TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	101
1. Faux's Memorable Days in America. • •	
2. Flint's Lettets from America.	1
3. Duncan's Travels through part of the United States and Canada.	
VII. VOCAL MUSIC	120
1. Moore's Popular Airs.	
2. Kitchiner's Sea Songs of Dibdin.	
3. Kitchiner's Loyal and National Songs of England.	
4. Kitchiner's Observations on Vocal Music.	
VIII. THE COURT OF CHANCERY	141
Observations on the Judges of the Court of Chancery, and the Practice and Delays complained of in that Court.	

	<i>Page</i>
IX. SPECIAL JURIES	146
Cottu on the Administration of Justice in England.	
X. ON THE INSTRUMENT OF EXCHANGE	171
1. Sinclair's Means of arresting the Progress of National Calamity.	
2. Huskisson on the Depreciation of our Currency.	
XI. PERIODICAL LITERATURE	206
1. The Edinburgh Review, Vol. 1, 2, &c.	
2. The Quarterly Review, No. LVIII.	
XII. MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES	269
1. Cruise's New Zealand.	
2. The Stranger's Grave.	
3. Italian Tales.	
4. Mitford on Christianity and Paganism.	
5. Tytler's Life of Sir Thomas Craig.	
6. Keneswitha.	
7. The Spae-wife.	
8. The Last Days of Spain.	
9. Gamble's Charlton.	
10. St. Johnstoun, or John Earl of Gourie.	
11. Schmidtmeyer's Travels in Chile.	
12. Adventures of Hajji Baba.	
13. Prose by a Poet.	

CONTENTS

OF

No. II.

	<i>Page</i>
ART. I. SPAIN	289
Life of Ferdinand VII. by Don ——.	
Steel's Notes on the War in Spain.	
II. PAMPHLETS ON WEST INDIA SLAVERY	337
Wilberforce's Appeal in behalf of the Negro Slaves.	
A Counter Appeal, &c.	
Negro Slavery, as it exists in the United States of America, and in the West Indies.	
A Review of some of the Arguments, &c.	
Hodgson's Letter to Say.	
Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons, May , 15, 1823.	
Yates's Letters to Mr. Huskisson.	
III. MEMOIRS OF GÖTHE, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF	370
IV. DR. JONES'S GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICON	385
V. TITHES	409
Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by a Clergyman.	
Remarks on the Consumption of Public Wealth by the Clergy.	
VI. LANDOR'S IMAGINARY CONVERSATIONS	431
VII. GREECE AND RUSSIA	453
The Provisional Constitution of Greece.	
Blaquiere's Report of the Present State of the Greek Con- federation.	
Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia.	
Lyall's Account of the Military Colonies in Russia.	

CONTENTS.

	<i>Page</i>
VIII. HIBBERT'S SKETCHES OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF APPARITIONS	471
IX. MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN ROCK	492
X. PERIODICAL LITERATURE	505
The Edinburgh Review.	
CRITICAL NOTICES.	
1. Sayings and Doings	542
2. A Grammar of Infinite Forms.....	546
3. Wadd's Nugæ Chirurgicæ.....	548
4. The Albigenses, a Romance.....	550
5. Historical Life of Joanna of Sicily, Queen of Provence...	554
6. Memoires et Correspondence de Philippe Duplessis Mornay	555
7. Soane's Outcasts, a Romance	556
8. Reveries of a Recluse	ib.
9. Translations from the German, and Original Poems, by Lord Francis Leveson Gower	557
10. Translation of Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary	558
11. Old English Drama, No. I.	560



THE

WESTMINSTER REVIEW

JANUARY, 1824.

ART. I. *Men and Things in 1823.* A Poem, with Notes. By James Shergold Boone, M.A. Hatchard. 8vo. 1823.

TEMPORA mutantur, &c. has been quoted through many an age, and will be repeated for ages more. Every generation contributes something towards the proof of its truth, and the variety of its illustration. Man is compounded of a fixed and a flowing quantity; the principles of his constitution are eternal as the heavens, and the modes of their development not less diversified than the appearances of clouds and sunshine. Nature always makes him the same, and events always make him different. Were he less pliable to circumstances, his history would be monotonous; and if his character were wholly formed by their influence, that history would be worth no more than a fairy tale, as a basis of our reasonings from the past to the future. The sameness is in all cases much greater than the diversity; the essentials of humanity are mightier than climate, education, habit, society, government, and events; they are untouched by these causes, in all their combinations, and continually limit their results. Still a sufficiently extensive sphere is left for their operation, and they mould the rational clay into a prodigious number of distinguishable and even contrasted shapes. We are disposed to enquire what they are doing just now with us and our contemporaries.

When Dr. Brown made his estimate of the manners and principles of the times, about three-fourths of a century since, he passed over the people altogether, as of no consequence in the investigation. He considered them as "a brute and random bolt, or a lifeless ball sleeping in the cannon," and requiring "some superior intelligence to give it both impulse and direction." Here our opening quotation comes in well; if our estimate were to commence in the same way, Hamlet would be again left out of his own tragedy. Nobody would think of such an omission now, or

dream of jumping to his conclusion over the nation's head. This mistake in Brown arose from no servile motive. He loved his country, and wrote as he thought. The people have made themselves of more importance, and they are felt and acknowledged to be so, by every man that speaks, or writes, upon whatever subject. The manners and spirit of the higher classes would no longer be the sole, or the leading, topics of a dissertation on the state and prospects of the country. They are reduced to their proper dimensions. They have their chapter in the volume along with others, and stand in the index instead of being in the title. The people no longer sit quietly by as spectators, while Whig and Tory, that is, a few great families with their connexions and dependants, and a few pensioned or expectant creatures, play out the political game, in their own way, and for their own benefit. The "lifeless ball" has become instinct with mind, and the "brute and random bolt" will, in due time, strike unerringly and resistlessly. There is an obvious deference for the people, and an implied appeal to them in the transactions of every department, whether political, religious, or literary. The House of Commons orator speaks not to those around him on the benches, but to those above him in the gallery. It is of them, and of those of whom they are a representative portion, that he is thinking when he makes his best points or turns his best periods. Dissenting religionists, whether seeking or deprecating political patronage for their opinions, must court the public to give them importance enough to ask that patronage, or strength enough to defy it. Their established antagonists must plead at the same bar. The multitude of theological publications, to say nothing of the pulpit, makes Britain appear like one great court of Areopagus, preparing for judgment on the "setters forth of strange gods." The most abstruse controversies, on which the learned used to write in Latin, and discuss as in a secret sitting with closed doors, are now canvassed in cheap tracts, and debated in every village. The book-manufacturers show that respect for the people which all manufacturers show for a new and extensive market. All the standard works of our language make their appearance in cheap editions, or weekly numbers. The Bible no longer stands on the cottage-shelf alone, or supported only by the Prayer-book and the Pilgrim's Progress. Flattering dedications are defunct; the public is the best patron now for your literary adventurer. The poor have their periodicals and their institutes. Shoals of twopenny magazines issue from the press, some of them respectably got up, and circulating to the amount of several thousands weekly. In short, the prodigiously increased importance of the

people is recognised in the speeches of the statesman, the sermons of the divine, the lucubrations of the author, and the criticisms of the reviewer. All seem impressed with the rise of a new power, and, blessing or cursing, they pay to it a certain degree of homage.

It could not be expected that political power should remain the exclusive and undisputed possession of the few, after the many had once begun to feel, and make felt, their importance. Nations and governments are just in the middle of a warm controversy on this point. The question is increasingly interesting to all rulers and all subjects, and the combined power of the former is marshalled against the combined intelligence of the latter. The theory of despotism is more offensively stated, and more broadly asserted than ever. Despots have more than ever made a common cause of it. These facts are not so alarming as they have appeared to some friends of liberty. The principle of legitimacy was never so asserted before, because never before so controverted. The combination of despots was never before so complete, because their monstrous usurpations were never before in such peril. Their sole reliance is on the ignorant and the mercenary; and with such agents they may oppress and execute for a time, but can scarcely hope for ultimate success. The people are becoming aware that they too have a common cause. The world is dividing into two great classes, the oppressors and the oppressed; and the members of both classes have their Holy Alliances. Any stretch of prerogative, in any country, is felt as a victory gained by every member of the great monarchical conspiracy. Any popular advantage is a triumph for all nations. There is less of that narrow and selfish patriotism which used to exult in the slavish condition of other countries. It has given way to a nobler feeling—to sympathy with all who are struggling to be free. It begins to be reckoned as good a thing for the Greeks to win a battle, as for the Opposition to carry a motion. In either case, the common enemy is beaten. Foreign politics and home politics lose their distinction. At home or abroad, there is but one subject in them. The science is reduced to the solution of a single question—are kings to be every thing, or shall the people have a voice in the direction of their own affairs? Different answers make a division paramount to that of party or country. The cause of liberty is one and indivisible. The sympathy of its friends is characteristic of the present age. The consolidation of their union may emancipate a future generation.

An impartial portraiture of the spirit of the times is our object, and we are compelled here to notice one feature on which we cannot dwell with complacency. We are a trading nation, and

treat freedom too much as a matter of mere calculation. Its pecuniary advantages are rated above its intellectual and moral influence. A reform in parliament is often petitioned for on the ground of its diminishing the public burdens. So it undoubtedly would; but that is not the only, nor the best reason, for desiring it. An oligarchy has worse evils in its train than pensions, sinecures, and wasteful expenditure. A degraded character is more to be deprecated than an empty pocket. The great advantage of liberty is, that it makes man *manly*. He ceases to be either a machine, or a beast of burden. He "learns to venerate himself," and that is the first lesson of public and of private virtue. His portion of the public sovereignty is a wreath of glory round his brows. He knows himself an equal member of a free community, and that knowledge qualifies him to discharge his duties and adorn his country. The consciousness of his rights is never out of his mind, and it dignifies every thought that inhabits with it. He acquires an erect attitude, a bold tone, and an unquailing eye. There is no servility in his manners, nor in his thoughts. The "brave New World, that hath such creatures in it," should not be prized solely because it is cheap living there. That recommendation is strong enough, heaven knows. Very numerous are the unwelcome visitors, with pens behind their ears, and little books under their arms, whose calls one wishes less frequent; and which would be so, were the nation to regain its proper control over its own purse-strings. Although it be undoubtedly a very important principle that two and two make four, a principle so strenuously insisted upon by Mr. Hume, who has traced its bearings on the whole system of our government, and made it the basis of a very effective and popular opposition to His Majesty's ministers, we submit that there are other public principles as important, and that man and his purse are not altogether co-equal. Mental independence, and full liberty of speech and action, so far as they infringe not on others' rights, are what constitute a freeman; and he who desires not these loves not liberty, though he may hate taxation. If he wishes to wed her, it is only for her dowry, and a despotism that well feeds its slaves would soon induce him to transfer his affections. This empty-stomach or empty-pocket patriotism is not of a kind to endure through "the times that try men's souls." It fluctuates with the state of the markets; it goes off on the winds that waft away large exports, and is reduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, every time that he takes off a tax. That men's rights are seldom, perhaps never, infringed without their condition being deteriorated, is a fact that ought not to be lost sight of. Let it be by all means deeply impressed upon the public mind; but it is

unworthy of being made the very head and front of our plea for the introduction of a better state of society. Some of the freest communities that the world has ever seen, have also been the poorest. However incomprehensible the proposition to many of our countrymen, we also believe that they have been the happiest. That an admission of popular claims would bring speedy relief from the crushing impositions of an almost unrestrained aristocracy, is an argument which ought to be resistless, and may become so; but for a change produced on this principle to be of real and lasting benefit to the country, it should be desired and demanded even though no such result could be anticipated. Liberty, for herself, is the cry we would hear raised; or, at least, should rejoice at observing a greater disposition to adopt. But this is altogether a calculating age, and every thing is thrown out of the question which cannot be reduced to pounds, shillings, and pence. There has been a corresponding change in servile loyalty, which, from being enthusiastic, has become mercenary. Burke described no imaginary change when he lamented that the age of chivalry was gone. Sovereigns have no more service now than they can purchase. The power of private interest is behind the throne, and greater than the throne. Kings possess attachment and allegiance only *ex officio*. All goes with the throne, and nothing with the person, or family, any longer than they sit thereon. The principle of servility is, that a larger dividend comes to the individual by supporting the measures of a governing and plundering faction, than by promoting the public good. This state of things is partly owing to our having become so completely a manufacturing and commercial people. The one great thing on which we are intent, is getting money; and our politics, religion, literature, are only branches of that pursuit, and considered as subordinate operations to be conducted with constant reference to the main object. The peculiar character of the power which is possessed by our House of Commons has also contributed to this result. All the influence which that body has in the government, arises from the single privilege of granting supplies. By this has its authority been preserved and extended; probably its very existence been secured. Its members legislate in virtue of their being the only constitutional levers of taxes. The laws which they enact, at least so far as those laws are extensive of the people's privileges, are so many bargains with the crown, in which prerogative gives them a right, provided they will vote prerogative a subsidy. Hence there is scarcely ever a great debate in which financial considerations are not prominent. We seem to be listening to a counting-house discussion amongst the directors of a great trad-

ing company. A considerable change has also been going on in the class of persons who sit in that house. Formerly it was land chiefly that was represented; but now, money. The agricultural interest is rapidly waning. Hereditary estates, and hereditary influence, and hereditary prejudices, are all marching off the stage together. The aristocracy of wealth swallows up all. The public mind is taught by its leaders to be intent on nothing but calculation. The worst of it is that public principle is rapidly withering under this system. A young man chooses his political party as he chooses his trade or profession; and changes it with as little hesitation or shame whenever circumstances make it convenient for him to do so. He finds that every thing is considered merely as matter of profit or loss to the nation, and cannot see why he should not so consider it in relation to his own affairs. He studies ethics in Cocker, and estimates honour by the rule of three. The politics of the present day have brought forth a plentiful crop of this unvarnished profligacy.

This evil is happily limited by the fact, that, with the great mass of the community it is impossible to create a private interest at variance with the public good. Corruption has done as much as could be done towards effecting this, and one class has been continually played off against another. Still it is only a comparatively small minority, or an ignorant majority, that can be thus bribed or deceived. While the growing intelligence of the people has been indicated by the appeals continually made to them on the parts of those who are, or aspire to be, of some personal consequence in the state, it has also been very powerfully aided in its advance by that very circumstance, which has thus been at once cause and effect. Orators and writers endeavour to make the people understand a subject in order to gain their suffrages. Their opinions are wanted; not as in days of old their thews and sinews. To gain the permanent aid of that opinion, they must be informed and convinced. The very highest talent has been applied to this purpose. At public meetings it is evident that most of our great speakers now do their best. They no longer come in that careless and unprepared way, which seemed to say, and did mean, any nonsense may be talked to a multitude. They have become conscious, some of them rather late, that the cause they advocate, and their own reputation, were at stake; and in supporting both they have cultivated the minds of their auditory. Our newspapers bear abundant marks of a similar improvement. The talent regularly engaged in them is of a superior order to what was formerly employed, and they are the not unfrequent vehicle of communication between the very noblest minds, and the common sense and heart of the

many. True, they are party engines; they vituperate and misrepresent for party purposes: they may often mislead, often inflame, but to be effective engines they must be conducted with ability; they must meet the demand for fact and argument, a demand which "grows by what it feeds upon;" they must have a character which, after the amplest deductions, is generally favourable to the intellectual improvement of that immense population amongst which they circulate. Every theory of government, every question of political science, every measure of the administration of the day, becomes in turn the subject of controversy, and all classes are familiarised with whatever superior talent or extensive knowledge can bring to its illustration. The well-meaning patrons of the poor, who think they should know something of their duty but nothing else, and who favour them with edifying tracts in a laboured simplicity of style "made level to the meanest capacities," are sadly thrown out. Their occupation's gone. Their milk for babes is superseded by a stronger nutriment. No sooner were the poor taught to read, than, somehow or other, they took to reading Cobbett. Of that man, who, had he added consistency to his other qualities, would have been by this time the most powerful man in the country, none have so much reason to complain as the friends of liberty; for he has so managed as to render his opposition and his support alike injurious to their cause. There is something else, we will not turn aside to discuss what, to which he has always sacrificed that cause, and sometimes at very critical moments. But one good service he has rendered, and must continue to render as long as he continues to write; and long may that be. His shrewd and manly intellect; his inexhaustible stock of facts on all subjects of political economy; his eternal freshness, for "age cannot wither him, nor custom stale his infinite variety;" his clear, unaffected, vigorous, English style; and his bloodhound chase of a favourite topic, neither wearied by the length, nor foiled by the intricacy of the pursuit;—if they have not accomplished the glorious results at which a man so gifted should have aimed, and of which we can scarcely believe he would have failed, have yet done what was next to be wished; they have roused into action the dormant sense of the poorer classes, and provided materials for thought, and induced habits of investigation which will correct all the evils that can be inflicted by all the writers whom party spirit or personal ambition may bring into the arena. "It is certain," said he, on one occasion, "that I have been the great enlightener of the people of England." It was impossible to avoid laughing at him, and yet at the same time feeling, in our hearts, that the impudent fellow had some

ground for his boast. He has been a greater enlightener than he intended, and has so well instructed thousands that he cannot now himself lead them, nor obtain a jot more at their hands than that fair hearing to which every well-qualified pleader on a public question is entitled. In this he has only outstripped others who have been engaged in the same work; but their contributions have not equalled his, and probably would never have been made at all but for his example.

The intelligence thus created must, ere long, obtain that extension of the elective franchise for the use of which it is so well qualified; which constitutes, in fact, the difference between a freeman and a slave; and by which alone the many can recover or secure their rights and interests against the ambition, the venality, or the servility of the few. Other consequences, besides political ones, of a most important description may be expected from it. Already has it combined in various ways with that tendency to associate which, in the extent to which it has been carried, may be classed amongst the characteristics of the present age. Every object of literature or benevolence is now pursued by voluntary societies formed for that specific purpose. The charitable institutions of the metropolis fill a decent-sized volume with the mere enumeration of their objects and lists of their conductors. There has been a striking descent, as to the station in society, of the contributors to such institutions. The donations of wealthy individuals have been found not so permanent a resource as the united mites of numbers. The zeal of philanthropic leaders led to the opening of this mine; but the labourers have discovered its worth, and they are beginning to work it for themselves. It is becoming available for more than the contingencies of sickness, or even a supply of books. We are advancing from a reading to a scientific population. London has followed Glasgow and Edinburgh in the establishment of a Mechanic's Institute. At Norwich steps have been taken towards forming a society amongst the manufacturing journeymen, for affording a practical trial to the inventions and supposed improvements which may be suggested by the ingenuity of individuals amongst themselves. These proceedings are evidently progressive, and tend to a great and felicitous change in the structure of society. It may be difficult to anticipate the exact course of events; but the effect must be to elevate the character and increase the enjoyments of the labouring portion of the community. Our social arrangements may stop far short of the forms contemplated by Mr. Owen; but there seems good reason to expect that they will be modified by the influences of his favourite co-operative principle; that combination will in some

measure supply the want of capital; and that the prodigious improvements in machinery which have been, and will be made, instead of merely enriching individuals already wealthy, will become directly subservient to the interests of the operative classes, on whom they now so often inflict severe though temporary injury.

The intellect of the age, that portion of it, we mean, which is devoted to literary and scientific pursuits, is chiefly directed towards subjects which are generally interesting to a population thus advancing in knowledge. Our authors have a vivid and constant consciousness of belonging to a large community. The study is no longer a hermitage in a wilderness. Its tenant is no longer abstracted, even in his profoundest speculations, or wildest imaginings, from the society of his fellows. It is no longer a cell in the cloister of a monkish fraternity—the literary few, who were all the world to every individual of the brotherhood. He has now the “kingdom for a stage;” and there is a wider fame than their praise, and a louder peal than the anticipated echo of posterity to their voice, in the immediate and immense plaudits of the multitudes who constitute his auditory. He never forgets this; nor since Grecian poets and historians recited their compositions at the public games, and Grecian philosophers disputed in the public walks, has the sense of oneness with a people been so large an ingredient in the literary spirit. Hence there is a dash of politics in almost every production. It is thrown in as seasoning which the national palate is sure to relish. Whatever be the promise of a title page; poem, play, or tale; dissertations on the belles lettres, or voyages round the world; history, criticism, science, or even theology; the odds are fifty to one that we get not one half through without allusions to the men or manners of the day. At the theatres, such allusions are continually made in modern plays, and out of old ones. Even Shakspeare and all his wonderful creations cannot induce us to forget Castlereagh and Canning, the Queen and Napoleon, the French and the Spaniards. The audience not merely take hints, but make them. The subject seems never to come amiss, and consequently it is always coming. It has a general invitation, and mixes familiarly with whatever company may at any time be assembled. It possesses a sort of bibliographical omnipresence, and seems to claim an existence coextensive with that of types and paper. What, indeed, can effectually exclude a topic which has the good-will of both writers and readers for its admission?

Of course, in lists of new publications, the article “Politics”

always appears splendidly attended, and drags along an almost interminable train of titles. The character of the times, however, is not so distinctly marked in this as in the subjects, style, and size of the works announced. The writers are evidently pleading at the bar of the public, and not at that of the legislature or the aristocracy. They send forth pamphlets instead of volumes. They have descended from the high ground of theory into the broad field of practical utility. Or if they theorise, it is not on the origin of society and rights of man, but on the principles to which it is sought to reduce the multitudinous and seemingly conflicting facts of political economy. The degree of interest felt in them by the public is the great regulator of our studies. The abstruser branches of mathematical science are comparatively neglected. We care not to toil after truth for truth's sake; but must first know what use we shall make of it, and what get by it of fame or profit. The geometrical purists are making their parting bow, like other gentlemen of the old school. The short cut of analysis has superseded the circuitous route of strict geometrical demonstration. It is not Euclidian; but it solves the problem, and that's enough. The ancient method is said to have been a fine exercise of the intellectual faculties; but so, it is replied, was the length of the old road to church, three miles round, a fine exercise of the walking faculties, yet now every body goes the new path. Nor has the art of reasoning (especially if we are to judge by the works which some of the greatest mathematicians were so unfortunate as to publish in unscientific matters) suffered more by the change than the art of walking. Accordingly, propositions are established, and theorems demonstrated, and problems solved, and questions answered, as Bonaparte took towns and destroyed armies, in the most expeditious and business-like way, in defiance of old rules and old masters. • The loves of the triangles have waxed cold. Their suitors affect them, not for themselves alone, but for their properties in navigation or mechanics. A formidable rival too has arisen in chemistry, which has every requisite for popularity. • It can be illustrated to all the world in public lectures; and its connections with the arts seem boundless. It has a flash and a bounce for eye and ear, and puts money in the pocket besides. The master of the house is profiting by it all the day in his counting-house, and the children of his family are delighted by it all the evening in the lecture-room. This is irresistible. We are a chemical people; and it is something for any science to make its way so low and so widely in a nation, especially when that very fact directs to its advancement the best

efforts of great minds, and when it is a science so immediately and extensively subservient to the multiplication of the conveniences and enjoyments of life.

Metaphysics seem governed by the same laws as mathematics, and are waning also. Few persons study ontology. Little heed is given even to speculations on the nature of the human mind, and the origin of its faculties. They are too remote from public interest and public utility, to have many votaries. A supposed connection with religious doctrine keeps some opinions on this subject a little in grace; and they have the additional recommendation of occasionally being instrumental to the raising of a clamour about materialism, atheism, and French principles, against some obnoxious geologist or anatomist; but this purpose answered, they go back to the armoury of the friends of "social order," to accumulate rust for a future execution to rub off. Practical treatises on education succeed better. They harmonise with the spirit of the age. We take man as he is, and make the best we can of him, and read those who assist us in so doing. The rest is considered perhaps somewhat too exclusively, as "not germane to the matter;" or if the relationship be made out, still it is a quarter from which there are no expectancies, and therefore no account is taken of it. This *cui bono* disposition makes terrible work with learning. It commits irreverence on the Greek metres, and has much reduced the number of classical quotations. Even Greek and Latin must be made subservient to some obviously useful purpose of history or science, or they are pushed from their stools. The wig that is stuffed with them must wear well, to win either praise or a purchaser. The multitude does not understand such matters; and the literary world only cares about what the multitude does understand.

However invention may flourish in the arts, there is but little of it in literature. We have a rich stock, and are making much of it. Our ingenuity is chiefly displayed in varying the forms of our forefathers' thoughts; and they will so long enable us to meet the demand, that but little prospect remains of increasing their number. Essays and disquisitions breed like flies in some huge old body of philosophy. History is dished up in the "court" of this sovereign, and the "life" of that, and the "times" of a third; or it is brought in, as a dessert, still more pleasantly in "Historical Tales by the author of Waverley." A sermon of Barrow furnishes two or three months' good preaching for a modern divine. The new consists of little more than selections, expansions, simplifications, and re-arrangements, of the old. The massy plate of antiquity is melted, coined, and pushed into circulation. The first scene of the metamorphosis is the history

of modern literature. Besides this transmigration of the spirit of the works of former times, there is a good deal of resurrection, of direct and avowed republication. Happy were they, as to their chance of revisiting the eyes of readers, who were not very voluminous in their productions. Quantity may make all the difference between a new edition, and an article in a periodical, or a little pilfering for an *original* work. Folios are quite out of fashion; and, if any thing enshrined in their Titanic forms be ventured on for revival, octavos, or perhaps duodecimos, are the *nova corpora* into which it must pass. In one way or the other, all our hoarded treasures are made available for common use. This is the object for which so much extracting, reviving, and remoulding, is going forward. Undignified as modern book-making appears, compared with the elaborate composition of elder times, when so much profound learning and original talent were put in requisition for that work, it is yet the process by which the prisoners of the British Museum, and similar collections, make their escape into the book clubs and circulating libraries of the people. We live under a new dynasty in literature: the sovereignty of the people has succeeded to the oligarchy of learning; and the accession is celebrated by a gaol delivery of all authors who are not guilty of the capital offence, of being not readable, or not capable of being made so.

The influence of this state of things on our national poetry is very considerable and very obvious. All our great poets write for the people. Sir Walter Scott is the choicest specimen. Not that he is entitled to rank as the first living poet; but his productions exhibit many of the characteristic marks to which we refer, more glaringly than those of his contemporaries. His tales of war, and chivalry, and love; the unelaborate and universally perceptible melody of his verse; his resort to nursery tales and vulgar superstitions in preference to the stores of classic history and mythology; his recklessness of the charge of plagiarism, and free use of common-place expression or description, whenever it serves his purpose; his frequent disregard of the niceties of language and of rhyme; and the bold outline by which he aims at effect: these, if we add to them from Byron the Kean-like expression of the most violent passions, an occasional mixture of the vituperative and the burlesque, and ever recurring hits at the popular topics of the day, will furnish a pretty complete picture of a poet moulded by the spirit of the age, and bearing the image of his creator. The anxiety of Wordsworth to be the head of a school, or rather to be himself the whole school; of Campbell to secure the suffrages of men of refined taste; of Moore to charm young ladies; and of Southey to promote the

interests of his employers; — have modified this influence on them, which the structure of their minds seems also less calculated to receive: yet its impression is on them, broad and deep. They sing for the many; except that Wordsworth seems rather to chaunt a demonstration to the initiated few that the many should be sung to. Cowper was the herald of this revolution. He first disused the conventional phraseology which poetry had been schooled to use, and bade her “speak right on” in the language of nature and simplicity. He was unconscious of what he did; and wrote, not to please the people, but to please himself, one of the people. Pursuing the latter object he attained the former. Wordsworth aimed at the former, and succeeded in the latter. This reformation of the poetical dialect is a happy consummation; but whether the effects, taken altogether, which have resulted from the increased number and different character of the readers of poetry have made it of more intrinsic worth, is very questionable. It is not, however, for the present generation to quarrel with bards, who in their eagerness to secure its plaudits are ready to “jump the life to come” of posthumous reputation. And even if poetry should prove to be somewhat deteriorated, prose works of fiction have had a compensating increase of excellence. We speak of their general character. The laurels of Sterne, Fielding, Smollett, and Richardson, are in no danger; but in spite of their immortal works a stain remained on the title of novel or romance, which it was reserved for the present times to obliterate. Independently of the “great unknown,” we have a host of writers of great talent cultivating this wide field with splendid success. If observation no longer supply them with material in the strongly marked peculiarities of individual character and manners, they have laid almost every period of our national history under contribution to supply the deficiency. And more than this has been done; for by the employment not only of historical knowledge, but of antiquarian research into the literature, manners, and daily habits and amusements of our ancestors, a more faithful and vivid picture of the state of society, at different and remote times, has been presented, than any professed history in existence can supply us with. If any body wants to become acquainted with his predecessors, the *Fortunes of Nigel* is a better book for his purpose than Hume’s *History of the Stuarts*. Such works of fiction are amongst the best vehicles of truth. That they are in demand, and their authors powerfully stimulated to their production; that they are craved for, and devoured, and incessantly supplied; — is a very pleasant symptom.

We are a most religious people, through all the gradations of society. The higher classes became so, from the opposite

extreme, very much out of loyalty to George the Third and hatred of the French Revolution. The faith of their inferiors has been cherished by a variety of popular institutions, Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies without number; with meetings, speeches, and sermons, succeeding each other without interval. We mention them not disrespectfully, nor with any doubt that much good has been accomplished by their agency; but to show how religion itself has been affected by the causes which operate so powerfully upon literature. That the press is kept constantly at work by these societies; that crowds are continually assembled to hear reports of their proceedings and be inspired with zeal for their objects; and that, on such occasions, statesmen, peers, and prelates mingle with the multitude;—are not only demonstrations of devout zeal, but acts of homage to the people, who were formerly left to learn their creed and their duty in a quiet way from the clergyman of the parish. Heresy, and even infidelity itself, partake of this change. Those who dissent from the doctrines of the established church have their hostile meetings and missions, and publish in the streets what used to be whispered in the closet. That scepticism should have descended also to struggle in the public arena; should exchange its delicate irony and covert insinuations for fierce attack and denunciation; should have its apostles, its confessors, and its martyrs;—is more extraordinary; and though something of the sort might naturally have been expected, yet, in the extent to which it has actually happened, must be partly ascribed to the injudicious zeal which, by seeking its violent suppression, roused in its behalf that sympathy which human nature is prone to feel with those who are, or are supposed to be, persecuted.

If the increased prevalence of the religious principle be a subject of congratulation; there is one consequence which naturally follows when its diffusion has been promoted by the spiritual forcing to which we have adverted, and when knowledge, though advancing, has not kept even pace with it, which must be lamented. We mean the much more increased prevalence of religious language; its employment by men whose mouths it becomes not, its frequent and almost profane misapplication, its separation from any real feeling, and even from any rational meaning, and its currency in the form of phrases, which only serve to impose on some and disgust others. With what a host of illustrations might we fill our number, from royal proclamations down to tabernacle tracts! We say nothing of privileged characters and places, nor of the religious meetings at town-halls and taverns, though there some commit the offence who have no claim to benefit of clergy; as when the statesman comes fresh

from the imposition of some demoralizing tax to subscribe for the spread of Christian precepts of purity; or a dissipated lordling lends his titled name to grace the religion of universal brotherhood; or the lawyer foams his testimony to the word of truth; or the soldier leans on the hilt of, perhaps, a mercenary sword to support him through the praises of the gospel of peace. What is worse than even this is, that we all cant, at all times and in all places. The fashionable religious tinge is given even to the speeches from the throne of our most gracious sovereign. His ministers are, of course, the champions of religion and morals. From the bar one often hears a great deal of *furious* Christianity, and from the bench sometimes a little animated sermonising. We have noticed also, that they are not always the cheapest shops where the tradesman keeps a Missionary or Bible Society box upon his counter. The professed and sincere religionists of the present day are much too apt to cultivate a peculiar theological dialect, and to employ it on very improper occasions; they scruple not to "sing the songs of Zion in a strange land;" but it is much less tolerable that the taskmasters and traffickers of Babylon should join in the chorus.

Perhaps the enthusiasm of religion may flourish the more from its being the only enthusiasm (though the cant of religion is certainly not the only cant) in which we seem disposed to indulge one another. An affected levity and heartlessness have crept over much of our literature, and more of our criticism, whose cant deserves to be held in equal abomination. Our elder brothers of the reviewing family have a considerable portion of this mischief to answer for; and the rest may be laid at Lord Byron's door. Because some master minds can gracefully sport with a subject, and playfully dispose (but not less acutely than playfully) of a philosophical controversy; or because a powerful effect was produced by the inspired delineation of a libertine, his feelings worn out and his heart seared, moving through all that is beautiful and grand, and finding in it only food for scorn; — does it therefore follow, that every stripling who can indite a pretty verse, or fabricate a readable paper for a magazine, is to find nothing in heaven or earth, in life, mind, or morals, important enough to make him serious, or interesting enough to demand emotion? The affectation of deep feeling is bad enough; but not half so bad as the affectation of no feeling at all, and the ridicule of it in others, where its absence bespeaks either an original want of the native sympathies of humanity, or the callousness which it requires a long course of selfish dissipation to superinduce. This taste is not English; it cannot last long; nor would it have prevailed at all but for the insufferable dullness to

which (in some departments) it succeeded, and the seductive glare of certain productions which should have remained unimitated as they are inimitable. Let mere talent revolve in its own orbit, a very honourable one, without launching forth into the eccentric sphere of genius. The fact is, that many laugh for fear of being laughed at. They are more in dread of being ridiculed than of being ridiculous. He who would readily encounter an argument quails before a joke. The levity of criticism has withered many a sensitive mind which gave promise of bright excellence. It represses whatever is pathetic in poetry, or bold in philosophy. It has made us a timid race, unworthy of our lineage, for "we are sprung of earth's best blood;" and an uncurbed originality of thought, and the free vent of every emotion that becomes a man, are the traits of our ancestral literature. This is most ungrateful and unwise; for criticism feeds on authorship, and should not deteriorate the quality of its own food: unless, indeed, criticism means to be self-supported, and to supersede the authors altogether. There have been symptoms of a tendency towards this anarchical state. The professed reviewer writes a dissertation on his author's subject, and in retaliation the author reviews himself in his own book, criticising as he proceeds. But enough of the errors of reviewers, which, perhaps, our own pages may soon be put in requisition to exemplify. Periodical literature has enlarged its boundaries; and its conquests, like most others, bear a mixed character of good and evil. It has been acted upon by that popular impulse which has so extensively affected the whole of our literature; and the wider range it now takes, and the higher talent embarked in it, qualify it to re-act powerfully upon the public mind. That this re-action should be as beneficial as it is powerful, is of the first importance. That the spirit and manner in which the leading reviews have been conducted are deemed susceptible of improvement, is implied in the present attempt to increase their number. Our hope of success is grounded on that greater conformity with the spirit of the times, in all its honourable peculiarities, which is allowed by our freedom from the trammels of party. Such a publication as we project, seems to us to be called for by the voice of the people; of whom we are, from whom we have no separate interests or objects, and to whom, though we cannot sacrifice a single just principle or personal conviction, we heartily devote our efforts in the pages of *The Westminster Review*. Let us be tried by our country.

Mr. Boone's view of "Men and Things in 1823" has a more immediate reference to the political topics and events of the day than that which it has been attempted to sketch in

the foregoing pages. He reads a lecture, a very friendly and laudatory one, to Mr. Canning, on the state of parties, and the conflict of principles both at home and abroad, and on the course, which that gentleman should pursue to secure his own fame and his country's good. Some of the statements and advice have already become obsolete. The then situation of Spain, and what Mr. Canning might or should have done, are unhappily of this description. It is justly remarked, however, that "beneath the surface of the present conflict a far wider revolution is going on; and its mainspring, its vivifying principle, is the diffusion of knowledge. The pen is become a far more powerful and effectual weapon than the sword; and they who would oppose the arm of power to the influence of the press, must soon have occasion to rue the hopelessness of the contest." Accordingly, the progress which knowledge and liberty have made, and must continue to make in the world, are said and sung by Mr. Boone, in the first of his poetical epistles and its notes. He then becomes a little alarmed at the extent of the anticipated triumph which he has celebrated. He is fearful of our having too much of a good thing, and descants on the "danger of their being carried too far, or running wild." The prevention of such danger is a *dignus vindice nodus*, and his Magnus Apollo is invocated for that purpose.

' Such ills have risen! — Oh! lest they rise again,
 Let reason's arm avert th' impending bane.
 But *how*? — think, Canning: — in thy mind revolve
 That awful problem man has now to solve.'

The author's hints towards the solution of the problem are recommendatory of a liberal and conceding policy to governments, that they may thus "take the cause of freedom out of the hands of political enthusiasts, hair-brained speculators, soldiers of fortune, ambitious rebels, hungry, desperate, unprincipled adventurers," and *place it in their own*. We wish they may adopt this advice; but submit, nevertheless, that the cause of freedom may be in safer and better hands than either. Let the people keep it in their own. Unless they do, it is a lost cause.

Mr. B. is not, nor does he affect to be, a poet. His epistles, he says, "are put into rhyme, because, without that aid, a mere didactic exposition of general principles would be altogether unpalatable." We hope not; and have, therefore, ventured to offer our remarks in prose. It is but just to add, that he has accomplished all that he pretends to; that the syllables in each line are correctly counted, and the final ones have a very

tolerable degree of resemblance to each other. Some passages deserve higher praise, and might be quoted as specimens of nervous versification.

ART. II. *Fables for the Holy Alliance, Rhymes on the Road, etc. etc.*

By Thomas Brown the younger, Secretary of the POCO-CURANTE Society, and Author of the "Fudge Family" and "The Two-penny Post Bag." 1823. 12mo. pp. 198. Longman and Co.

MR. Moore has not been, like many others of his class, (though we believe he might have been with profit to himself,) a court sycophant;—he has taken in hand and in heart the great cause of mankind; he has sympathised with the oppressed many, instead of making common cause with the oppressing few; he has dared to attack the vices and follies of men in power, and his most brilliant sallies of wit and satire have been directed against the tyrants and bigots who would keep mankind in perpetual ignorance to make them the objects of perpetual pillage. "The Fudge Family," "Tom Crib's Memorial to Congress," and "The Letters of the Two-penny Post Bag," though unhappily devoted to topics of a nature too transient for poetical immortality, are to our taste highly entertaining and instructive productions; and we wish heartily that the work which we now propose to examine, had in any way corresponded with those master-pieces of ridicule and invective.

Unfortunately, the *exclusive* culture of the faculty of imagination has but too strong a tendency to impair the powers of judgment; and how much soever poets may *wish* to instruct as well as to amuse, (*ut prodesse volunt, et delectare poetæ*,") it rarely happens that they accomplish this double purpose. The very qualities of mind which fit a man for the production of fine poetry, tend in a great degree to incapacitate him for the strict process of logical deduction. Poetry (which never has been, and perhaps cannot be, accurately defined) seems to differ from prose mainly in this, that, instead of being such a statement of the totality of the particulars belonging to any given subject as is requisite to enable the judgment to arrive at correct conclusions in relation to that subject, it is a selection of such only of the particulars as are calculated to affect the imagination. The greatest poet, like the greatest painter, is he who can produce the most vivid impression by the smallest number of lines; and the chief skill of both artists consists in bringing to view or aggravating such only of the striking features in each subject as

may enable the imagination to fill up the picture with varying though vigorous conceptions.

It is evident that an habitual process such as this cannot but tend to disqualify any man for the severer exercise of his reason. Truth can be attained no otherwise than by a minute and comprehensive examination of all the details of a subject, and general conclusions on which reliance may be placed can only be drawn from a dry and painful exhaustion of almost innumerable particulars. This is more especially the case with regard to political science. "Truths in general have been called stubborn things; the truths just mentioned are so in their own way. They are not to be forced into detached and general propositions unincumbered with explanations and exceptions. They will not compress themselves into epigrams. They recoil from the tongue and pen of the declaimer. They flourish not in the same soil with *sentiment*. They grow among thorns; and are not to be plucked, like daisies, by infants as they run. Labour, the inevitable lot of humanity, is in no track more inevitable than here. In vain would an Alexander bespeak a peculiar road for royal vanity, or Ptolemy a smoother one for royal indolence. There is no *King's Road*, no *Stadtholder's Gate*, to legislative any more than to mathematic science."

To the ardour and rapidity of poetical genius, such a task is repulsive and difficult, if not impossible; and, as we seldom succeed where the affections are not engaged, there are few great poets who have been good reasoners. They are the mere creatures of sentimental sympathy and antipathy; their heart tells them this, and their heart tells them that; their love and hatred, their approbation and disapprobation, are measured by no intelligible standard. Their fine feelings supply them instinctively with all the rules of morality. In their view, logic has indeed a closed fist and a scowling aspect, and the tune of "*Triste raison*" is always uppermost in their ears. They love to carry us back to days of yore, when the mind of man was still cradled in infantine weakness; and appear almost to regret the passing away of the blessed days of chivalry, with all their darkness and *donjons*, violence and insecurity; when the functions of chronicler and romancer were equally blended, and the dreams of imagination were received with the same credence as authentic historical narrative.

From this intellectual weakness, common to the greater number of his poetical brethren, Mr. Moore is by no means exempt. His instinctive hatred of oppression has indeed impelled him to attack the whole race of oppressors; but from the contents of the volume now before us, it may be inferred that he is ignorant

of the causes which give birth and continuance to these enemies of mankind, and of the only means which can accomplish their downfall; his reprobation is confined to individual actions and individual personages; he never seems to suspect that these personages are endowed with the powers of mischief, and these reprehensible actions occasioned by *systems* adverse to the interests of the mass of mankind, and that, as, in the long run, men have always been the same, the same results must ensue so long as the same systems prevail. His opinions, so far as he has any, are the offspring, not of his enquiries, but of his sympathies. Mr. Moore has resided in America; and, we understand, speaks of the Americans with unbounded dislike and contempt. The cause of all this is obvious enough; — one, who during a large portion of his life has been the god of drawing-room idolatry, who, constantly surrounded by titled and fascinating females, has found himself the delight of every ear, the object of every eye, and the theme of every tongue; one, who has inhaled a whole atmosphere of flattery, could scarcely be expected to retain his sober senses amid such peril of intoxication. It is natural enough that this brilliant scene should be the nucleus round which his sympathies should be encircled; that he should forget or place out of the account all other classes of human beings, and fall into the common mistake of supposing that the *fashionable* world is the *whole* world, or at least the whole whose existence is of any importance.

Now in America there are no titles, little fashion, and few drawing-rooms. People who have scarcely existed as a nation so long as the ordinary life of man, must necessarily be for the most part engaged in the obtaining of subsistence: they have not had time to produce a very polished or very leisurely class; no class for whom the delicate gossamers of European aristocracy can entertain any great degree of sympathy. True it is that the great mass of their population is exempt from the evils of poverty and misgovernment, to a degree which no other nation has ever experienced; true it is that taking the aggregate of numbers there exists among them a greater amount of happiness than the same numbers have ever before enjoyed; — but, in the estimation of the sentimentalist, they are a coarse, calculating, matter-of-fact people. The possession of competence, security, and content, can never compensate the want of that elegance which alone can render a community worthy of his consideration, and in the absence of which it is impossible that they can, in his eyes, retain any redeeming qualities.

Upon the nature, the cause, and the extensive effects of good government, it is probable that Mr. Moore has never enquired

or thought very deeply; indeed we suspect that the whole amount of his political opinions is comprehended in certain vague associations attached to the words *liberty* and *freedom*, so often the subject of his most exhilarating strains. What he means by liberty he has not told us; perhaps he means security from oppression or injustice at the hands of men in power; but the tribe of writers who are hired to cheat mankind out of their senses, and persuade the flock that it is their interest to be shorn to the quick, will tell Mr. Moore that liberty means hanging up opulent men to the lamp-post and dividing their spoil among the executioners, — some such executions having once been performed on its oppressors by an infuriated nation whom those oppressors had succeeded in rendering ignorant and ferocious, and had failed in keeping subject. The backwoodsman of America will tell him, it means exemption from all the restraints of society in a habitation fifty miles distant from any other human abode: — and *we* tell him it means nothing. The reign of vague generalities is passing fast away; — before we can attain what we esteem desirable, we must be able to describe with accuracy what we wish to attain, and abstain from the employment of terms which no two individuals understand in the same sense.

However, as to this matter, the fault seems to lie rather in the art of poetry than in the artist; and perhaps all we have said amounts to no more than this, that Mr. Moore *is* a *poet*, and therefore is *not* a *reasoner*. Provided he encourages institutions and feelings likely to operate beneficially upon the condition of the people at large, we ought to be contented with his performance, and abstain from analysing very rigorously the process by which he arrives at his conclusions, or the terms which he employs to express them; and we should never have entered upon the investigation we have just concluded, had not indulgence in sentimentality and indisposition to reason impelled our author in his last performance to express sentiments incompatible with justice and the best interests of mankind. ●

For instance, with regard to the Neapolitans, he exclaims, —

‘ Ay — down to the dust with them, slaves as they are !
 From this hour, let the blood in their dastardly veins,
 That shrunk at the first touch of Liberty's war,
 Be suck'd out by tyrants, or stagnate in chains !

‘ On, on like a cloud, through their beautiful vales,
 Ye locusts of tyranny, blasting them o'er —
 Fill, fill up their wide sunny waters, ye sails
 From each slave-mart of Europe, and poison their shore !

- ‘ Let their fate be a mock-word ; let men of all lands
Laugh out, with a scorn that shall ring to the poles,
When each sword, that the cowards let fall from their hands,
Shall be forged into fetters to enter their souls.
- ‘ And deep, and more deep, as the iron is driven,
Base slaves ! may the whet of their agony be,
To think — as the damn'd haply think of that heav'n
They had once in their reach—that they *might* have been free.’

Now, in our judgment, nothing can be more cruel, unjust, and absurd, than the sort of language so generally expressed by sentimentalists on the unhappy issue of the attempts made by the Neapolitans and Spaniards to rid themselves of a portion of the manifold evils of misgovernment.

“ Out upon them !” — says the tender-hearted, love-sick sonneteer. “ Out upon them !” “ Down to the dust with them !” “ Drive in the iron !” “ Suck out their blood !” “ Trample out every spark of freedom !” — And why ? Because the scanty population of a diminutive country, degraded and brutalised by whole centuries of ignorance and oppression, did not exhibit the same resolution and use the same efforts in their own defence which a well educated and intelligent people might have resorted to, had their country been in like manner attacked. We say *might* — not *would* ; because to whatever extremes men may be impelled by republican enthusiasm or philosophic determination, we are quite sure, that in point of military propriety, few would recommend a half-armed, undisciplined, unsupported band of ten thousand men, to sustain the shock of five or six hundred thousand veteran troops pouring in upon them by successive armies, week after week, and month after month ; and we are equally sure that no one who reflects would ever imagine a territory scarcely larger than Wales, able to cope a moment with the strength of Austria and Russia. Yet in his sentimental and disproportionate abhorrence of that weakness of mind and body called cowardice, Mr. Moore has no mercy on the unfortunate victims of arbitrary power ; — it is the topic in which he seems to delight. He has a whining elegy on the same subject in the last number of the “ National Melodies,” which, if we have not been misinformed, is one of his most favourite productions, and that with which in singing he most frequently regales his hearers. ’Tis well for those whose “ lives and fortunes” still remain after the long contest against the improvement of mankind, to cry “ A plague of all cowards, I say, and a vengeance too ! Marry and amen ! Give me a cup of sack, boy ! Is there no virtue extant ?” But the mighty in song are not always mighty

in fight; and we cannot feel altogether assured, that the prick of an Austrian bayonet might not have power to change a poet's note, or, like the American torpedo, to paralyse if not to silence his tongue. Let him not be ruffled at this distant supposition: as great as he have fallen into the same weakness; and when Horace took to his heels, he had the magnanimity to confess it.

It is not in the sufferings of the Neapolitans alone, that Mr. Moore seems to take such pious delight. Duped into error and injustice by the commonest form of poetical expression,—by one of his own personifications,—he views with complacency, if not with delight, all the sufferings endured by the enslaved Venetians. —

‘ Mourn not for Venice, — though her fall
 Be awful, as if ocean's wave
 Swept o'er her, — she *deserves* it all,
 And justice triumphs o'er her grave.
 Desolate Venice! when I track
 Thy haughty course through centuries back, —
 When I review all this, and see
 What thou art sunk and crush'd to now,
 I feel the *moral* vengeance *sweet*,
 And *smiling*, o'er the wreck, repeat,
 Thus perish every king and state,
 That tread the steps which Venice trod.’

This is poetical justice with a vengeance, and justice only on the bare surface of the words employed to describe it. The fallacy lies in a single personification; and is so transparent, that even a poet, if he paused a moment, could scarcely fail to detect it. Whoever is guilty of crime ought to be punished. Venice, says the poet, has been guilty of crime; therefore Venice ought to be punished. But though it possibly escaped his penetration, the Venice mentioned secondly is altogether a different personage from the Venice mentioned firstly; and in plain prose the matter stands thus: —

“ Certain persons called Venetians, none of which persons are now in existence, committed great atrocities between the years 1400 and 1500: ‘*Ergo*, certain other persons called Venetians, who had no share in those atrocities, but who live in the year 1823, deserve to be enslaved, and afflicted with manifold sufferings.”

Perhaps, even in this position, a poetical intellect which has never bestowed a single thought on the principles which ought to regulate punishment, may not be enabled to detect any thing very incongruous or unjust; but we think we can place the matter

in a light which, for the future, may induce even Mr. Moore to pause before he measures out retribution according to the dictates of sentimentality.

“ Certain persons called *Catholics*, none of which persons are now in existence, committed, a few centuries ago, great atrocities in Ireland: *Ergo*, certain other persons called Catholics, who have had no share in those atrocities, ought throughout Ireland to be the victims of persecution in 1824.”

In an address to Montblanc — describing the effects produced upon him by an evening view of this mountain, — Mr. Moore says —

‘ I stood entranced and mute, —
 Mighty Montblanc ! thou wert to me,
 That minute, with thy brow in heaven,
 As sure a sign of deity
 As e'er to mortal gaze was given.
 Nor ever —————
 Can I the deep-felt awe forget,
 The ecstasy that thrill'd me then !
 'Twas all that consciousness of power
 And life beyond this mortal hour ; —
 That proud assurance of our claim
 To rank among the sons of light,
 Mingled with shame, — oh, bitter shame ! —
 At having risk'd that splendid right
 For aught that earth, through all its range
 Of glories, offers in exchange —
 And should my spirit's hope grow weak,
 Should I, oh God ! e'er doubt thy power,
 This mighty scene again I'll seek,
 At the same calm and glowing hour ;
 And here, at the sublimest shrine
 That nature ever rear'd to thee,
 Rekindle all that hope divine
 And *feel* my immortality !’

If Mr. Moore, as we are led to suspect from the foregoing extract, has ever been of a sceptical turn, we congratulate him on the discovery of any argument likely to promote any belief which may be conducive to his happiness: but a little of that charity which is one of the chief characteristics of the creed which our author professes, — a little forbearance towards those with whom, if in error, he himself may have erred in common, might, we think, have induced him to abstain from joining in the attack (p. 33.) against an individual now suffering protracted imprisonment for the publication of opinions differing from the opinions professed by his prosecutors. The unhappy

prisoner, it is true, may have arrived at his conclusions by arguments less high-flown than the elevation of Montblanc,—his conclusions may be altogether erroneous; but it can scarcely be doubted that they are the result of investigation, and believed with at least as much sincerity as those at which Mr. Moore has been enabled to arrive by a speedier process of induction. At any rate, persecution for opinions, whether under colour of law or in any other way, is injustice. Disregard of the sufferings of persecuted men, let their errors be what they may, is cruelty.

Perhaps, after all, there is not perfect sincerity in the attack; and, considering the whig-aristocratical atmosphere in which Mr. Moore dwells, we suspect that an apprehension of being esteemed somewhat of an *exaltado*, may have induced him to make this little sacrifice to the prejudices and interests of those who have much to lose and little to gain by any change, and who mask under professions of moderation their steady discountenance of every attempt at political improvement.

However, did not the present work afford conflicting evidence on the point, we might almost suspect that our author had been bought up by the Vice Society and Constitutional Association, to further the purposes of those enlightened and humane bodies; and now when youth is passing away, desire cooling, and the “fifty fair maids” with whom he may “have kissed and prattled” are growing old, to cry out with Solomon at the end of the chapter, and not till the end of the chapter, “All is vanity.”

Not content with prostration at the shrine of intolerance, he turns knight-errant in defence of female chastity, and launches out a long acrimonious invective against Rousseau and Madame de Warens. (P. 125.) Now from Thomas Little this is a little too good! Don Juan preaching a sermon against incontinence, and consigning to eternal infamy a matronly lady for befriending a poor penniless boy, and for committing a few irregularities to save him from the effects of his own youth and indiscretion!—Spare, spare, gentle moralist! your indignation against actions which occasioned pain to no human being, and point it against those which are the cause of assignable mischief. Lash the male coquet, who excites hopes which he is predetermined to disappoint. Lash the male seducer, who for the sake of a moment's gratification does not hesitate to involve a whole family in protracted misery and disgrace. Thunder against the tyrants and bigots who would fetter our intellects, and despoil us of the fruits of our labours.—But let one benevolent old woman settle the account of her frailties before another tribunal.

In the stanzas on country dance and quadrille, we are surprised to find in Mr. Moore (an educated and travelled gentle-

man) a degree of petty nationality such as is now scarcely to be met with in a vulgar squire or more vulgar cockney. Undoubtedly the sympathies and associations of each individual will for the most part lead him to prefer the manners and habits of his own country; but the very variety of tastes which he must observe at home, might lead him to abstain from fostering a mass of hostility and prejudice against our fellow-men, for no better reason than the circumstance of their being born a few leagues from our own doors, and differing a little in their dress and pleasures.

Upon the whole, we deem the present the least interesting and impressive of all Mr. Moore's productions. We say this with no bitterness, and with no desire to occasion pain: he has still, as a poet, great powers; and if he will continue to exert his energies against the foes of improvement, and encourage us in the pursuit of the blessings of good government, he will be an object of interest more extensive and lasting, and of regard more cheering, whether for the middle or the close of life, than all he may have hitherto enjoyed in the blaze of drawing-rooms or the caresses of beauty.

With the following extract, which exhibits, if not a very vigorous, at least an accurate picture, and which we esteem the best piece in the present volume, we shall now conclude: —

Epitaph on a Lawyer.

Here lies a lawyer — one, whose mind
 (Like that of all the lawyer kind)
 Resembled, though so grave and stately,
 The pupil of a cat's eye greatly, —
 Which for the mousing deeds transacted
 In holes and corners is well fitted,
 But which, in sunshine, grows contracted,
 As if 'twould, — rather not admit it, —
 As if, in short, a man would quite
 Throw time away who tried to let in a
 Decent portion of God's light
 On lawyer's mind or pussy's retina.
 Hence when he took to politics,
 As a refreshing change of evil,
 Unfit with grand affairs to mix,
 His little nisi prius tricks,
 Like imps at bo-peep, play'd the devil;
 And proved that when a small law wit
 Of statesmanship attempts the trial,
 'Tis like a player on the kit,
 Put all at once to a bass viol.

Nay, ev'n when honest (which he could
 Be, now and then) still quibbling daily,
 He served his country as he would
 A client thief at *the* Old Bailey.
 But — do him justice — short and rare
 His wish through honest paths to roam ;
 Born with a taste for the unfair,
 Where falsehood call'd he still was there,
 And when least honest most at home.
 Thus shuffling, bullying, lying, creeping,
 He work'd his way up near the throne,
 And long before he took the keeping
 Of the king's conscience, lost his own.'

ART. III. *For the Oracles of God, Four Oration*s. *For Judgment to come, an Argument, in Nine Parts.* By the Rev. Edward Irving, M. A. London. T. Hamilton. 1823. 8vo. pp. 548.

WE are of opinion that Mr. Irving is a man of extraordinary talents; who, either from an undue hankering after premature fame, or from the solicitations, perhaps, of misjudging friends, has been induced to put forth a most unequal work.

So curiously indeed are the faults and beauties mixed up in the book now before us; so nice and accurate is the compensation given and received by each class; so much is there, on the one hand, of flowing and poetical language, of lofty thought, and, moreover, of just reasoning, while, on the other, there are such unequivocal specimens of expression the most vulgar, conceptions the most abortive, and logic the most pointless; that we must honestly declare, we know not in which scale the balance preponderates. We are aware that such an acknowledgment of fallibility as this which we now make, will seem a little odd to those who mark the first essays of public criticism; the positiveness of a reviewer being generally in the inverse ratio of his experience. But we are, nevertheless, constrained to repeat, upon this subject of the merits and faults of Mr. Irving, that we are utterly unable to decide upon the question of their relative magnitude. We believe both to be so great, that, had we tendered our evidence on a late important investigation*, the counsel on both sides would, by mutual consent, have rejected us.

In several of the objects which, as we gather from his preface, Mr. Irving chiefly proposed to himself in the composition of these sermons, we think that he has most signally failed; and that, whatever success may attend his preaching, if we are to

* Trial of the Rev. Edw. Irving. See the clever pamphlet with that title.

judge from the specimens contained in this volume, will be found to be of a different, though hardly less important kind, than that which the author seems principally to have had in view. Mr. Irving seems to have sat down to the work of composition with the purpose of writing to (or at) the literary, the imaginative, and the scientific among unbelievers; and intended either to bring over to his own standard all those classes of opponents, or, at any rate to neutralise the effects of their opposition, by stigmatising and depreciating them in the opinions of the people. Now in this we believe that he has failed; and, moreover, that if an angel from heaven had set about the same task in the same manner, he would have met with no greater success. For, really, the literary and scientific men of the present day are a stiff-necked generation, neither to be converted nor yet silenced by dint of indiscriminating invective; and we do marvel that any man should have lived to the age of Mr. Irving without perceiving, that the effect of undervaluing the pursuits of such men, of directly attacking their influence upon society (which, by the way, was never so powerful as it is at present), and of seeking to drive them violently, and all at once, out of the strong holds which they have built, could be no other than to provoke them into an active and formidable hostility. Instead of stealthily and gradually sealing up the hive—patiently stopping each particular chink—and carrying off his enemies while wrapt in darkness and sleep,—he has chosen to break in upon the honeycombs at mid-day, deranging the whole economy of the cells, and rousing the very drones to resent his unceremonious invasion.

If, therefore, it should be admitted, that this gentleman has been successful in disenchanting some minds from the influence of the wizards of literature and science; if he should have stopped up some ears against the voice of these “charmers, charm they never so wisely;”—we should still be inclined to doubt whether, upon the whole, the loss has not been greater than the gain. For, though the enemy have been driven out of some of his fortresses, he has been injudiciously exasperated into a degree of activity which may gain him many others. But, for our own part, we are disposed to believe that very little has been done even in this way. Among those classes of the people for whom Mr. Irving professedly writes, there are few individuals indeed who have not some literary or scientific attachments, and who are not, therefore, likely to receive, with more of anger than of submission, the general invectives which are found in the volume before us. With the single exception of Wordsworth and his disciples, we know of none who may not with reason complain of the contemptuous hostility with which they are here

assailed. Had Mr. Irving explained to his hearers the supreme importance of religion, without thinking it necessary to deviate, for the sake of contrast, into dissertations upon the unheavenly tendency of this poet's verses, or that reasoner's argumentation; had he contented himself with expounding St. Peter and St. Paul, without interweaving a running commentary upon Byron, Southey, and Moore; — his talents and his earnestness would have made more converts and fewer enemies.

In like manner, we must be permitted to doubt whether the reforms which Mr. Irving seems anxious to produce in the lives and discourses of his fellow ministers, are very likely to be brought about by the means which he has adopted for the purpose. Mr. Irving's own life, we have been informed, and believe, is characterised by zeal for the interests of religion, and by great and most praiseworthy efforts to promote them. His sermons, too, are full of earnestness, and certainly contain most of those qualities in which he asserts that the discourses of others are deficient. And we would ask any reasonable man, whether the personal example of this gentleman, in both these respects, is not likely to produce infinitely more effect upon the conduct and the sermons of his brethren, than any quantity of invective and sarcasm which his eloquence can heap upon them? In this, and in other points, Mr. Irving seems to have too little respect for the reasoning faculties of those with whom he has to deal; he insists upon blurting out every truth (supposing that all his charges are truths), instead of leaving any thing to be inferred, though the inference be never so easy and natural. The consequence has been, that his attacks upon science and literature have procured him the marked hostility of nearly every publication of the day; while we have reason to know, that, among his own brethren, there is hardly one, who does not retort (at least in private) the scorn with which he has been treated.

Let it not be supposed, that, in making these remarks, we are finding fault with the independence of thought and the fearlessness of speech, which so favourably characterise Mr. Irving. On the contrary, we are ready to give him the tribute of our admiration for his boldness, — qualified, nevertheless, by many doubts as to the extent of his discretion. Speaking in our own character, we applaud, instead of condemning, the conduct of any man who proclaims the existence of delusion or abuse: indeed it is a liberty of which we shall claim a large portion for ourselves. But, after all, the knife and cautery are only to be used now and then in desperate cases; and our complaint against Mr. Irving is, that he uses these when other specifics would be preferable. He is a Quixote, who holds all parley in

scorn; and rides, with lance couched, not only against ravishers and giants, but also against fulling-mills and flocks of sheep.

Having thus protested against the indiscretion which is sometimes observable in these discourses, we are now at liberty to say, that we think it nearly the heaviest charge which can be brought against Mr. Irving. We speak not of the composition of his sermons; but of the spirit in which they are written. Perhaps, however, we ought to say a little of a certain tone of dogmatism which shows itself oftener than we could wish, — an assumption of the character of Sir Oracle; which, in the first production of so young a man, and a man too whose reasoning powers are not the highest of his faculties, seems not a little injudicious. It will convince nobody, and it offends many. Such are the principal faults discernible in the sermons before us, so far as the manner and spirit are concerned; and, as we are sincerely desirous that the observations we are now making should have the effect rather of removing obstacles out of the way to this gentleman's future success, by furnishing him with some useful hints, than of creating any additional prejudice against him, we shall be heartily glad to find no material for any new criticism of this kind in the works which he may hereafter be induced to consign to the press.

We believe that, while it would be quite impossible for the most partial friend of Mr. Irving to assert that he has not the faults which we have imputed to him, it would be equally out of the power of his enemies to deny him the possession of many qualities which deserve and command approbation. There is about him so much of open sincerity and ardent zeal; so thorough a contempt for prejudice, however inveterate, and for fashion, however prevalent; so fixed a devotedness to the cause which he supports; such decision, in short, and such enthusiasm, as serve to remind us very forcibly of the early Scotch Reformers, and to produce in the mind, notwithstanding our suspicions of the occasional impolicy of his language, a very extraordinary degree of sympathy, respect, and admiration. From the bottom of our hearts we feel reverence for the man who can display so much of moral courage as we discern in Mr. Irving. Surrounded as he was at the time when these discourses were delivered, by the gay, the fashionable, and the selfish, he has not scrupled to bear his testimony to that equality, which, in like manner as it originally existed amongst men, finally awaits them. With ministers of state among his auditors, he hesitates not to speak of the excellence of civil liberty, and to refer with evident exultation to the times in our own history when it assumed even an aspect of republicanism. In the presence of literary men of all ranks

(whose power either as friends or as enemies, is, at this day, incalculable), he has denounced the allurements of literature, when they would seduce from the paths of religious duty. Throughout the whole book there is no such thing as equivocation or trimming; no paring down of principle to fit a particular standard; neither retraction nor qualification. It is Bourdaloue preaching to the court of Louis XIV.; or South haranguing the royal profligate of England; or the fearless apostle of the Gentiles addressing the heathens and sceptics of Athens.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add, that, in consequence of the qualities we have just referred to, the style of Mr. Irving is often exceedingly impressive. Indeed, we are persuaded that a selection might be made from this volume, furnishing a cento of brilliant and most forcible passages, which should be equal in strength, in warmth, and in all the qualities which commend themselves to the heart of man, to any similar collection which could be made from the same number of sermons of any divine, antiquated or modern. And here we cannot but express our grief, that, in consequence of the profusion with which Mr. Irving has scattered his metaphysical and argumentative passages (in which he shows no superiority, to say the least) over the surface of his work, the volume is likely to remain a sealed book to the great majority of readers. Just as a person new to the works of Jeremy Taylor is apt to be wearied and disgusted by the perpetual recurrence of quibbling theology, and insufferably heavy quotations from the Heathen and Christian writers of antiquity, though, if he will but persevere, he may meet with bursts of the truest eloquence in which heart ever spoke to heart; so in this tome of Mr. Irving's, any reader who is not bound, like an unlucky reviewer, to read a book through, will feel his patience give way under the piles of clumsy argument, and will hardly take pains to cull out the pearls which might every now and then be found imbedded amongst them. Indeed, the universal complaint is, that the book is not readable, and we are compelled, from our own painful experience in travelling through it, to acknowledge that there is but too much justice in the imputation.

We shall not meddle at all with Mr. Irving's theology, which we suspect to be, in some points, nearly peculiar to himself. We have not looked at this volume with any view of discovering its doctrinal merits or demerits, but almost exclusively with the purpose of determining its literary character. The preceding observations have forced themselves upon us in the perusal, and we have thought it not amiss to lay them before our

readers, because we think they may serve, in some measure, to account for that host of critical prejudices with which the reputation of Mr. Irving has hitherto had to struggle. In consequence of those prejudices, the bad and questionable passages in this work are a great deal better known to the public, than those which are of an opposite description; and, for that reason, we shall confine ourselves, in the few extracts we have to make, almost exclusively to the favourable specimens of these discourses. The bombast, the foolish quaintnesses, the puerile conceits, and the lame and incongruous figures in which the volume abounds, have been already laid before the public in every possible shape; and we shall content ourselves with referring our readers, for the faults of Mr. Irving, to the thousand and one publications in which they have been zealously and carefully set forth. For what could we, who unfortunately bring up the rear of criticism upon this subject, and who are compelled to fall on Mr. Irving when every critical tooth in the nation has been fleshed upon him already, — what could we say, more than has been said over and over again, in condemnation of the many sins against grammar, good English, and good taste, which are to be found in this variegated volume? Why should we renew the outcry against “the flinty heart which strikes its fangs into its own proper bosom” (p. 63.); or “the stumblingblock of a mistaken paltriness, cast between enlightened men and the cross of Christ” (p. 24.); or “the platform of our being, erected upon the new condition of probation, different from that of all known existences?” or against the syntax, taste, and sense of the assertion, that “masterful men, or the masterful current of opinion, hath ploughed with the word of God, and the fruit has been to inveigle the mind into the exclusive admiration of some few truths, which being planted in the belief, and sacrificed to in all religious expositions and discourses, have become popular idols, which frown heresy and excommunication upon all who dare stand for the unadulterated, uncurtailed testimony?” (p. 41.) Ours shall be the more novel, and really more agreeable task, of pointing out some of the matter which may justify Mr. Irving's extraordinary popularity as a preacher, and warrant the hope that, with ample pruning and much caution, he may hereafter become a really eloquent divine.

The following is the opening passage to the volume; with the exception of the two last sentences, we think there is a great deal of simplicity and beauty in it:—

‘ There was a time when each revelation of the word of God had an introduction into this earth which neither permitted men to doubt whence it came, nor wherefore it was sent. If, at the giving

of each several truth, a star was not lighted up in heaven, as at the birth of the Prince of Truth, there was done upon the earth a wonder, to make her children listen to the message of their Maker. The Almighty made bare his arm; and, through mighty acts shown by his holy servants, gave demonstration of his truth, and found for it a sure place among the other matters of human knowledge and belief.

‘ But now the miracles of God have ceased, and nature, secure and unmolested, is no longer called on for testimonies to her Creator’s voice. No burning bush draws the footsteps to his presence chamber; no invisible voice holds the ear awake; no hand cometh forth from the obscure to write his purposes in letters of flame. The vision is shut up, and the testimony is sealed, and the word of the Lord is ended; and this solitary volume, with its chapters and verses, is the sum total of all for which the chariot of heaven made so many visits to the earth, and the Son of God himself tabernacled and dwelt among us.

‘ The truth which it contains once dwelt undivulged in the bosom of God: and, on coming forth to take its place among things revealed, the heavens and the earth, and nature through all her chambers, gave it reverent welcome. Beyond what it reveals, the mysteries of the future are unknown. To gain it acceptance and currency the noble company of martyrs testified unto the death. The general assembly of the first-born in heaven made it the day-star of their hopes, and the pavilion of their peace. Its every sentence is charmed with the power of God, and powerful to the everlasting salvation of souls.’ pp. 1, 2.

In the same chaste and simple style is the following, which we quote chiefly on account of the very beautiful tribute to the memory of a true and warm-hearted poet with which the passage concludes: —

‘ The constitution described in the two last divisions of this argument, is alone equal to this restoration of the lower classes from their brutal apathy to what is noble, and their brutal excess in what is sensual. For, as we have seen, it addresseth every good and generous feeling within the breast, and prompts it into activity by every inducement. Then from the personal it proceeds to watch over the social principle, regulating all the relationships of life with tenderness and affection; planting love in families, mutual respect among the ranks of life, and disinterested attention to the wellbeing of all. It awakens spiritual tastes, and refreshes the mind with divine sentiments, and introduceth to virtuous company. It casteth a restraint upon every wicked propensity, and putteth a divine economy through all one’s affairs; and by all these influences works over a community the most complete of all reformations. For what is a community but a number of fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, masters and servants, governors and governed? And if each of these is held to his office by a wise and powerful authority, made to love it and delight in it, what is wanting to the wellbeing of that community? Religion would also bring back with it all the social and generous

virtues which once dwelt within the land, and restore the efflorescence of happiness which hath almost faded away. It would wipe away the disgustful scenes into which their irrepressible freedom hurries the people. Sobriety, and economy, and domestic peace, it would plant in the families of the most dejected. The industry of parents would thrive under the blessing of God and the expectation of everlasting rest. The children would be trained in the fear of God ; the young men would be strong in self-command ; the young maidens clothed in modesty, and chastity, and a divine gracefulness. Servants would be faithful and masters kind ; and within every cottage of the land would be realized that bower of innocency and paradise of religious content, which our sorely tried, and, alas ! too yielding poet, hath sung in his "Cotter's Saturday Night ;" thereby redeeming half his frailties, and making the cause of religion his debtor — a debt, it seems to me, which the religious have little thought of in their persecution of his name, and cruel exposure of all his faults.' pp. 234, 235.

We shall now give a few lines from one of those questionable passages, from which both the friends and the enemies of Mr. Irving have professed to derive support for their respective opinions of his eloquence. The earlier part we acknowledge to be desperately bad ; but in the short extract which we subjoin, there appears to us to be a good deal of likeness to the manner of Jeremy Taylor. There is all the eloquent amplification which so much distinguishes that admirable writer, mixed with some of his faults. Upon the theology of the passage we have no remark to offer. Mr. Irving is speaking of the approach of the judgment day, and of the horrors which it will bring to the impenitent : —

' And the gay glory of time shall depart ; and sportful liberty shall be bound for ever in the chain of obdurate necessity. The green earth, with all her blooming beauty and bowers of peacc, shall depart. The morning and evening salutations of kinsmen shall depart ; and the ever-welcome voice of friendship, and the tender whispering of full-hearted affection, shall depart, for the sad discord of weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. And the tender names of children, father and mother, wife and husband, with the communion of domestic love and mutual affection, and the inward touches of natural instinct, — which family compact, when undivided by discord, wraps the live-long day into one swell of tender emotion, making earth's lowly scenes worthy of heaven itself : — all, all shall pass away ; and instead shall come the level lake that burneth, and the solitary dungeon, and the desolate bosom, and the throes and tossings of horror and hopelessness, and the worm that dieth not, and the fire that is not quenched.' pp. 63, 64.

We remember nothing which appears to us more excellent in its kind, than the following little extract : —

‘ Oh, how shall I speak of this unutterable glory, who am a man of unclean lips, and of a deceitful and defiled heart, and have nowhere to gather illustration save this unhappy and unrighteous world! You have felt, or you have seen, the wrapt (rapt) enjoyment of an aged sire, making a round of his children in their several homes, beholding them blooming and rejoicing in the favour of the Lord, with their little ones encircling them like the shoots of the tender vine.’ No discords to heal, no sorrows to assuage, no misfortunes to lament in all that have sprung of his loins. What an emotion of paternal glory and pious thankfulness fills his breast! He looks round upon the numerous and happy flock, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, and the tear silently fills his eye, which he lifts to heaven, the seat of God, with a look that would say, Thou hast dealt bountifully with thy servant; now let him depart in peace. One such sight makes a parent forget the care and labour of a long life; one such emotion puts to flight all the fears and forebodings of a parent’s heart, — his soul is satisfied, the measure of his joy is full.’ p. 184.

Where, again, shall we find a spirit of truer eloquence — of that eloquence which makes its way directly to the heart, and dwells there long after the voice of the speaker has ceased to vibrate on the ear, — than in the following most successful passage! —

‘ Let us then contemplate what sustains the spirit of a man under the removal of those things upon which his desire is set here below, that we may gather what will support his soul when bereaved of all its corporeal possessions and enjoyments. When a beloved object is removed, there is for a season within the soul a sense of emptiness, as if really a part of herself had been torn away. Into this empty chamber she retireth to dwell alone. Engagements, and pleasures, and discourse of friends, are for a while foregone. Inaction of body, abstraction of mind, a fixed eye, and a sealed spirit, go with us, and cleave unto us like our shadow. “ Farewell the tranquil mind! Farewell content!” But by degrees nature recovers from the blow which had stunned her powers, and then her first employment is to look back into the annals of the past, when her delight was with the departed object of her love; and if she finds that she had treated it well, that she had honoured it in the highest place, and made of it the most account; that its memory is associated with duties performed, and kind offices discharged; that she can ruminare upon virtuous, and innocent, and happy intercourse, and discourse with contentment and gratification of all that passed between them; that there is no invasion of repentance nor remorse, for arrears of love unpaid, or overtures of advantage unaccepted: then she hath a consolation, and to memory she fleeth as to a city of refuge. The object gone getteth a second life, it liveth in those parts of the mind which dwell with the past; in the seasons of stillness it cometh up and keepeth us company, it riseth up like a spirit in the places where we sojourned together, it cometh to us in visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon man, invested with those same attributes of love and joy which it wore towards us in our earthly converse, and which it

weareth still in the converse of memory. But besides living with the past, it liveth also with the present, in the affections which it cultivated, in the good habits which it strengthened, and the good interests which it hath secured: when we rejoice over the good and worthy part of our nature, it shareth in our joy; and when we pursue the honourable paths to which it accompanied us once, it accompanieth us still; and when we tend alone the cares to which it once gave us aid, we reflect upon its counsels and walk in its footsteps. An object therefore which hath been rightly used continues to have a share of the happy, holy parts of our life, and is as it were only cut off from the senses, but to the spirit is present as before. To these two we join, if it be possible, the anticipation of beholding it again — we seek to give it a life in those parts of the soul which hold converse with the future: and it is unspeakable the consolation which comes from any shadow of hope in this direction. This poureth life anew into the chambers of death, and eternity into the moulds of time. Death loseth his sting, and the grave her victory, and mortality is swallowed up in life. We seem to hear the departed spirit inviting us to come and be joined to its fellowship, to hasten and come unto our rest. Death is a journey from friends to friends, life a visit amongst friends, and death a return to our friends.' pp. 301—303.

Equally meritorious in its way is the eloquent argumentation of the following paragraphs. It will be observed, that we vary these extracts as much as possible, so as to afford our readers an opportunity of judging as to the diversity of Mr. Irving's powers: —

' If, then, the truth of God's presence and presidency in our worldly affairs find for itself universal belief amongst Christians, though resting upon Revelation alone, and having no foundation either in sight or perception; upon what plea will they reject the doctrine of the Spirit's presence and presidency in the great world of grace, if it be found revealed with the same distinctness? There ought therefore to be no preliminary objection taken to it upon the grounds of its not being perceptible, but the Scriptures should be searched whether it be so or not.

' Rather, upon the other hand, because it is not perceptible, we should entertain it as more akin to the other operations of the invisible God. For, exalting your thoughts a little, conceive the ways of God; look abroad over the world, and what do you behold? — Noiseless nature putting forth her buds, and drinking the milk of her existence from the distant sun. Where is God? he is not seen, he is not heard: — where is the sound of his footsteps — where the rushing of his chariot wheels — where is his storehouse for this inhabited earth — where are the germs of future plants, the juices of future fruits — and where is the hand dividing its portion to every living thing, and filling their hearts with life and joy? Lift your thoughts a little higher; behold the sun, — doth he, when preparing to run his race, shake himself like a strong man after sleep, and make a rustling noise, and lift up his voice to God for a renewal of his ex-

hausted strength? Doth the pale-faced and modest moon, which cometh forth in the season of the night, make music in the still silence to her Maker's praise? Do the stars in their several spheres tell to mortal sense the wondrous stories of their births? Again, turn your thoughts inward upon yourselves, and say if your manly strength did grow out of infant helplessness with busy preparations and noisy workmanship, as the chiseled form of man groweth out of the quarried stone? In the still evening, when you lay you down wearied and worn out, doth your strength return during the watches of the sleepy and unconscious night by noise and trouble, as a worn-out machine is refitted by the cunning workman? Tell me how intelligence grows upon the unconscious babe; where are the avenues of knowledge, and by what method doth it fix itself?' pp. 486—488.

It is pretty evident, from the foregoing specimens, that this gentleman has infinitely greater powers of eloquence, than his critics have generally been disposed to allow him; and greater, perhaps, than some of his admirers may hitherto have suspected. Many of the latter, indeed, when called upon to point out the beauties in this volume—the green spots in the desert—have adduced passages which possess no extraordinary merit, as the very best which the volume will supply. Perhaps among those which have been frequently quoted, the following is one of the least exceptionable; though in our minds, the picture is by no means well-finished. Some persons, however, for whose opinions we have much respect, think differently; and we shall on that account, and because the passage furnishes a specimen of Mr. Irving's narrative and descriptive talent, give it a place among our extracts:—

' Perhaps the best way of making this experiment is to look upon the last hours of the condemned. There are no practical despisers of death like those who touch, and taste, and handle death daily, by daily committing capital offences. They make a jest of death: all its forms, and all its terrors, are in their mouths a scorn. Now it hath been my lot to attend on the condemned cells of prisoners, and to note the effects when they were kept cool in body and in mind, and saw that enemy at hand whom they affected to despise when at a distance; and in the North we have a better opportunity of making this painful observation, seeing weeks, not days, intervene between sentence and execution. Now this is the fact: that, first of all, death in sight hath such a terrible aspect, that they make every effort to escape him. If there be one ray of hope, it is entertained with the whole soul. All friends are importuned; every channel of interest beset; and a reprieve is sought by every argument and entreaty. Some have lived such a life of enormity, and are enveloped in such a cloud of brutal ignorance, that they die without care, and run the risk of another world, if there be one. But this is not frequent. The greater number abandon their untenable position of hardihood, and

seek a shelter when the terrible storm hurtleth in the heavens, and they see its dismal preparation. I know how it is, for I have watched all the night and all the morning in their cells, and walked with them to the drop; and one only I have found whose heart would not yield; and when I took his hand it was cold and clammy, and ever and anon there shot a shiver through his frame, and again resolution braced him up, and again the convulsive throb of nature shot thrilling to the extremities, which testified the strife of nature within.' pp. 534, 535.

We ought to give an example of the manner in which Mr. Irving inveighs against the follies and vices of the day, inasmuch as we believe that to his efforts of this kind he owes a large share of his popularity. The following is one of the best instances that we can find. More of the author's occasional quaintness is discernible in this extract, than in any of those which have been already given. The latter paragraph, however, is written with much force and truth:—

' There be those who confound the foresight of death with a fearfulness of death, and talk of meeting death like brave men; and there be institutions in human society which seem made on purpose to hinder the thoughts of death from coming timeously before the deliberation of the mind. And they who die in war, be they ever so dissipated, abandoned, and wretched, have oft a halo of everlasting glory arrayed by poetry and music around their heads; and the forlorn hope of any enterprise goeth (go) to their terrible post amidst the applauding shouts of all their comrades. And "to die game," is a brutal form of speech which they are now proud to apply to men. And our prize-fights, where they go plunging upon the edge of eternity, and often plunge through, are applauded by tens of thousands, just in proportion as the bull-dog quality of the human creature carries it over every other. And to run hair-breadth escapes, to graze the grass that skirts the grave, and escape the yawning pit, the impious, daring wretches call cheating the devil; and the watch-word of your dissolute, debauched people is, "A short life and a merry one." All which tribes of reckless, godless people lift loud the laugh against the saints, as a sickly, timorous crew, who have no upright gait in life, but are always cringing under apprehensions of death and the devil. And these bravos think they play the man in spurning God and his concerns away from their places; that there would be no chivalry, nor gallantry, nor battle-brunt in the temper of man, were he to stand in awe of the sequel which followeth death. And thus the devil hath built up a strong embattled tower, from which he lordeth it over the spirits of many men, winning them over to himself, playing them off for his sport, in utter darkness all their life long, till in the end they take a leap in the dark, and plunge into his yawning pit, never, never to rise again.

' I would try these flush and flashy spirits with their own weapons, and play a little with them at their own game. They do but prate about their exploits at fighting, drinking, and death-despising. I can

tell them of those who fought with savage beasts; yea, of maidens who durst enter as coolly as a modern bully into the ring, to take their chance with infuriated beasts of prey; and I can tell them of those who drank the molten lead as cheerfully as they do the juice of the grape, and handled the red fire, and played with the bickering flames as gaily as they do with love's dimples or woman's amorous tresses. And what do they talk of war? Have they forgot Cromwell's iron band, who made their chivalry to skip? or the Scots Cameronians, who seven times, with their Christian chief, received the thanks of Marlborough, that first of English captains? or Gustavus of the North, whose camp sung psalms in every tent? It is not so long, that they should forget Nelson's Methodists, who were the most trusted of that hero's crew. Poor men! they know nothing who do not know, out of their country's history, who it was that set at nought the wilfulness of Henry VIII. and the sharp rage of the virgin queen against liberty, and bore the black cruelty of her popish sister; and presented the petition of rights, and the bill of rights, and the claim of rights. Was it chivalry? was it blind bravery? No: these second-rate qualities may do for a pitched field, or a fenced ring; but when it comes to death or liberty, death or virtue, death or religion, they wax dubious, generally bow their necks under hardship, or turn their backs for a bait of honour, or a mess of solid and substantial meat.' pp. 526—528.

We had nearly overlooked a few lines which we find in an earlier part of the volume, and which we should have been sorry to omit, as they appear to us to possess great merit. The figure which they contain, though certainly not very new, is extremely well chosen, and, moreover, very consistently supported throughout the passage:—

' But while the press is free (which may it for ever remain!) it will send forth its host of intellectual messengers, as evening sendeth forth her constellations to rule over the darkness of the night. And as astrology believeth of the stars which come forth at even-tide, these messengers of intellectual light do, without a fable, shed various influence over the lives and fortunes of man:—some, like the martial planet, stirring him to strife; some melting him to tender love, some rousing him to gay and jovial moods, and some foredooming him to the saturnine fates of melancholy and misfortune. Likewise, as in the starry firmament there is but one blessed light which hath in it any steady guidance to the lost wanderer or the sea-faring voyager, so amongst those various lights in the firmament of mind, there is but the solitary light of religion which hath in it any consolation or direction to guide the soul of man as it fareth through the perilous gulf of death onward to eternity. Therefore from the press there should at all times issue forth, amidst its teeming company, some forms of religious truth, to guide the course of those who are ever influenced by its novelties.' p. 431.

In our last extract from this work we shall enable our readers to form a judgment of the plainness and earnestness with which

the preacher frequently exhorts his hearers; a kind of mixture, as it appears to us, of the peculiarities of the early Scotch preachers, and those of our own antiquated divines. We have nevertheless to protest against the words which we have printed in Italics, and to express our inability to comprehend what Mr. Irving means by "the theological love of childhood." Upon the whole, however, the passage is a very favourable specimen of the volume: —

' Have ye the conscience to think, brethren, that for this neglect an occasional visit to the church catechism of a Sabbath night will compensate? or can you believe that certain words lying dormant in the memory during the years of budding manhood will operate like an eastern talisman, or a catholic scapular, against the encounter of evil? Why should the wounded prejudices of any man wince while thus we speak, as if it were not God's truth we spoke? Have we not the experience within ourselves, of having been mastered by this world's ambitious schools, albeit not untutored in the *theological love of childhood*, and have ye not the same experience? Feel ye not, when ye would set your hearts in order before the Lord, that they are all like an unweeded garden, and that you have to begin by tearing and lacerating *the loves, admirations, and proprieties which in early life cast their seducements over you*, without note of warning from parents, or from the books in which your parents and your masters schooled you? Take heed, then, and resist the evil in its first beginning. Give the enemy the spring season, and you generally give him the summer, the autumn, and the winter of life, with all eternity to boot; but tutor your children in the institutions of God, with a constant watchfulness and a patient perseverance, beginning with restraint, then with soft persuasion leading on, then with arguments of duty and interest confirming; and in the end, habit, which at first is adverse, will turn propitious, and the blessing of God, promised to the right training of children, will keep them from leaving his paths when they are old.' pp. 60, 61.

The extracts which we have now made from this work will have afforded our readers some notions of the excellences with which it abounds. We do not give the passages we have quoted as the best; but they are those which were most available for our purpose. Many of Mr. Irving's very good things are so involved in obscurity, so completely enveloped in objectionable matter of all kinds, that we should have found great difficulty in separating the pure metal from the dross, without doing a good deal of violence to the train of the preacher's thoughts. But as it has been our chief object to show that this volume is really not destitute of merit, and as we believe that that point is satisfactorily established by the quotations now made; we shall not stay to enquire whether we could have demonstrated our proposition in a different method.

In wading through these sermons, we have been repeatedly struck with the very strong resemblance which exists between Mr. Irving and some of our earliest divines, especially those of the puritan school, not only in thought and manner, but even down to their peculiarities of language. One large portion of this book is occupied with a series of discourses upon the final judgment which awaits mankind: in the course of this dissertation, we meet with a number of very striking pictures of the scenes which the preacher anticipates. There is a considerable similarity, of course, discoverable in these several descriptions; but we will venture to say, that Mr. Irving is not more like himself in any one assignable instance, than he is like one of the old preachers who flourished during the time of the English commonwealth. In a sermon by Thomas Reeve, printed in 1657, we find a passage which it would puzzle those best acquainted with Mr. Irving to distinguish in style, in quaintness, and in force, from many of those which are to be found in the volume before us. The passage is short, and we give it, that our readers may form a comparison for themselves: —

‘ Oh how is the world potentate-struck! Grandee-enchanted! We are only waiting at man's heels, listening to the thunder-claps of his lips, fearing his cold irons, and strangling gibbets. But hath not man his equal? Yes; though man do swell upon the thought of his high deserts, (and great is the haughtiness of this Achillean race,) yet man doth but stand upon the lower ground,— he is but an inferior; for wipe thine eyes, chafe thy temples, expostulate with reason, awaken conscience, and see if man be the object to whom all thy regard and reverence ought to be limited. No; if thou canst lift up thine eyelids, pry into the heavens, and behold afar off that great tribunal where thy last account must pass, thou wilt say thou hast mistaken thy awe, misplaced thy dread. For let there be never such trembudoes below, yet this earth hath not the face of authority which thou oughtest to stoop unto; no, there is One higher than the highest. It is a dangerous thing to fall under man's displeasure, but it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the ever-living God. What are man's fetters to God's chains of darkness? man's executioners to infernal fiends? man's vengeance-corners to God's tormenting tophet? Fear not them then that can kill the body and can go no further, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell fire. Let summoning and sentencing man go, and tremble thou at the judging and cursing God.’ — *God's Plea for Nineveh*.

We have now done with this book. But, ere we part with Mr. Irving, he must permit us to offer, with great sincerity, one or two hints which may be beneficial to him, and which we really must tender, whether he will accept them or not, in

discharge of our own conscience. We beg him to understand that in doing so, we have at heart not only the interests of his reputation, but also his success as a preacher. In the first place, then, we protest against his further indulgence of that notion which has evidently taken possession of him, that he is most successful in argumentation; and though we know that a Scotchman is likely to resent any imputation upon his logic, or his metaphysics, we are bound to say that we think the logical and metaphysical parts of his volume incomparably the worst. Mr. Irving himself has very truly remarked, that one of the provinces of the Christian preacher, and perhaps the most important, so long as there are Christian writers and reasoners out of doors, is that of affecting the heart by faithful and vivid pictures of human life, its various courses, and their several consequences — by a plain and benevolent exposition of the principles of religion, and by earnest, simple, and energetic exhortations. In all these respects, we know of no man more qualified than Mr. Irving to become a successful preacher. In the next place, we do beseech him to lay aside a few (if he cannot part with all), of those startling peculiarities of diction, which are calculated to produce a most unfortunate effect, when it is the object of the preacher to make his hearer or reader serious. Above all, we entreat him to desist from those attacks upon other men, their doctrines, prejudices, and conduct, which being enforced by no reasoning, can produce nothing but dissatisfaction, without any intermixture of benefit.

For our own part, we think there is much both to be hoped and feared for Mr. Irving's future reputation. We are afraid, that while this whole metropolis has been agitated by his popularity, the head of the preacher himself can scarcely have escaped from the intoxicating influence of public adulation. But we firmly believe, that not more surely will the year upon which we are now entering come to a close, than will the fame of Mr. Irving, unless he shall exercise much greater watchfulness over himself, than any which we can trace in this volume. So long, indeed, as fashion shall countenance him, and rank and beauty shall rendezvous in Cross-street, as at the opera, or in the park; so long as it shall be deemed an exploit to get into the Caledonian church, without loss of life or limb; and so long as there shall remain persons, who, having had their curiosity once excited with respect to this novelty, have not yet had the opportunity of gratifying it; — so long, and no longer, will the fame of the preacher endure, if he shall neglect to put in, ere it is too late, less questionable claims to public approbation. But if, on the

other hand, he will cultivate with assiduity the talents which he has been so largely gifted with — if he will throw aside clap-trap, and study the effect which may be produced by sincerity, simplicity, and earnestness — if he will trust more to nature, and less to the effect of meretricious art, — we venture to affirm that Mr. Irving, besides effecting incomparably more good as a religious orator in his own day, may hereafter rank among the most distinguished ornaments of our national literature.

ART. IV. *Chrestomathia* : being a Collection of Papers explanatory of the Design of an Institution proposed to be set on foot under the Name of the Chrestomathia Day School, or Chrestomathia School, for the Extension of the New System of Instruction to the higher Branches of Learning. For the Use of the middling and higher Ranks in Life. By Jeremy Bentham, Esq. Payne and Foss. 1816.

Public Education : a Plan for the Government and liberal Instruction of Boys in large Numbers ; drawn from Experience. 1822.

THE object of education is twofold ; to point out those objects in nature which are most important to be known, and those principles in conduct which are most proper to be observed ; to teach what it is most useful to know, and what it is most conducive to happiness to do : hence, education is intellectual and moral. There exists a vast treasure of facts which the observation and experience of mankind have accumulated : it is the business of education to communicate a knowledge of these facts ; and it is in the power of an able teacher to communicate in an hour what it required the labour of years to acquire ; to show at once results which were not obtained without the most complicated and skilful processes ; and to exhibit those results free from the obscurity, imperfection, and error, in which they were at first involved, and for the removal of which the calm and persevering attention of the most powerful minds was necessary. It has often been said, that the brevity of man's life, in consequence of which he is removed from the scene of observation and experiment as soon as his faculties are developed, and he has acquired so much elementary knowledge as would enable him to pursue his investigation with advantage, must for ever keep the human mind in a state of infancy ; and it would be so, did the minds that quit the scene leave behind them no trace of their progress, no results of their labour ; but they do not thus utterly perish. Education feeds the infancy of succeeding minds with the fruits produced by the strength of the maturity of those that preceded : whence the for-

mer not only acquire an earlier and greater vigour, but start forward in their career from the point at which their predecessors stopped, with the acuteness of the youthful sense, and the ardour inspired by the feeling of the freshness and energy of their powers. Thus, by means of education, that law which would otherwise have been fatal to the improvement of the human mind in knowledge and virtue, becomes the very source whence it is supplied with inexhaustible vigour.

But education has not hitherto accomplished the wonders it is capable of producing. The mode adopted in working the machine has deprived it in an incalculable measure of its power. We are but beginning to see the stupendous results which benevolence, enlightened by science, may obtain from it. We perfectly agree with the author of *Public Education*, "that it is one thing to have learned, and another to be able to teach; that it is possible to possess vast stores of knowledge without being able to impart them, even to the willing and anxious pupil; and that to fix the volatile, stimulate the sluggish, and overcome the obstinate, demands an acquaintance with the human mind not quite innate, nor likely to be gained without some experience." It was not possible indeed that a proper method of instruction should have been adopted, until the arts and sciences had been brought to a tolerable degree of perfection, and a very considerable progress had been made in the knowledge of the human mind; because that method could have been the result only of a generalization of all the knowledge which was accumulated, or a deduction of general principles from particular facts, and adaptation of those principles to the principles of the human mind. Yet considering the progress actually made in art, in science, and even in the philosophy of the mind, the adoption of a scientific method of instruction has been later than could have been anticipated, and than can well be explained. Both in the selection of subjects to be taught, and in the mode of teaching them which has been perpetuated even to the present day, there is exemplified a most extraordinary ignorance of the very elements of rational instruction. Ingulphus, an Englishman, who flourished as an ecclesiastic and historian in the reign of Edward the Confessor, speaks of having been educated first at Westminster, and afterwards at Oxford. On this narrative, Mr. Harris remarks, that Westminister and Oxford seem to have been destined to the same purpose then as now; that the scholar at Westminister was to begin, and at Oxford was to finish: "A plan of education," continues he, "which still exists, which is not easy to be mended, and which can plead so ancient and so uninterrupted a prescription." Now this "plan of education" consisted of little

more than teaching Latin and Greek: at least, whatever else was comprehended in it was made completely subservient to the acquisition of those languages, and the whole course was adapted only to the education of churchmen. When this plan was first instituted there was some reason for it. At that period the Greek and Latin languages contained all the knowledge which the observation and experience of mankind had yet accumulated. Of science, properly so called, nothing was known, and therefore nothing could be taught; at any rate, the little which existed was to be found in the ancient languages, and churchmen were the only persons in the community who had the least pretension to learning. But that this plan should be continued in the present age, when the Greek and Latin languages do not contain a thousandth part of the information which ought to be communicated, whether the importance of that information be estimated by its extent or value, is sufficiently extraordinary. Yet hitherto there has been no medium between studying language as the principal object of education, and as part of a course calculated only for the cultivation of the learned professions, and receiving no education at all. No plan of instruction has been adopted for those who are to be engaged in the active business of life. A gentleman who might happen to have no desire to be a scholar, must have gone without any instruction whatever; and the merchant to whom it might not be convenient to wade through "tremendous Lilly," has been doomed to enter the counting-house with little further acquaintance with the treasures of knowledge than could be acquired by "poring into the mysteries of long division with a dirty slate before him and the *frustrum* of a pencil in his fingers, heaping one set of figures upon the ghosts of their predecessors." It is no less true than lamentable, that hitherto the education proper for civil and active life has been neglected; that nothing has been done to enable those who are actually to conduct the affairs of the world, to carry them on in a manner worthy of the age and country in which they live, by communicating to them the knowledge and the spirit of their age and country; that there has been no access for any man to the temple of science but through the gate of language, and that the only key to it have been the Westminster and Eton grammars.

The evil of this unfortunate restriction in the range of subjects, great as it is, would be comparatively small, were it not for the method of teaching them which is still adopted, which has descended from the dark ages, and of which those execrable grammars afford a specimen. We do not apply to these grammars the word "execrable" without designing to excite against

them, in the mind of the reader, the deepest feelings of contempt and detestation which have ever been associated with that term. It is an utter disgrace to our age and country that these books should still be tolerated as the medium of initiation into the Latin language. We shall be much mistaken if we do not make it evident that the mischief produced by the ignorance or supineness of those who perpetuate the absurdity is most serious. Yet before we proceed, we are anxious to guard against being misunderstood. We are by no means unfriendly to the cultivation of classical literature; we think a comprehensive and unprejudiced consideration both of its intrinsic worth, and of its relative importance, will invariably terminate in the conviction, that it is of great value, especially as a means of exercising the intellectual faculties, and as conducive to the formation of a pure and correct taste: to a gentleman it is highly ornamental; to a member of the learned professions it is indispensable: but we object altogether to the mode in which it is taught; we object still more to the space which it is allowed to occupy in the common course of instruction; and we object to its forming any part of the education of a very important class of the community, to whom, at least as it is at present communicated, experience proves it to be utterly useless.

Mr. Edgeworth, in imploring the assistance of some able and friendly hand to reform the present generation of grammars and school-books, asks, whether it be indispensably necessary that a boy as an initiatory lesson should learn by rote that "relative sentences are independent; *i. e.* no word in a relative sentence is governed either of verb or adjective that stands in another sentence, or depends upon any appurtenances of the relative; and that the English word *that* is always a relative when it may be turned into *which* in good sense, which must be tried by reading over the English sentence *warily*, and judging how the sentence will bear it; but when it cannot be altered *salvo sensu*, it is a conjunction." This, to be sure, is sufficiently appalling. What is the understanding of a child to make of such obscure and barbarous language, one principal object of studying which, be it remembered, is to enable him to form an elegant style? But what is this, compared to the absurdity of making a boy learn Latin in the Latin language itself! Of all the follies that ever entered into the mind of man, surely this is equalled by none. It is to require a perfect knowledge of an unknown language, in order to learn the rudiments of it. Let us see how this method operates when it is reduced to practice: let us take for an example the Eton grammar, which is generally considered the most simple and the

best arranged. In this grammar, as soon as the boy has got through his accidence, he is put to learn the following far-famed rule:—

“ *Propria, quæ maribus tribuuntur, mascula dicas :
Ut sunt divorum ; Mars, Bacchus, Apollo : virorum ;
Ut, Cato, Virgilius.*”

It must be borne in mind, that as yet the child knows nothing of construing; in order to prepare him for this, he has been learning the declensions of nouns, the conjugation of verbs, and so on: he is now to be taught the genders of nouns; and to construe the very first rule which is to give him any information on this subject, he must possess a knowledge of the Latin language not to be obtained, as is universally acknowledged, in common schools in two or three years, and often not really acquired in six. The second rule is of the same description.

“ *Propria fæmineum referentia nomina sexum
Fæmineo generi tribuuntur : sive dearum
Sunt ; ut, Juno, Venus : mulierum ; ceu, Anna, Philotis,*” &c.

Can any thing be better calculated to confound the understanding of a child, and to place in his way at the very threshold insuperable difficulties? But it will be said, a translation of these rules is given. A translation is indeed given, and then the lesson to be learned is as follows: “ *Propria*, proper names; *quæ*, which; *tribuuntur*, are attributed; *maribus*, to the male kind; *dicas*, you may call; *mascula*, masculine; *ut*, as; *sunt*, are; *divorum*, the names of the heathen gods; *Mars*, the god of war; *Bacchus*, the god of wine; *Apollo*, the god of wisdom; *virorum*, the names of men; *ut*, as; *Cato*, a noble Roman; *Virgilius*, the poet Virgil.” And this is the apparatus adopted to teach the profound and mysterious truth, that males are of the masculine and females of the feminine gender. Can any thing be more easy than to teach a child these rules in the simplest words of his native tongue? By the method here adopted, not only is the construction of the rule the most intricate, and the words in which it is expressed the most varied, but to understand it in the least degree, requires such a previous acquaintance with the Latin syntax, which the scholar does not begin to learn till he has finished forty-seven pages in the same style, that it should seem expressly designed to impede his progress and to produce an utter disgust with his studies. “Totally incapable of analyzing or translating otherwise than by rote the first sentence of his initiatory lesson, he is led to rest in the use of his memory, and is unaccustomed to, and discouraged from the exercise of his understanding, even when in the prosecution of his studies he

comes to tasks which are level to his comprehension. And after he does arrive at the syntax, there are eighty-one more pages (including construing) in a similar style." *

• And the syntax itself, the manner in which that is taught is equally, and, if possible, even more absurd. Almost all the rules anticipate future rules not yet learned, or embrace preceding rules not understood. The application of the rule often requires a previous knowledge of all the words in the context, and of all the rules under which they come; but with none of these is the learner familiar, and the words themselves are in the very language which it is his business to learn: yet these rules, in the order in which they occur in the grammar, in the unknown tongue which he is to acquire, the boy must learn *memoriter*. Take, for instance, the first example in the first concord.

“ Sera nunquam est ad bonos mores via.”

In this first example the nominative is thrown behind the verb at a distance from it; but what shall be said of the number of rules anticipated in another example under this first rule?

*“ Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.”*

By such initiatory lessons, what special pains appear to be taken to perplex and confound the pupil, to alienate and disgust his mind, and to prevent the exercise of his understanding! If all the rules for performing addition, multiplication, division, the rule of three, vulgar and decimal fractions, were given to the scholar to commit to memory before he had performed a single operation in arithmetic; if then he were presented with promiscuous questions to work, as they occurred in the books of a merchant, without any regard to the order in which arithmetic is taught, rule by rule, in regular succession; or if the student were made to get by heart, in the original Greek, before he had learned that language, the enumerations of all the propositions in Euclid's *Elements*, and were then obliged to construe the denominations of the propositions, regardless of the mode in which they are arranged †; it would be but an extension to the science of number of that method of teaching which is actually adopted in regard to language. For three centuries no alteration has been made in that method. The grammar taught in all public schools at the present day, is essentially the same as that taught by command of king Henry VIII., who ordered that one kind of grammar should “only every where be taught:” and in the reign of queen Eliza-

* *Elements of Tuition*. By Andrew Bell, D. D. Part III. p. 383. *et seq.*

† *Elements of Tuition*, Part. III. p. 395.

both the bishops were obliged to "enquire, at their visitation, whether there were any other grammar taught in any school within their respective dioceses." It is of this same grammar that a modern author says, "I may confidently recommend its continuance, because the experience of more than two centuries has evinced its utility, and because I am sure there is none better accommodated to schools. Time has decided on it; and it is often no less injurious than presumptuous to controvert his decisions." * Yet, as knowledge advanced, its disadvantages became clearly manifest and deeply felt. "All arts and sciences (says Lewis, *Vestib. Tech.* 1675) have been exceedingly improved; only the education of youth in England stands at a stay, and is the same it was almost two hundred years since, when Lily's Grammar was first compiled; as if, in the twilight, when reformed learning first peeped into the world, things were brought to that state that nothing might be farther suggested without a crime." "It is grievous (remarks More, in his *Pref. Gram.* 1689), that at this time of day, when all the arts, as well as sciences, are wonderfully cultivated, grammar alone, which is the gate of the sciences, remains uncultivated, covered with briars and overgrown with thorns. With so many intricacies, and so many difficulties are boys encompassed at school, that not a few, even of our noble youth, have entirely abandoned their study from despair; others also, — how lamentable! — in the very entrance, are compelled to yield to the burden, and prevented from advancing a step farther." "If all malicious fiends and men (says Hoadley) were met in consult to contrive a way to learning of endless trouble to the master and vexatious toil to the scholar, they could not have found one that could be admitted to use, worse than that we have." And our Milton says, "We do amiss to spend seven or eight years in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year."

How deep must have been the sense in Johnson's mind of the disgust produced by this mode of teaching, when he declared, that no child loves the person who teaches him Latin! How striking is the illustration of the loss of time occasioned by it, which is afforded by the author of "*A Supplement to the English Introduction of Lily's Grammar,*" who declares, that "upon many years' experience he can testify that the learning of Lily's Grammar throughout by rote, without understanding it (which is afterwards to be done), is a task of two years to the generality of boys: and though some few, by quickness of memory, could take

* *Liberal Education, or a Practical Treatise on the Methods of Acquiring Useful and Polite Learning.* By Vicesimus Knox, D.D.

it in little above a twelvemonth's time, yet more (of harder wits) would be three years about it, who, in the end, according to his observation, made better scholars than the former. His experience," this author continues, "made him conclude, that as an adult person, in whom age hath ripened judgment, would, with all his parts, improved by use and sharpened by study, find it a troublesome piece of business to learn by heart a single page in an unknown tongue, and would think himself mocked by the imposing thereof; so to boys that have the least dawning of that noble and manly faculty, judgment, a hundred pages of the same could not but be very disagreeable, and so much the more as that dawning is the clearer and stronger; and considering the tenderness of their spirit and their age, must be such a load as neither their minds nor their bodies could well bear, being injurious to the health of the one, and tending to create in the other an aversion to learning never to be removed." * And Clarke, in his *Essay on Education*, affirms that "Lily will be found to cost boys, in most and best schools, two years' time at least, and in many others a great deal more."

A perfect contrast to this is the testimony borne to a more rational method by one whom many will admit to be a competent judge, who himself made the experiment, and who has placed on record the result. "Omitting some of the theoretic or didactic part of grammar," says Mr. Edgeworth, "which should only be read, and which may be explained with care and patience, the whole of the declensions, pronouns, conjugations, the list of prepositions and conjunctions, interjections, some adverbs, the concords, and common rules of syntax, may be comprised with sufficient repetitions in about two or three hundred lessons of ten minutes each; that is to say, ten minutes' application of the scholar in presence of the teacher." According to this account, the essential part of grammar may be learned by the judicious distribution of study over not more than forty hours; — that is, in forty hours it is possible to convey to a boy more real knowledge of the grammar than is actually taught, in the common method, in two, and often in three years. "In the midst of a variety of other occupations," continues this writer, "half an hour every morning for many years, during the time of dressing, has been allotted to the instruction of boys of different ages in languages, and no other time has been spent in this employment. Were it asserted, that these boys made a

* A Supplement to the English Introduction of Lily's Grammar, for the Use of the School in Eton commonly called the Free School. 2d edit. Eton, 1719.

reasonable progress, the expression would convey no distinct meaning to the reader: we shall therefore mention an example tried this morning, November 8. 1796, to ascertain the progress of one of these pupils, whose age was just ten years. Without previous study he translated twenty lines of the story of Ceyx and Alcyone from Ovid, consulting the dictionary only twice: he was then desired to translate the passage which he had read into English verse; and in two or three hours he produced" a very tolerable version, which is recorded in the volume to which we are referring. *

To complete the wretchedness of the common method, it has been the custom in grammar-schools from time immemorial, to arrange the boys in classes, without any regard to their age, talents, or proficiency, according to their standing in the school. The same tasks are assigned to all, the same time is allowed to all for learning them. By this means many are inevitably retarded by the inferiority of others; and this is the least part of the evil: boys of less talent, or less quickness, or less proficiency, lose their time and labour altogether; their lessons are of no manner of use to them, because beyond their capacity. No regard is paid to the proper succession of their lessons. They are made scarcely in any degree, much less strictly, consecutive. The instruction intended to be communicated in one lesson, often cannot be at all understood for want of the information which is deferred to a subsequent lesson; and rarely indeed is it ascertained that one lesson is mastered before another is begun.

This miserable system, which has stood the shock of ages, which has exercised an influence so universal and uncontrolled, which like other tyrannies has excited the execrations of thousands, because it has filled with bitterness the most precious years of life, which has so often blasted the bud of intelligence and genius, and so constantly checked their growth, is, we trust, nearly at an end. In our day an improvement has been made in the art of teaching of more importance to the advancement of knowledge than any discovery that has been made since the invention of the alphabet itself. This new system of education has spread with unexampled rapidity; there is scarcely an inhabited spot in our country to which it has not already penetrated; it will become universal: but neither its principles nor its application appear to be perfectly understood by many who sincerely rejoice in the effects which they see it daily produce, and who would willingly aid in extending it. No subject can be more important. We shall point out what the principles of this system

* Practical Education, vol. ii. p. 202. et seq.

really are, and to what extent it seems practicable to apply them.

1. The first and essential principle of the new system of education is, that children teach each other. This, like many other important discoveries, is but the new application of an old truth; for no maxim is more ancient than that, what a person understands he can communicate, and that the best way to learn is to teach.— 2. In this system, in order that the scholars may teach each other, the school is divided into classes. These classes consist of all the scholars who are nearly of the same age, and who have made nearly an equal progress. The consequence of this arrangement is, that the rank of every boy in his class and in his school is determined by his attainments. Each class is further paired off into tutors and pupils. Thus in a class of twenty-four boys, the twelve who are the best informed and the most worthy of trust are made tutors to the twelve worst, for whose knowledge of their lessons and behaviour in school hours they are responsible. The effect of this arrangement is often highly important: occasionally, however, it is dispensed with in the higher and more perfect classes.— 3. But what is never dispensed with is, the appointment to each class of a certain number of monitors. This is one of the chief characteristics and advantages of the system. The duty of the monitor is to attend exclusively to the business of his class: to see that every boy is attending to his duty; to instruct the tutors in learning their lessons and assist them in teaching their pupils, and to hear the class say its lesson the moment it is prepared. Every instant the monitor sees how every boy in his class is employed, and hears every word that is uttered. The monitor, raised from the class he teaches, must have mastered what he is now intrusted to teach: he must be a well-informed boy, and a boy of good conduct: his office is a proof of both; it is earned by merit; it is a place of trust, and the confidence reposed in him makes him worthy of it.— 4. The lessons taught are plain: each contains but a few ideas, expressed in the clearest language; nothing is anticipated: the knowledge acquired in the preceding lesson prepares for that which succeeds, and that again for the next.— 5. These lessons are short: they never require more than ten minutes or at most a quarter of an hour to learn them; as soon as they are prepared they are said at once, without the delay of a moment: thus three, six, or even ten lessons, are sometimes repeated in an hour; and they continue to be repeated until it is certain that the scholar understands them perfectly. Special care is taken that not a single word is passed over which every boy in the class does not fully comprehend; that no new lesson is begun until the old

is completely mastered. There is nothing with which so much pains is taken as to secure this capital object; and the superlative excellence of the system is, that whatever progress appears to be made is real, and that the instruction, to whatever extent it goes, is perfect.

The manner in which the lessons are said is similar to that in which they are learned: Each boy takes precedence of him whose error he is able to correct: hence as a high place in the class can be obtained only by great attention, so it can be maintained only by uniform vigilance. Each lesson, as soon as said, is marked in the monitor's book: and the sum of these daily lessons, and of all the other daily tasks, together with the individual proficiency of each scholar, are entered in a register book. Such are the principles which constitute this system: it may be useful to advert a moment to some of its more important effects.

In the first place, it is evident that on this system children are better taught than on the old, because from the sympathy they take in each other, they learn every thing communicable by one to the other more easily and perfectly. Whatever a child has been taught, he will communicate to his companions better than a master; because his manner of teaching, and the words he employs, will be suited to the capacity of his pupils: he knows where their difficulty lies, and how to remove it.—By this system the attention is fixed; there is no idleness; the mind must be engaged in the business in hand; a lesson is to be said every ten minutes; the monitor's eye is on every child; the pupil's task is easy; the time allowed for learning it is short. By this single arrangement the great difficulty in the art of education is overcome: a certain method is discovered of fixing the attention, of abstracting the mind, and bending it vigorously and unremittingly to the accomplishment of the particular object in which it is engaged: no matter for how short a period this is done: a few minutes of real, continuous, uninterrupted application, if the occasion for the exertion frequently recur, will lead to an unusual development of this most valuable faculty of the human mind — that which even in the most vigorous understandings is always unfolded more slowly, and cultivated less perfectly than any other.—The knowledge which is thus communicated is clear and precise, and is fixed indelibly in the mind by repetition. Should a boy not retain the previous lessons he has learned, it will appear from his answers; and he must sink to the bottom of his class; and if he remain there long he will be degraded, and he knows it, to an inferior class. Of the successful operation of this principle the testimony is uniform, and the evidence irresistible. It was the triumphant appeal of one of the

principal founders of the system to those who came to visit his school — “ You have often heard that there are boys in every school who cannot learn their lessons distinctly and accurately. Examine every class in this school, and show me a boy of this description. Lay your hand upon any class, and any boy in that class; let him say how far he is advanced: open his book at any place which he has read, and examine him throughout the course of his past studies.” What other master would have ventured to make such an appeal! — 4. By this system the greatest possible assistance is given to the slow, and the greatest advantage to the quick. The slow are stimulated and impelled; the quick are never for a moment retarded. As soon as they get to the top of their class, remain there steadily, and thus show that they perfectly understand its business, they are promoted to a higher class. Here then is a free course for genius. The active and indolent, the stumbling and the sure-footed, though they may be yoked together, are not forced to keep pace with each other; if stupidity be dragged along by the vigour of genius, it is a clear advantage gained: genius cannot be chained down by the weight of stupidity. It has been said by an excellent judge — “ To mark precisely the moment when the pupil understands what is said, the moment when he is master of the necessary ideas, and consequently the moment when repetition should cease, is, perhaps, the most difficult thing in the art of teaching.”* By this arrangement of classes, this period is pointed out with perfect exactness and invariable certainty. — In this system there is a prodigious saving of time. In the school at Penley, in Flintshire, it is stated, that “ children who had not known a letter nor a figure at their entering the school, were, in less than four months, able to read and spell accurately, and to cypher as far as long division, being able to state and write down any sum. Moreover, they were able to say all the catechism, and most of the chief truths of the Christian religion.”† The celebrated experiment made to show the perfection to which the manufactures of this country are brought, in the present times, by shearing a sheep in the morning, causing its wool to pass through all the processes necessary to form cloth, making the cloth thus manufactured into a coat, which was worn at dinner on the same day, scarcely exceeds this. — Another advantage is, that there is a wonderful saving of masters. Rousseau says, “ One man cannot educate more than one.” Edgeworth affirms, “ Without a multiplicity of masters it is impossible to suit instruction to the different capacities and previous acquirements of a variety of pupils.” In Joseph Lancas-

* Edgeworth on Practical Education, vol. i. p. 152.

† Elements of Tuition, Part II. p. 124.

ter's school, one master alone educates one thousand boys in reading, writing, and arithmetic, as effectually and with as little trouble as twenty or thirty have ever been instructed by the usual modes of tuition. — By this system the best possible advantage is taken of the stimulus of emulation. It is just sufficient for the purpose, and no more. There is no waste of excitement. It produces no angry, no malignant feelings. By the manner in which it is directed, it becomes a totally different principle from that emulation which is excited occasionally, by the addresses of the tutor to his pupil. It is the result of the fixed laws of the school: it operates silently, uniformly, unceasingly, and with inflexible justice. — By this system misconduct is prevented, and consequently punishment is rendered unnecessary. Every moment of time being occupied under the strict superintendence of the monitors, there is no opportunity for idleness, or for any of the school-boy's besetting sins. The plan of preventing the commission of offences, rather than that of punishing them, is here carried to an extent that is truly edifying; and when offences do come, the mildest remedies are found sufficient to correct them. “ My experience at home has served to confirm my experiment made abroad, where, for months together, it was not necessary to inflict a single punishment. In the hands of a master of energy, who enters into the spirit of the system, and has for some time reduced it to successful practice, and is supported by able teachers, whose business is not to correct, but to prevent faults, and to preclude the use of punishment, I am persuaded that no other punishments or even rewards are absolutely necessary than those which the emulation of the New School, the principle of honour and shame, keeps in perpetual action.” — Lastly, by this system the highest pleasure is afforded to the pupil. It is idle to declaim against the inattention of children, and their aversion to their lessons. Knowledge is delightful to the human mind: the pleasure connected with the gratification of the senses is neither more real nor more lively. He must be both a careless observer, and a bad teacher, who, when he has been explaining to a child some interesting fact of a nature which he could comprehend, in clear and precise language, has not seen his eye sparkle with intelligent enthusiasm, and been struck with the deep, anxious, and delighted attention which his whole soul has put forth to understand it perfectly, and to trace it in all its relations. It is words without meaning, or with a meaning above his comprehension, propositions not intelligible in themselves, or not to be understood without some elementary knowledge, that are disgusting to a child. Give him ideas, bring

them down to a level with his capacity, exhibit them to him with clearness, and you will see him as much engaged and as happy as in the merriest moment of his merriest sport.

With an exception or two hereafter to be mentioned, this admirable plan of education has hitherto been restricted to the mere elements of instruction; namely, to reading, writing, and arithmetic. The success with which it has taught these elementary arts, by far the most difficult to be communicated in the whole circle of the science of education, is perfect; and the labour, money, and time saved by it truly wonderful. That it is capable of being applied with equal advantage to the higher branches of education; that with some modification it might be made the instrument of teaching language, art, and science, in all the variety and extent in which these subjects ever are, or can be communicated by one mind to another; — is the constantly repeated opinion of the inventor of the system, and is also the opinion of every intelligent man who has attended to the subject, as far as we know, without a single exception. But the honour of proposing to try the experiment, and of digesting a plan of instruction for the New School, has been reserved for the illustrious author of the *Chrestomathia*. It is truly encouraging to find the name of Bentham connected with this most important subject. In this work he has drawn liberally from the stores of his highly cultivated mind; he has put forth its strength: it is a work distinguished for the power and accuracy of its reasoning, and the profoundness and comprehensiveness of its views.

The term by which the New School is designated, *Chrestomathic*, is derived from two Greek words, which signify conducive to useful learning. The volume before us contains a scheme of instruction adapted to the purposes of an institution in which all the higher branches of learning might be taught on the principles of the system which has already been enlarged upon. It is framed to comprehend the various branches of education, which are spread over the whole field of knowledge, giving to each its due share of importance, with a view to the greatest possible sum of practical benefit. This scheme is displayed in two tables termed “Chrestomathic Instruction Tables,” which are developed and explained in the volume itself.

The first table is intended to show the several branches of intellectual instruction proposed to be included in the aggregate course. The second contains an application of the principles of the new system of instruction to the higher branches of learning. Both as an exhibition of the contents of this work, and as a means of directing the attention of the reader to the subjects

which it is proposed to teach in the New School, we shall give a brief but connected outline of the course of instruction which is here sketched.

The first table is divided into five columns. The first column states the advantages which are to be derived from intellectual instruction; namely, that it secures to the possessor a proportionable share of general respect; that it is a security against idleness, considered as a source of sensuality and mischievousness; that it is a security against ennui; that it is a security for admission into good company, &c. The second column states the grounds on which the order in which the various subjects of intellectual instruction are most advantageously taught, depends. This is a subject of extreme importance, which has been perfectly understood and acted on only in the new system of education; and had this system done nothing more, it would have produced incalculable benefit. The first ground of precocity on the part of the mind, is its degree of preparedness with relation to the subject and mode of instruction in question; and the second, the natural pleasantness of the subject. At the dawn of reason an object is the more pleasant the more exclusively it presents itself to the senses, especially to the senses of sight and hearing, and the less forcibly it appeals to the understanding, and calls for the exercise of the judgment. Hence the various sensible forms presented by nature and art, particularly by nature, excite at this period a stronger interest than is produced by the transactions which arise out of the mutual intercourse that takes place between persons of mature age. Thus birds and beasts are among the most interesting objects that can be presented to the observation of children. Corporeal find the mind earlier prepared for their reception, than incorporeal ideas. For example, natural substances, such as stones, plants, and animals; artificial substances, such as buildings, furniture, clothing, tools, articles of food and drink, and the materials, wrought or unwrought, of which, and the tools and the other instruments with which, they are respectively composed. Hence the juvenile mind is earlier prepared for the reception of instruction, with reference to natural history than to natural philosophy.

The third and fourth columns exhibit the distribution of the course of instruction, which is divided into stages. Of these columns the first commences with the preparatory or elementary stage, which comprehends the elementary arts; namely, 1. Reading, taught by writing. 2. Writing, and, 3. Common arithmetic.

Stage I. The first stage purposes to treat of natural history. This includes: 1. Mineralogy; in this early stage to be taught

only by the exhibition of figure, colour, and other sensible qualities, without reference to causes and effects. — 2. Botany; to be taught like the former subjects, without reference to cause and effect. — 3. Zoology; to be taught as above. On these subjects the exercises prescribed are to be accompanied with the exhibition of specimens both dead and living, and with draughts or models of specimens. — 4. Geography; the familiar or purely geographical part only, which may be taught by maps with a few verbal explanations. The scientific part, that which exhibits the facts and appearances which result from the earth's connection with the sun, moon, and other parts of the universe, to be deferred to a future stage. — 5. Geometry; the demonstrative and even the enunciative parts of the propositions, except perhaps a few of the most simple and easily conceived, to be postponed to a future stage. At present the definitions alone are to be taught; for the illustration of which the most familiar specimens, such as rules, pencils, slates, marbles, balls, tops, &c. to be employed. — 6. Historical chronology: that is, history so far as exhibited by chronology considered in the most familiar point of view, consisting only of indications of the principal events known or supposed to have happened to mankind, mentioned in the briefest manner in regard to the portions of time in which they are supposed to have taken place, and without reference to their causes and effects, or the characters of the respective actors of which the matter of history is composed. History thus, as it were, clothed, to be reserved partly for a higher stage in the same school, partly for a maturer time of life. Exercises in historical chronology, to be afforded by tables, charts, and *memoriter* verse; and answers to be written and repeated in prose, in return to corresponding questions. — 7. Biographical chronology. To be taught in the same manner and with the same kind of exercises as historical chronology. — 8. Appropriate drawing: that is, drawing corresponding on the one hand to the state of the bodily faculties and the degree of proficiency attained, and on the other to the particular nature of the branch of art and science to which its application is to be made. The first rude essays in drawing cannot take place too soon. Writing is but a particular application of it. Mineralogy, with the right-lined angles exhibited by its crystals, the outlines of some of the objects included in botany, and zoology, and geometry especially, afford forms more easily traced upon sand or slate than those which are produced by writing under the name of letters and words. By the several branches of natural history, comprised in this stage, is furnished the matter upon which the juvenile mind will have to operate in the course of the several succeeding stages. With

these objects, as exhibited in this most simple point of view, the mind is to be made perfectly familiar, in order that it may experience no difficulty in its endeavours to comprehend the propositions of which they will be taken for the subjects in the course of the succeeding stages.

Stage II. The second stage purposes to treat of natural philosophy, including, I. Mechanics; — II. Chemistry; — III. Subjects belonging to chemistry and mechanics jointly.—I. Mechanics: 1. Mechanics, in the limited sense of the word, that is, in the sense in which it is employed for the designation of the several distinguishable classes of configurations, contrived principally for the purpose of gaining force at the expense of dispatch, or dispatch at the expense of force. These are, the lever, — the wheel turning upon a fixed axis, — the pulley or shifting wheel, — the inclined plane, — the screw, — the wedge; — to which has of late years been added, the funicular machine. These are now denominated by the common appellation of the mechanical powers. The species of force to which all distinguishable bodies or masses of matter appear to be indebted for the quantity of matter, the form, and the texture they possess are, attraction of gravity, — attraction of cohesion, — electricity, — attraction and repulsion as assisting in magnetism, — in electricity, — in galvanism, — in what is termed elective attraction. — 2. Hydrostatics. To this head belong the means employed for ascertaining the specific gravity of different bodies: likewise in a considerable degree the effects of pump-work, of mill-work, more particularly in the case of water-mills, and the efficiency of such solid constructions as are employed in resisting the pressure of the water: for example, navigable vessels, wharfs, docks, &c. — 3. Hydraulics; the mechanical properties of liquids, as confined in solid channels of a determinate form: it is a modification of hydrostatics. To this kind belong, for example, pump-work, and in general the art of conveying water upon a large scale to places in which it is wanted. — 4. Mechanical pneumatics. To this head belong the mechanical properties which are possessed in common by all such portions of matter as are in the aërial or gaseous state; and in particular their weight, their elasticity, and that pressure on all sides which is the result of the sort of compromise which takes place amongst these antagonising forces. On these principles depend, for example, the art of mill-work, in so far as concerns wind-mills; the art of constructing and navigating vessels, in so far as sails are employed; and in virtue of the tendency of the same body, namely, water, to pass from the liquid into the gaseous state and back again, according to the quantity of heat

combined or mixed with it, the construction of steam-engines.— 5. Acoustics. — 6. Optics. — II. Chemistry, including chemical pneumatics. — 7. Mineral chemistry. — 8. Vegetable chemistry. — 9. Animal chemistry: that is, chemistry considered in its application to those three different classes of bodies. In the course of the instruction given in chemistry, as it comes to be applied respectively to the subjects of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, occasion will occur for recalling, enlivening, and fixing in the memory the information accorded in relation to them in Stage I.—10. Meteorology.—III. Subjects belonging to chemistry and mechanics jointly. — 11. Magnetism. — 12. Electricity. — 13. Galvanism. — 14. Ballistics; the art of projectiles. — 15. Geography continued. In the first stage, the instruction relating to geography will have been confined to mere topography; the knowledge of the divisions and remarkable spots partly natural, partly factitious, observable on the earth's surface, beginning with the country in which the instruction is administered. At this next, and in other succeeding stages, the same ground will be retraced; and as the capacity advances, information will be afforded of that sort which has recently been referred to a distinct name, that is, statistics; such as that which concerns population, the manner and proportions in which the matter of wealth, the matter of power, and the matter of dignity are distributed; quantity and quality of military force, &c. &c.— 16. Geometry. — 17. Historical chronology continued. In the same manner as geography, presented at first in the state of a naked field, receives by degrees its proper clothing, so will historical chronology. In both cases, the signs will be repeated, and at each repetition an additional quantity of information will be superadded. To this account given of great military wars, and other political events, composed of battles, unions and dismemberments, acquisitions and losses of territory, changes in dynasties, and in forms of government, will by degrees be added the sort of information designated by the term archæology; that is, account of antiquities, or of the state of persons and things in former times, including information respecting lodging, diet, clothing, military equipment, pastimes, power, and functions belonging to officers civil, political, and religious, &c. — 18. Biographical chronology. — 19. Appropriate drawing continued. In the *Chrestomathic* School, the great use of drawing is to give assistance to, and to serve both as a test and a cause of proficiency in the branches of art and science to which it is applied. — 20. Grammatical exercises applied to English, Latin, Greek, French, and German in conjunction. The object aimed at in these exercises will be, — to render the scholar acquainted

with the structure of language in general, and that of his own language in particular; — to familiarize him with the greater part of the terms belonging to foreign languages from which those of his own are derived; — to render the approach to the several branches of art and science as smooth and easy as possible; — to lay a substantial foundation for a more particular acquaintance with the several foreign languages comprehended in the scheme, or such of them as at a maturer age may promise to be conducive to the scholar's advancement in life, or may be agreeable to his taste. The subjects of the exercises, in addition to the rules of grammar, may consist of select portions of history and biography taken from the most approved works composed in the several languages.

Stage III. At this stage the general information obtained in the two preceding stages is still repeated, and the application made of it to the exigencies and qualifications of common life, rendered more and more particular and determinate, and brought still nearer to actual use. 1. Mining; only a very general view to be given of the manner in which this art is practised. — 2. Geognosy or Geology: an account of the manner in which the matter composing the substance of the earth is distributed. Geognosy is among the new fruits of chemistry: it is useful as affording presumptive indications of the presence or absence of the valuable substances for the extraction of which the art of mining is employed: it also includes archæology as applied to the structure of the globe. — 3. Land-surveying and measuring. In an application made of it at Stage II. to mechanics, geometry found one of its principal uses: in its application to land-surveying it will find another. — 4. Architecture. — 5. Husbandry, including the theory of vegetation and gardening. The application will be made of the instruction obtained in relation to the mineral as well as the vegetable system in Stage I.; to vegetable chemistry in Stage II.; to architecture, as far as concerns barns, drains, and other constructions; and to husbandry itself, as far as concerns implements employed, or with advantage employable in husbandry. — 6. Physical economics: that is, mechanics and chemistry applied to domestic management and other common purposes of life. From mechanics, and more especially from chemistry, will be deduced an all-comprehensive stock of practically useful information. The ends which this art has in view are the maximization of bodily comfort in all its shapes; the minimization of bodily discomfort in all its shapes; the minimization of labour and expense applied to both these purposes. Articles of household furniture, apparel, food, drink and fuel; these it will have among its principal sub-

ject matters: warming, cooling, moistening, washing, drying, ventilating, lighting, clothing, cooking, preserving, repairing, restoring; these it will have among its principal operations. Air, heat, cold, light, substances, some in a solid, some in a liquid, some even in a gaseous form, substances infinitely diversified in form and texture; substances from all three kingdoms, mineral, animal, and vegetable, some natural, some factitious, some simple, some compound; these it will have for its materials and instruments. — 7. Geography. — 8. Geometry. — 9. History. — 10. Biography. — 11. Appropriate drawing. — 12. Grammatical exercises applied as above, continued.

Stage IV. Hygiantics or Hygiastics; that is, the art of preserving as well as restoring health, including the arts and sciences thereunto belonging: in this school to be taught only so far as to enable the scholar to guard against disease and death, considered as liable to be produced by suddenness or excess of heat, cold, or moisture, by want of respirable air, by excess of toil or bodily labour: how to apply one's self so as to obtain from friendly ignorance the speediest as well as most effectual relief in case of those accidents from which the most common disorders take their rise, a burn, a scald, a flesh wound, &c.; how to operate towards the recovery of persons apparently drowned, &c. In this stage will also be contained — 12. Geography. — 13. Geometry. — 14. History. — 15. Biography. — 16. Appropriate drawing. — 17. Grammatical exercises.

Stage V. The fifth stage comprehends Mathematics. — 1. Geometry, with demonstrations. — 2. Arithmetic, the higher branches. — 3. Algebra. — 4. Uranological or astronomical geography. To this head belongs the division made of space on the earth's surface; namely, the divisions into climates, and degrees of latitude and longitude, the influence exercised by the moon on the tides, &c. — 5. Uranological or astronomical chronology. To this head belong the divisions made of time; namely, the natural divisions into periods, cycles, solar years, months, lunar years, and days; of the artificial divisions into hours, minutes, and seconds. In this stage will also be contained — 6. History. — 7. Biography. — 8. Appropriate drawing. — 9. Grammatical exercises. — 10. Technology; or arts and manufactures in general. On this occasion it is proposed to give a connected view of the operations by which arts and manufactures are carried on. The more general information obtained in the second and third stages in relation to mechanics and chemistry, and some of their dependencies, will be extended farther to particulars. Here will be shown and exemplified the advantages in regard to the dispatch and perfection of which the principle of the division of labour is

productive. To reduce the apparent infinitude of the subject within a comprehensible compass, it will be necessary to apply the art of arrangement of the naturalist to the contents of the field of the technologist: to bring together and class the several sorts of tools and other implements, and that in such a manner as to show how they agree with and differ from each other. Thus the Chrestomathic School would become a source of general communication, a channel through which the several sorts of artists might receive from one another instruction in relation to points of practice, at present peculiar to each. The carpenter, the joiner, the cabinet-maker, the turner in wood, the ship-builder, the white-smith, the black-smith, the metal-founder, the printer, the engraver, the mathematical instrument maker, the taylor, the shoe-maker, the collar-maker, the saddler, the distiller, the brewer, the sugar-baker, the bread-baker, &c. ; the respective tools and other implements of all these several artists, together with the operations performed by many of them, would thus be compared together, and a comparative and comprehensive view be given of the points of resemblance and difference. Independently of the mutual information capable of being by this means derived from one another by the artists themselves, to the scholars the effect will be that enlivening consciousness of mental vigour and independent power which is the fruit of learning in general, reaped from the soil of a highly cultivated mind. It is proposed to terminate this course by instruction in— 11. Book-keeping in general: that is, the art of registration. — 12. Commercial book-keeping. — 13. Note-taking, applied to recapitulating lectures on such of the above branches as admit and require it.

Such is the course of instruction proposed to be pursued in the New School, and without doubt the extent and variety of the subjects must appear sufficiently appalling to those who have been accustomed only to the old method of teaching; but that they are all capable of being taught on the principle of the new system, will appear evident from the following considerations:— There is nothing in the nature of these subjects which renders the principles of the new system inapplicable to them, but the contrary. The knowledge we possess of them, as far as it extends, is real and precise; and such knowledge it is always easy to communicate. — The subjects themselves are naturally interesting to the human mind. Most of the objects treated of, especially in the early stages, are not only sensible objects, but objects the most familiar to the senses: many of the phenomena to be explained, are the most common occurrences in nature, are the first to awaken the curiosity of the youthful mind, and respecting which it is always easy to excite great interest. — Most of these sub-

jects are capable of that simple and natural arrangement which is of such essential importance to the communication of knowledge. In all of them it is easy to begin with simple principles ; to advance, step by step, to those that are more complicated ; to prevent the anticipation of any idea ; in fact, to make every lesson perfect in itself, or, at least, in conjunction with the instruction that has preceded, and a preparation for the lesson which is to follow. With natural philosophy, in all its extent, with mechanics, with chemistry, with their associated branches, and with mathematics, this is eminently the case, and it is really so with language itself. — There is not one of these subjects, all the parts of which might not be subdivided and arranged in lessons as short as can be desired, recognizing, to the fullest extent, the principle never to be lost sight of in education, that the human mind can attend to but one idea at a time. All these facts are capable of being learned in a class ; all are capable of being said in a class : many of the objects to which they relate are admirably adapted for instruction in a class, because they are capable of being exhibited in specimens or illustrated by drawings or diagrams. The short lessons containing an account of these objects and of the facts relating to them, may be repeated over and over again until they are learned perfectly ; and it must at all times be easy to ascertain whether or not any individual in the class understands them thoroughly. Hence, then, it is clear, that there is not a single principle of this admirable system which is not as applicable to instruction in the highest branches of learning, as experience has proved it to be favourable to the acquisition of its elementary arts.

If, before the experiment had been made, it might have been reasonable to doubt of the correctness of this statement, at least in its full extent, and if any of the branches included in the above table had been pointed out as affording a probable exception, it would certainly have been the study of language. It is singular, that in the only attempt hitherto made to communicate any of the higher branches of learning on the principles of the new system, that very branch should have been selected for the trial respecting which there would have been *a priori* the most reasonable ground to doubt whether the experiment would succeed. The experiment has been made, and with complete success. The event is triumphant ; it is declared to be so by authority that must be deemed decisive. It is stated by Dr. Bell, that Dr. Russel, now the master of the Charter House School, having prepared three elementary books on the simple principle of the Madras system, “ introduced it into his school ; that no boy has ever since passed a sentence of which he has

been ignorant, or been flogged on the ground of his learning." In a subsequent volume he adds, "that he had just attended the annual examination of the Charter House School, in the presence of Dr. Fisher, then master of the Charter House, by the chaplains of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; that the three upper forms, taught, as well as the rest of the school, by monitors, were examined in the higher Greek and Roman classics, and that every member of these classes proved himself fully master of every book which he had read; that the examination altogether was in the highest degree satisfactory to the examiners, and most gratifying to his own feelings; that the school has grown in number thirty scholars since last year, and is in a most flourishing state." *

The account of the application of the new system, to the acquisition of language in the High School of Edinburgh, given by Mr. Pillans, and by Mr. Gray, is still more full and decisive. In this school the number of scholars is usually from five to six hundred: the whole is divided into four classes: each class occupies a separate room. The head class, which is the most numerous, is under the immediate charge of the head master, styled Rector. From the statement of Mr. Pillans, the present rector, it appears that his class consists of nearly two hundred boys; that the branches of knowledge taught by him are the Latin and Greek languages, together with ancient, and a small portion of modern geography; that the ordinary business of the class is to translate and parse a portion of a Latin poet, — for example, from thirty-five to forty-five lines of Virgil or Horace, — and an equal portion of Livy, Cicero, and Sallust, and to repeat some part of Dr. Adam's Grammar, and of his Antiquities. The whole class is formed into twenty divisions, under their respective monitors. The duty of the monitor is to take care that every boy construes a portion of the lesson; to see that his division understands the syntax and construction of the passage; to take care that the right meaning is always given to the passage in all its parts; and to mark on a slip of paper the names of the boys who fail in saying. The boys, on the other hand, are instructed to notice any false interpretation which the monitor may allow to pass, and reserve it for an appeal. If a boy proves that any such error was allowed to pass uncorrected, he takes his place above all the boys in the division who did not observe the blunder, and the monitor himself loses a place. This regulation binds both monitor and pupil to a careful preparation at home, and it has also the advantage of bringing into discussion the difficult passages. After the

* Elements of Tuition, Part III. p. 249.

appeals are concluded, the lessons are construed to the master, generally by some of the boys who are reported by the monitors to have failed in saying their lessons correctly; and questions are asked relating to geography, history, antiquities, derivations of words, and niceties of construction and expression. Of the written exercises, which consist of translations from Latin into English, and from English into Latin, and which are also examined and corrected by the monitor, the best and the worst are exhibited to the class, and places are determined according to their merit. In like manner in the Greek class, which consists of about one hundred and fifty-five, the lessons are also said in divisions. In the geography class, in which ancient and modern geography are united, a sketch of each country is drawn by the master on a black board, with white chalk. The physical features of the country, the principal ranges of mountains, the rivers which fall from them, are pointed out; then the length, breadth, longitude, latitude, and boundaries are fixed, and next the towns, the situations of great battles, and so on, are added; and when the sketch is thus completed, the pupils are required to construct maps from it. The maps which are best executed are exhibited to the class: the boys who constructed them are employed as monitors to those who have drawn inferior maps, or none at all; and thus the information they have obtained is fixed in their memory.

The testimony of Mr. Gray to the efficacy of this system is most decisive. His class consists of upwards of a hundred boys. He declares, that

“ On the new system I have been enabled so to arrange my class, that every boy is employed every minute of the time he is in school, either in the acquisition or communication of knowledge. The fifteen highest boys are monitors. The first thing to be done after the meeting of the class, is to see that they have their lessons distinctly. When this is ascertained, the whole class goes into divisions. In this way fifteen times as much work can be done in the same space, and I can say with confidence, fifteen times better. From this contrivance, instead of the languor and restlessness that too frequently prevails, all is activity and energy. More noise indeed is heard; but the sounds are sweet, for they are the sounds of labour. Every one studies, because by the exertion of his talents he finds himself equal to every task; and ignorance is more shameful when the account is to be rendered to one of his own years, than to a man. It seems, indeed, that boys are better qualified to teach boys than men. They enter more readily into their feelings: they are more sensible of the difficulties which they themselves have just mastered; and

will adopt more simple and familiar modes of illustration. Nor have I ever had cause to suspect the diligence or fidelity of a monitor. To attain this station, is an object of ambition to the whole class: and where any one has risen to it, he is too much afraid of losing it, to risk the disgrace by his own misconduct. I have never once found it necessary to degrade a monitor for inattention to his division. To this there is a double check. An appeal is open to the division against the monitor, as well as to him against the division; and when every boy has gone over the whole, not a portion of the lesson, I examine a number of them promiscuously, and the lessons are said with so much more promptitude and accuracy than in the old way, that I am frequently enabled to examine as many as if no time had been spent in divisions at all. Then I have united the advantages of both methods. By this means, every boy in the class, besides the benefit accruing from saying over the whole of every lesson till he has satisfied his monitor, is separately examined by me two or three times a day. The superiority of this mode over the other is incalculable, as it tends to store the mind with useful knowledge, to infuse a love of learning, to form habits of industry, and to render the whole economy of a school delightful both to scholar and master. Of my present class that has been conducted on this plan, all have gained a more extensive knowledge of the Latin language than I have known on any former occasion; *and not a single boy has failed.* This till now I did not think possible. For many years it had been a subject of melancholy reflection to me, why so many boys *failed* in acquiring a competent knowledge of *classical learning*, while they succeeded in every thing else. This objection to our classical schools may now be easily obviated. I do not say that every boy will be *equally* successful. Nature has made strong and marked distinctions in the extent of capacity; but I will venture to assert, that every one may be made to turn his talents to the best account. One of the most important of the objects of a good education is to inspire a literary taste; and I know no way in which this can be done so effectually. What deters many boys from the prosecution of ancient learning is its difficulty. By aid of the Lancasterian system, asperities may be smoothed, the boy may be gently led over the threshold of the temple; and when he is once introduced, he cannot fail to be charmed by its beauties. I have never, indeed, known a young man who pursued learning that did not love it. This bias to literature is of more value than all the knowledge he earns from school. It is the shield of the young mind against the ruinous inroads of vice. In a school so regulated, it is impossible for any boy to spend his time idly. He must exert

himself. He readily does what he finds he cannot escape; and what may have been irksome at first, soon becomes pleasant. He is happy, from a consciousness of doing his duty; and habits are formed that will be useful through life. To the master, the task of superintending such a school is delightful. He is merely the helmsman that steers the bark, under perpetual sunshine, while every man on board is at his duty. *Corporeal punishments are abolished.* This practice is equally degrading to the scholar who suffers, and to the master who inflicts punishment, and I firmly believe has done more mischief to our classical schools than all other causes whatever. The boy soon considers the man whom he sees in the daily use of the torture as a tyrant and his greatest enemy; and all his ingenuity will be exerted in inventing the means of retaliation. A great objection to this mode of discipline is, that from its very nature the master applies to it with reluctance; and for one fault that is punished, twenty escape. Thus the hope of impunity begets disorder, which, when it comes to a certain height, in its turn brings punishment. On the new method, the boys are kept in constant good humour, and no irritation is ever excited in the mind of the master. There exists between them only a reciprocity of kindness and docility. To animate a whole school with one spirit, to make them advance in the intellectual career with the same march of mind, to stimulate them to exertion by the enlivening power of emulation, to exalt them in their own opinion, has always been my object in the discharge of my public duties: and Mr. Lancaster has put into my hands an instrument by which I have been enabled to realize my fondest visions in my most sanguine mood. This is a testimony that I think due, and I cannot withhold it."

The practicability of the application of the new system to the higher branches of learning is therefore no longer a question: no experiment could have been devised better calculated to put it to the test; no report of that experiment could have been invented better adapted to prove that its success is perfect. Here then is a machine of immense power capable of producing the most extraordinary effects. Let us suppose it in full operation: let us suppose this admirable method of communicating knowledge applied in all the extent, and with all the efficiency of which experience proves it to be capable, to the instruction of one important division of the community, that of the middle class. Of the political and moral importance of this class, there can be but one opinion. It is the strength of the community. It contains, beyond all comparison, the greatest proportion of the intelligence, industry, and wealth of the state. In it are the heads that invent, and the hands that execute; the enterprise that pro-

jects, and the capital by which these projects are carried into operation. The merchant, the manufacturer, the méchanist, the chemist, the artist, those who discover new arts, those who perfect old arts, those who extend science; the men in fact who think for the rest of the world, and who really do the business of the world, are the men of this class. The people of the class below are the instruments with which they work; and those of the class above, though they may be called their governors, and may really sometimes seem to rule them, are much more often, more truly, and more completely under their control. In this country at least, it is this class which gives to the nation its character. The proper education of this portion of the people is therefore of the greatest possible importance to the wellbeing of the state. Considering then their station, and the necessary nature of their pursuits, what is the kind of knowledge which it is most desirable to communicate to them; what are the subjects an acquaintance with which will afford them the most assistance in their occupations, and the greatest enjoyment in their hours of leisure?

We answer decidedly, not an acquaintance with the languages of antiquity. For the lawyer, the physician, the divine, the scholar, the senator, and the statesman, Latin and Greek are indispensable. To men who are to be occupied in the ordinary business of life, whose main object is to become acquainted with things, and who are to think only in order to act, Latin and Greek are comparatively useless. There was a time when these languages contained all the knowledge possessed by mankind; now other languages contain all that was ever to be communicated by them, together with that vast stock which has been accumulated since they ceased to be the language of living beings. They have nothing in common with the business of the world as it is transacted now: they do not enter into men's thoughts: they do not form the topic of conversation in society: they are obsolete: they have no longer an habitation or a name, except in some degree in literature; and they possess no power of developing the human faculties which is not at least equalled by other branches of learning. As we have already said, there can be no reason why there should not be profound scholars, as well as subtle special pleaders, and learned theologians; but nothing can equal the absurdity of consuming more than three-fourths of the invaluable time appropriated to education "in scraping together," as Milton expresses it, "so much miserable Greek and Latin," by persons to whom it is of no manner of use, to whose pursuits it bears no kind of relation, who after all acquire it so imperfectly as to derive no pleasure from the future

cultivation of it, who invariably neglect it as soon as they are released from the authority of school, and in the lapse of a few years allow every trace of it to be obliterated from the memory.

The cultivation of language, however, ought by no means to be neglected by persons of this class. They ought to be thoroughly instructed in the principles of language in general, and to be made correctly acquainted with the elegances of the English language in particular. Perhaps also in the present state of literature, and of national intercourse, it is desirable that they should be taught the French language. Mineralogy, botany, zoology, geography, geometry, history, chronology, mechanics in general; with the kindred subjects of magnetism, electricity, galvanism, balistics, mining, geology, land-surveying, architecture, husbandry, physical economics, hydraulics; then the higher branches of mathematics, the higher branches of arithmetic, algebra, astronomy, &c.; in a word, all the branches of learning included in the table of the proposed Chrestomathic School ought to be taught them as fully, that is, with as great a regard to particulars, as experience may prove to be possible. These subjects are intimately connected with what is to become the business of their life: many of them constitute the very objects to which the whole attention of their minds is to be devoted. Not to dwell on their tendency to develop the intellectual faculties, to awaken curiosity, to interest attention, to form the habit of observation — the observation, for example, of analogies and discrepancies, — to secure the exercise of reason in tracing these analogies and discrepancies, in deducing inferences from them, in leading to the notice of new phenomena, and consequently to the discovery of new facts; not to dwell on these circumstances, though they are of vast importance, the capital advantage of the early study of these subjects is, that they must necessarily be better understood, and therefore excite a deeper interest on account of the clear, precise, comprehensive, and scientific elementary knowledge which will thus be communicated respecting them. These advantages are more certainly secured for the reason, that each of these subjects is taught in connection with all the others included in this comprehensive course; for this extension of the field of learning not only expands the mind, not only teaches more things, but teaches those that are communicated better than they could otherwise have been understood.

The course of instruction which is here proposed would certainly afford to this class of the community sufficient intellectual cultivation; but in order to secure the ultimate object of all education, that is, in order to form enlightened men and virtuous

citizens, it would be highly desirable, towards the termination of the course, to direct their attention to some other subjects, the study of which is usually postponed to a later period of life, and the teaching of which is assigned to a higher school. The subjects to which we allude are, history, considered in relation to its more important uses, particularly the history of England, government, commerce, political economy, and the philosophy of the human mind. We can easily imagine the astonishment and the scorn which will be felt by some persons at the bare mention of such topics as fitted for the study of a school-boy; and assuredly they are above the comprehension of school-boys of fifteen or sixteen years of age, educated in the ancient method. But it must be borne in mind, that the boys whom it is here proposed to initiate into these studies, and who in general will have no opportunity of going to a university, have not spent three-fourths of their time in learning jargon by rote; that every moment which they have passed in school has been actively and efficiently occupied; that the subjects to which their attention has been directed, have been adapted to their capacity and congenial to their taste; that nothing has been taught them obscurely and imperfectly, but that their knowledge, so far as it has extended, has always been clear, exact, and complete: whence they must have gained a vast accession of time, and have experienced both a more early and a more perfect development of the mental faculties. A boy educated in this manner, will be as competent to study the elements of the subjects mentioned above, at the age of fifteen as at the age of thirty.

In the first place, then, we would have every boy taken from the middle rank of life instructed in the true uses of history. We would have it demonstrated to him, that while it improves the understanding, it prepares for the proper discharge of the duties of life; that it frees the mind from prejudice; that it is the foundation of all real improvement in the science of government; that it strengthens the sentiments of virtue; that it produces an enlightened patriotism; that it forms a taste for solid glory and true greatness; and that it teaches just conceptions both of the strength and weakness of human nature. We would have his attention directed to the sources of history, and the methods which have been used for transmitting to posterity the knowledge of past events; the application of other kinds of knowledge to the study of history ought to be pointed out; an account of the most important objects of attention to a reader of history should be presented to him, as well as an explanation of the circumstances which contribute to the real wealth, prosperity, and glory of a country. Then the attention should be directed, with all the

detail that may be found practicable, to the history of England in particular. Its memorable eras should be pointed out; the origin of its institutions should be shown, and their progress traced; its struggles for liberty, civil and religious, should be dwelt on; the most probable means of securing its freedom and promoting its prosperity should be explained; and its illustrious men who have rendered their country, and the very age in which they flourished, glorious, should be exhibited to the admiration of the youthful mind. Here are abundant materials for reflection; here are admirable lessons of morality; here are means of kindling the purest love of liberty, of exciting the noblest emulation, and of producing the most enlightened and most fervent patriotism.

In like manner, in the higher classes of these schools, ought to be explained the true nature and object of government; the advantages and disadvantages of its different forms, that is, the greater or less facility afforded by them for accomplishing its great purpose; the rights and duties of the governed; the rights and duties of governors, and so on. It ought never to be forgotten, that the minds which are forming in these schools are soon to take an active part in the service of their country; that they must have, and will have, a great and commanding influence on the measures pursued, on the laws enacted, on the justice administered.

The commerce of the country is carried on almost exclusively by persons of this class: it is therefore important that the means should be afforded them of forming enlightened and comprehensive conceptions of the subject. The capital advantages of commerce, the manner in which it produces those advantages, the circumstances on which its power of increasing the wealth and prosperity of a country depends, its influence on landed and other species of property, expedients which may or which may not be adopted with safety for its encouragement; these and similar subjects ought to be illustrated. There is no subject in which this class of the community is more deeply interested; none in which the views they take and the conduct they pursue will be attended with more important results; none, an acquaintance with which is more necessary to guide their exertions, to prevent the misdirection of their labour, and to secure even to their benevolence itself beneficent effects, than that of political economy.

Some knowledge of the laws which govern the operations of the human mind is necessary to conduct any mental process with success, in order to save much valuable time, and to prevent much waste of labour in the investigation of subjects which there is no hope of ever comprehending. To understand how

habits are formed, how prejudices are engendered, how the judgment is influenced, how the will is determined, how the character is superinduced, and consequently how habits, prejudices, judgment, will, and character, may be modified, or changed, or fixed; to entertain just conceptions of the merit and demerit of actions and characters, of virtue and vice, of reward and punishment, — all these subjects are of vital importance; they involve the most deep and permanent interests of individuals, and communities: to persons of this class especially, just conceptions of them are essential to the proper discharge of the most momentous duties which devolve upon them. From our own actual observation and experience of the capacity of the youthful mind, when properly trained, we pronounce that these subjects are perfectly within its comprehension, and we know that it is possible to make it intensely interested in their study. This study would perhaps be best conducted by delivering, at stated periods, to the elder and more advanced boys, whose admission into this class might be made a reward for their past diligence, for their actual attainments, and for general good conduct, short and familiar lectures on these subjects, in the manner of Dr. Priestley's Lectures on History: at the commencement of every new lecture to examine the students minutely on the preceding; to require them to give an account of it, not in the words of the lecture, but in their own; to go over the same ground again and again, until it appear certain that it is perfectly understood, and then, and not till then, to encourage the pupils to write essays or themes on the topics that have been discussed. For perfect instruction in these subjects, and every other which it is proposed to include in the New School, nothing is requisite but elementary books, adapted to the principles of the new system: these, indeed, are wanted; but surely it is not too much to hope, that there are men of science, whose benevolence will induce them to undertake a labour, which, however humble it may appear, can be properly performed only by a truly philosophical mind. Can any scholar be more nobly employed than in writing such a book on language; or any natural, moral, or political philosopher, than in disclosing to the youthful understanding, in the most lucid order, and in the plainest terms, the profound yet simple principles of these respective sciences?

We have dwelt so long on the intellectual part of education, that we have left room to say but little of moral instruction; and but little need be said of it. It does not require discussion. It is impossible to teach morality to children by precepts. The correctness of their moral feeling and the integrity of their moral conduct must be secured, if secured, by the discipline to which

they are subjected. Boys do not listen to sermons: the eloquence of the moralist and divine, though the most perfect imaginable, is lost upon them. They must be made honourable by exhibiting to their view honourable conduct: they must be made virtuous, by being led to the practice of virtue from habits superinduced by the silent operation of the circumstances under which they are placed. They need not be told what is right: like men they all know their duty sufficiently; the grand difficulty is to practise it: the only means of securing its practice is the formation of the habit of practising it; and in the formation of that habit, the discipline peculiar to the new system of education afford aids so admirable and so powerful, that it will be found, on examination, as conducive to the cultivation of virtue, as it is favourable to the acquisition of learning.

The grand moral advantage of this system is, that it places and keeps boys in a condition in which there is little opportunity of doing wrong. Their time is completely occupied: their attention is constantly fixed: they are never idle: they never deviate from a regular and steady course: whence the habit is formed of doing every thing in its proper time and place. If the temptation to yield to bodily listlessness and mental dissipation occur, they are immediately roused to exertion by the active spirits around them, and compelled to put forth their strength, in order to keep pace with companions, by whom they feel it would be an intolerable disgrace to be outstripped. This practical moral lesson is repeated every day and every hour. The mind is induced to postpone its gratification as often as its temptation to yield to it recurs, and is stimulated to the steady performance of its duty. Thus the power of self-contest, that virtue upon which all moral excellence depends, is acquired, and is formed into a habit. Those who are acquainted with the mechanism of the human mind, and know how the law of nature and the power of practising it with steadiness are generated, will admit that this, though not perhaps one of the most obvious, is one of the most real and important excellences of this admirable system.

Another lesson of great value afforded by this system arises from the plan of confiding all punishment to the boys themselves. By this expedient their attention is directed in the best, because in the most practical manner, to the circumstances on which good and bad conduct depend; to the feelings and actions which render a human being an object of praise or blame, of reward or punishment. They form their own code of morals, and that code is sure to be better adapted to their condition than older heads can make it. The laws they impose are enacted, because experience has taught them that they are necessary; whence they

are respected, and a rigid adherence to them is exacted. The same experience makes them acquainted with the exact degree of guilt incurred by any particular violation of the laws; for they are excellent judges of the motives which have led to such violation, and can estimate with astonishing accuracy the circumstances of aggravation or of palliation on which the measure of guilt essentially depends. Whatever punishment is imposed, therefore, is almost uniformly just in a degree which is equalled in no other case in which punishment is inflicted by human agency; and it is this feeling which pervades the mind of every member of the little community, — that his sentence, whatever it be, will be rigidly just, — that renders punishment under this system so exceedingly efficacious, at the same time that it operates to such a remarkable extent in the prevention of offences.

These principles have received an excellent illustration, and a most complete confirmation, in the details presented by the author of *Public Education*. To this work we would particularly direct the attention of the reader. It details the result of an original and independent attempt to apply several of the most important principles of the new system of education to instruction in the higher branches of learning, and especially to the cultivation of a more manly spirit and a more just and sound morality. The great principle on which this is attempted is, “to leave as much as possible all power in the hands of the boys themselves.” To this end they are permitted to elect a committee, which enacts the laws of the school, subject, however, to the veto of the head master. There are also courts of justice for the trial of both civil and criminal cases, and a vigorous police for the preservation of order. This system has been in operation several years in a school consisting of about seventy boys. The results are detailed with great candour, and many of the facts are highly curious and interesting.

But of all the moral advantages of the new system, perhaps the greatest arises from the mildness of the punishments which it imposes. Its punishments appeal to the rational, not to the animal nature of man; and are calculated to influence the principles of his mind, rather than to impose torture on his body. Every blow inflicted for the correction of a bad action, excites ten bad feelings; and it is somewhat absurd to attempt to purify the stream by corrupting the source. A boy may be flogged for a fault, and the fault may be corrected; but it is corrected not in consequence of the flogging, but in spite of it. No virtuous principle was ever instilled into the human mind by stripes: their only effect is to irritate and harden, to make slaves and to train up tyrants.

We cannot dismiss the subject of education without adverting to one topic, which, though of paramount importance, is entirely neglected in this country; we refer to that of health. The connection is intimate between the soundness of the bodily organs, and intellectual vigour and moral sanity. Such is the sympathy of the mind with the body that the infirmity of the one is the feebleness of the other: mental strength, clear moral discrimination, noble feeling, never did and never can long exist in a crazy constitution,—in a frame feeble and tottering, tormented with “cramps and side-stitches that pen the breath up.” To think clearly, to feel generously, and to act vigorously, man must be in health. Persons take the most judicious care of their horses; they observe what conduces to their strength as animals; they neither neglect them on the one hand, nor pamper them on the other: they diet them, they groom them, they exercise them, in the manner which experience shows to be best adapted to put them and keep them in good condition; that is, to give them the greatest firmness of muscle combined with the greatest animal courage and vigour. The health of man as an animal is entirely neglected. He is neither lodged, nor clothed, nor dieted, nor exercised, with a view to give to his bodily frame the greatest strength, and to maintain it in the utmost perfection. The ancients were wiser. Their baths, their unguents, their exercises, their games, were obviously designed to nerve the body, to arm it against the vicissitudes of the seasons, and to render it capable of sustaining every kind of fatigue and every degree of privation. The men of the present age are a puny race: their stature is smaller, their muscles are feebler, their joints are less firmly knit, their step is less elastic, their countenance is more pallid, their whole appearance is that of a physically weak and degenerated people, compared even with their forefathers. By the proper regulation of diet, by vigorous exercise, by the encouragement of athletic games in the intervals of school hours, an astonishing change might be produced on the health and strength of our youth. And here we protest against the number of hours which boys are confined in school. It is alike injurious to the health of the body and the vigour of the mind. It is utterly impossible that the attention can be kept up during a tenth part of the time in which they must have at least the appearance of learning their lessons; and nothing can be conceived more pernicious than this pretended occupation and real idleness, this conjunction of the most painful bodily weariness with the most complete mental dissipation.

We have stated our opinion of the course of instruction proper for persons of the middle class of life. Suppose that this class

were actually thus instructed, — what would be the consequence? At once the great object for which philosophers have meditated, and philanthropists have laboured, would be accomplished. The body of the people, the mass of mind, would be enlightened. Their conceptions would be clear, their opinions would be just. Over the whole field of knowledge there would be to them, no “dark spots.” Of the true nature and scope of every art and science, they would have an exact conception; and their information, as far as it extended, would be real. Their minds would be stored with ideas of which their language would be the clear expression: there would be no example amongst them of a memory loaded with words which did not stand in their minds for the signs of things. The effect on art, on science, on the conduct of affairs, of the communication of this single power to this immense mass of minds, would itself in a short period entirely change the condition of the human race, and advance it to a point in the scale of improvement which few have dared to believe to be of possible attainment.

These men would have acquired also habits of industry, mental as well as corporeal, and, above all, their minds would be independent. Understanding every thing taught them, — they would have taken nothing upon trust, they would have believed nothing upon authority. Of the dogmatism of the master they would have known nothing. Knowledge would be communicated to them, the materials for thinking would be afforded them, and their minds would be left to their own operations.

These men would also be taught the principles of justice, by being made to act upon them; they would acquire the habit of performing their duty before they understood its abstract nature; they would be virtuous before they knew even the name of virtue. Out of the circumstances in which they are placed would arise the necessity of performing, with invariable regularity, certain acts; some affecting the condition of others, some regarding only their own. The undeviating performance of these acts they would perceive to be essential to their own happiness, and to that of their companions: the violation of them they would find uniformly attended with sufferings. Thus their code of morals, and the true foundation of the obligation to respect it, would be the deduction of their own reason from their own experience. They would know nothing of names; they would be acquainted with no nice distinctions; they might even be unable to give a logical definition of virtue, but their feeling would be the theory itself, and their conduct the exemplification of it. Thus morality would be associated in their minds, not with words, but with deeds; they would have no conception of a

virtue to be talked of and admired, but not to be practised. The very notion of virtue would arise in an inverse manner from that in which it is commonly formed: it would be an abstraction made by themselves of the actions performed or witnessed by themselves, which they observe to be conducive to happiness; not an abstract proposition which they are taught to repeat by rote, for the understanding of which they must wait till observation and experience shall have instructed them in its meaning. The effect of thus *making* the great body of the people virtuous, without giving them a single moral precept,—what would any physical or moral revolution hitherto witnessed be compared to this? What changes would it produce in the counting-house, in the cabinet, nay, even in the church itself! What films would at once fall from the mental eye! what light would beam upon the moral understanding! When examined with this new kind of moral sense, with what astonishing clearness would some subjects appear, which at present perplex beyond measure the merchant, the legislator, and the divine! The justice, for example, of tearing from their native country a people who have had the direful misfortune to receive from nature a dark-coloured skin,—of conveying them across the ocean in a slave-ship, that most horrible of all human constructions, to a burning climate, where they are made to labour like brute animals, where they are treated worse than brute animals, where the whole ingenuity of man is exerted to keep them down to the condition of brute animals, exterminating in them systematically, and to a most fearful extent, every thought, every feeling, every trace of humanity; the justice of desolating the territory, sacking the cities, and butchering the inhabitants of one country, because the prince or the minister of another may be ambitious, or the mistress or the minion of one or both may have an intriguing head and wicked heart; the justice of placing the value of human property above that of human life, of putting to violent death a man who has driven from his neighbour's field his ox or his sheep,—of thus cutting off, by the wretched expedient of the gibbet, all hope of the criminal's reformation, all probability of his making reparation; the justice of dooming to the same loss of life the youthful offender for his first breach of the law, and the practised plunderer, who has taught him the art, and initiated him to the commission of guilt,—the man who imitates the handwriting of a stranger, and he who plunges his dagger into the bosom of his friend or father; the justice of shedding on the scaffold the blood of her who, in the moment of intense bodily pain and bitter mental anguish, urged to desperation by the consciousness that she has yielded to a guilty passion, and that ruin

and destruction must attend her to the grave, forgets that she is a mother, while the villain who by the basest treachery seduced her to a compliance with his lust, is allowed to maintain his place in society, is admitted to the presence of the beautiful and the innocent with equal welcome, and is still the hero whose laurels wither not, or the gentleman whose honour is stainless; the justice of excluding from the offices of the state the man who adopts a particular theory of religion, or who avows his disbelief in any theory;—these difficult and mysterious subjects, which perplex, in so extraordinary a degree, the statesmen and moralists of the present day, how surprisingly easy would their solution then appear! Men endued with this clear-sighted sense, men possessing this single-minded honesty, occupying the various stations of life,—what havoc would they make with certain opinions, customs, habits, and institutions, which prejudice and interest now combine their efforts to uphold! Men into whose minds the light of truth could thus enter, and with whom to perceive and to act were the same, what good burgesses, what pure voters, what excellent jurors, what capital special-jurymen, what admirable judges of libel, what cautious hearers of the best charges of the best judges! Honesty is to the judgment what the eye is to the body: honesty would be interwoven into the very constitution of these men's natures, and therefore the whole science of morals would be to them unclouded light. And they would carry the same clear discernment, and the same unbending integrity, into the science of politics; for the science of politics is but a particular application of that of morals. With the true object of government, with the expedients which experience has proved to be best adapted to secure its great purpose, with the genuine nature and transcendent work of liberty, with the names and deeds of heroes and patriots, and martyrs, their minds would be familiar. Never would such men submit to be slaves, never would they crouch to the tyrant, never would they assume his scourge. Their voice in the state must be heard; their influence must be felt. Such an exaltation of the character of the middle class would necessarily, and at once, elevate the condition of the class below, and raise the standard of knowledge and virtue in the class above. The improvement which would immediately take place would be universal, and without any bound which it is possible to fix. On this admirable system of education the brightest hopes of the human race may anchor. This system has commenced its career; it must go on; it will become universal: we may share its triumphs; we cannot prevent them.

ART. V. *Parallèle de la Puissance Anglaise et Russe relativement à l'Europe, &c.* Par M. de Pradt. Paris. 1823.

Poliarnaia Svæda. Karmannaia Knijka dlja liubnel'nitz i liubitelei Ruskoi slovesnosti na 1823 god, islannaia A. Bestujevïm i K. Rilevïm. St. Petersburg. Gretschn. 1823. *i. e.* *The Polar Star.* A Glance at the Ancient and Modern Literature of Russia, down to 1823. By A. Bestujev and C. Rilevim.

THERE was a country a century ago which excited neither interest, nor jealousy, nor anxiety; it was known and thought of only as the land of strange and distant barbarians, of whom some vague notions might indeed be gathered together by the curious, from the travels of a few adventurous wanderers, though Muscovy appeared in truth to have no more concern with European politics than has Tartary or Japan. If sometimes its ambassadors and boyars reached the southern kingdoms of Europe, they were regarded only as uncivilised monsters with unutterable names, who had strayed from a remote and heathen territory, with which we had no other concern than to receive its raw productions, and to send back in return the works of civilisation and of art to decorate the rude magnificence of its wealthy nobles. He who should now prophesy that the Laplander or the Esquimaux will in the lapse of another hundred years domineer over the world, would be scarcely less adventurous than the man who formerly foretold the preponderance of the Muscovite power.— Mastered by every invader,— humiliated by the Scandinavians,— kept in long subjection by the Tartars,— and utterly vanquished by the Poles,— there seemed in this branch of the great Slavonian family no element of virtue or valour,— no disposition to resist aggression, far less to encourage enterprise. It was a monstrous piece of presumption for a czar of Muscovy to become the candidate for the hand of an English princess; for what was *Muscovy* but a remote, and frozen, and barren region,— the chosen abode of inertness and ignorance?

But things are altered now; and Russia, barbarous still, has aspired to, and has obtained, a dictatorship over the states of Europe. She sits like a huge *incubus* upon the rest, disposing of kingdoms at her will, directing and controlling the fate of nations from the Manzanares to the northern Torneo. The other members of the Holy Alliance, cajoled into a belief that they possess an equally influencing power, are in fact only in a state of subservient vassalage. Russia, in the great struggle which is going on between improvement and barbarism, is the

commanding champion as well as the efficient representative of the latter. And surely her governors are in the right, if they mean to preserve, if they hope to consolidate, the gigantic power they wield. It is impossible they can hold it long, if they consent to open the floodgates of knowledge upon the Russians, — for knowledge brings with it the want and the necessity of political amelioration, a necessity which must be satisfied. The art of good government is to foresee and to provide for this necessity. In a well-constituted state, the government takes the lead in improvement, and elevates and advances the people under its influence, though too frequently the ruling power is greatly behind the general and pervading will. The cabinets and the councils of monarchs are seldom, if ever, honestly labouring with and for the public interests; and even when reform becomes imperative, and its representatives irresistible, — the struggle is as tenacious as it is vain on the part of rulers, and it ends in violent convulsion and irreconcilable hate. Here then is the difficulty and the danger. Truly such a crisis is far remote in Russia, and it is the knowledge of this which has enabled her governors, whether by the daring violence of open force, or by the crafty and perfidious intrigues of veiled rapacity, to add province to province, and kingdom to kingdom, controlled by no public opinion at home, checked by no sufficient interference abroad.

Let any one take up a map of this eastern hemisphere, and trace the slow, the sure, the steady progress of Russian power. In all the vicissitudes of states and empires, she has made sure of her spoil. Her aggrandisements have not been like those of England, spots far removed from each other, and far from the centre of government, laid hold of, as it were, by fortunate accidents, and often entailing an expense ten times greater than their value; Russia has gone on widening her influence, consolidating her strength, enlarging her frontiers, fortifying her outworks, by new possessions. She overhangs Europe and Asia like an inverted pyramid, which threatens to fall and crush them at its will. In the flagitious partition of Poland she stole the largest share, while Courland and Livonia have given her the eastern shores of the Baltic. On the north-west she has added Finland to her dominions, by the most daring exercise of force and fraud. From the south she has torn almost all the country on the northern borders of the Euxine, — Georgia is hers, and the hundred tribes of Caucasus have laid their submission at her feet. In Persia her influence is notoriously predominant, and it is to be feared that she has obtained a

baneful sway in the councils of Greece. Her ambition has crossed the Pacific, and her standards are planted upon the north-western coasts of America. Add to all this, that the Russian system of government in the conquered provinces has generally been one of mildness;—to the Poles, she gave a constitution which was flattering to the national pride, and seemed a security against gross misgovernment. The Finlanders have been cajoled by personal acts of kindness and condescension on the part of the autocrat himself.* The Georgians and the Circassians were tampered with by splendid presents, and yet more splendid promises. To the Greek Christians of the south, Russia presents herself as their protector against the persecutions of the Mussulman. Every where the trains are laid, so that Russia may profit by the explosion, — while with *magnanimity* and *social order* on her tongue she carries on her schemes of ambitious plunder. It is indeed time that Europe, and that England especially, should awake to the dangers with which the Russian empire threatens her independence and repose. England, by the short-sighted and narrow-minded policy of former ministers, has been the main cause of the existence of that excessive power which now stares her in the face on every side. The ambitious schemes of Napoleon were at least open and palpable. He went boldly forward to his purpose — and wicked it often was, — proclaiming to the wide world, that he meant to reunite the broken sceptre of Charlemagne. But the march of Russia is that of a thief in the night — a thief clad in the garments of honesty; who calls you by endearing names — seems to be your grateful and contented guest, and marches away after having despoiled you of your heritage.

* We once witnessed a remarkable instance of this. The Finlanders being exceedingly irritated by the transfer of their country to Russia, Alexander determined to pay them a visit. He did so, but was received with the utmost coldness. He was one day crossing a lake in the interior, accompanied by his suite, when he observed a decoration hanging from the button of one of the peasants in the boat. — “Where did you get that, my friend?” said the Emperor. The man was silent; and one of his companions answered, — that he had been in the service of Napoleon, and had won the distinction in battle, — that he was greatly venerated by his countrymen, and was called “The King of the Finns.” Alexander turned to one of his ministers and said, — “Take you the oar, and row the King of the Finns to the land.” — What no proclamation, what no persuasion could do, was done by this solitary act, which obtained for Alexander more popularity than he could have won at the price of millions.

There is another awful consideration. Russia is inaccessible — unattackable from without. Frosts, and snows, and the terrible hosts of winter, make her unconquerable. Her frontiers are mountains and seas; and, as De Pradt has remarked, she has a territory beyond her own to secure and protect her; while “the occupation of Poland has opened an entrance for Russia into the body of Europe. Her arsenals may be brought forward to the German frontiers; the Vistula will become her boundary.” (P.142,143.) From her neighbours Russia has nought to fear. Bernadotte has not the privilege of *legitimacy*, and dares not offend the monarch who holds the young pretender, the heir of Gustavus, in his hand; and if he dared, it would be vain. Finland and the Oland Isles belong to Sweden no more. Prussia and Austria cannot detach themselves from Russia, nor oppose her projects. She holds her military posts, as it were, in the centre of the states of the former; and the latter has neither forces nor frontiers to oppose an incursion of the autocratic hordes. Turkey is in the dust; and it remains to be seen whether Greece, favoured by and allied to England, will, under a popular and effective government, present a barrier to the ambitious march of Russia.

Meanwhile a power has been growing up in Russia, which becomes every day more formidable. The Russian army, said to consist of a million of men*, has been a great drawback on the finances; and a plan of military colonisation was lately organised for the creation of an army without any considerable charge to the state, by registering the peasants belonging to the crown, and disciplining them to active service. In a country farther advanced in civilisation than Russia, this scheme for

* The official reports say 950,000; but this probably exceeds the number by one-third. We believe the following statement is not far from correct: —

	Men.
First army, Gen. Saexen,—head quarters, Mohilov	- 320,000
Second army, Gen. Wittgenstein, ——— the Pruth	- 100,000
Imperial Guard, Gen. Ouvarov, ——— Petersburg	80,000
Georgian army, Gen. Yermolov, ——— Tiflis	- 60,000
Lithuanian army, ——— Wilna	- 80,000
Polish army, ——— Warsaw	- 30,000
Disciplined Cossacks, - - - - -	7,500
	<hr/>
	677,500
	<hr/>

This calculation is made after a reduction of about 30,000 men, which took place a few months ago, the whole of which have been incorporated into the military colonies.

arming the population could not but be attended with considerable danger to despotism ; but we fear those who have introduced it know too well the ground on which they stand, and that the soldier-citizen would rather lose than gain by any change he could immediately produce. Here, in truth, is the great security for misrule. The soldier, whose profession would be degraded, perhaps destroyed, under a system of government friendly to human happiness, will hardly lend himself to its establishment ; and, after all, spite of the pleasing reveries of poetry and philosophy, there is nothing so mighty in this world as iron and gold.

The military colonies of Russia are already spread over the governments of Novgorod, Cherson, and Charkov ; and more than fifty thousand soldiers have been thus silently disciplined : their numbers are daily and rapidly increasing, and new villages are constantly enrolled. The organisation of these establishments is simple and effective. The villages whose peasants are the property of the crown are first registered, and subjected to the discipline of military chiefs. All the labouring men are trained to the use of arms, but are required at the same time to cultivate the land for their support, under the control of the chief of the colony, to whom a certain extent of soil is granted for the use of the colonists. Besides the effective and regular troops, a large body of reserve is maintained, from whence recruits are draughted into any vacancies ; and the system of training begins from the earliest period of infancy. There are three divisions of the rising generation. Till the age of eight, they remain under the care and guidance of their parents. They are then transferred to the military schools, and a severe education of discipline and duty is entered on. At the age of thirteen, they obtain the distinction of *cantonists* ; and are taught at the same time the profession of the agriculturist and the soldier. When seventeen years old, they form a part of the colony ; for the whole of which a special code of justice is provided. The commander-in-chief of the cavalry, which form about half the whole number of colonists, is the supreme judge ; but every colony has its own tribunal, of which the highest military officer is the president, and the rest follow according to rank. No female colonist can marry any individual who is not enrolled. By this system it will be seen that Russia is gradually creating a tremendous military force almost without effort and without expense. Being once put in motion, such a machine rolls on gathering strength and confidence ; and should it become a willing agent of aggression, we do not see what is to oppose its conquering march. But though, for the moment, little risk is run by thus giving to

the peasantry of Russia the means of establishing and consolidating their freedom, it is a hazardous experiment for futurity. In any and in every case the system must introduce great changes; for these armed bands, who have now an attachment to, and a property in the soil of their country, must, as they go on increasing, necessarily become a subject of great embarrassment to the Russian government. If they settle tranquilly down, and continue to occupy the same abode, the social affections will bind them to their homes and their families, and the very object of their establishment will be frustrated by their change of position; while, on the other hand, should a busy and a restless spirit make head among them, still less easy will it be to control them. In a moment of change, or tumult, how could they be relied on? They seem to us like the ice which fills in the winter months the holes in a Russian edifice, and appears to give it strength and solidity; the thaw comes on, the frozen mass expands, the building totters and falls.

The details of the military strength of Russia, when concentrated in a tabular form, appear tremendous, and give a very exaggerated notion of her means of interference; for it is certain that Russia never has been able to assemble in one point a force at all commensurate to her population or her nominal army. Large masses of men cannot be gathered together without large masses of money; and the very extent of Russian territory, thinly peopled as it is, is an effective security against their being brought together in numbers at all equal to the imposing representations upon paper. No doubt Russia has obtained more influence from the weakness and the ignorance of other states than from any real power of her own. She has availed herself with remarkable dexterity of all those delusions which have served to blind her neighbours with respect to her real situation. Her resources have been exaggerated with the most busy zeal, though it may be demonstrated that scarcely any country exists having the least pretensions to civilisation, which is so unproductive, either with a reference to its extent, or its population, or its climate — a climate, notwithstanding, which would lend itself to an infinite variety of cultivation. But with what address has Russia made events subserve to her ambitious will! Of all the elements likely to produce important changes in society, the spirit of association, which more and more pervades it, is most prominent. That very spirit, which seemed to be a security against the excesses of despotic power, has despotism made an engine of its own. The Holy Alliance is the standing coalition of Pillnitz — the consolidation of a principle so flagitious, so insulting, that it might well have been supposed, when the deed of darkness was perpetrated,

the conspirators would each retreat to his strong hold. But, no! encouraged by the success of the first crime, and by the weakness of other victims, the sainted brotherhood have permanently banded themselves together. Ever since Russia took her station among European powers, and interested herself in European policy, she seems to have been guided by one individual will. Elsewhere the death of a monarch, the fall of a minister, changes immediately the whole character of the government; but Russia moves onwards, always onwards to the goal she has in view. The character of Alexander, courteous and seemingly benevolent, lulls suspicion. He appears as the guardian of social order, the advocâte of toleration, the patron of all that is philanthropic,—but his eye and the eyes of those around are as steadily fixed on the south as were ever those of his ambitious grandmother. And in the details of Russian policy, how much is there that is unique and admirable!

From the time of Peter the Great her sovereigns have always made it a part of their system to attract to their presence, and to conciliate by their patronage, men distinguished by their talents, whatever may be their country, their language, or their opinions. From the latter she has nought to fear; for they can have little influence on forty or fifty millions of inhabitants, thinly spread over thousands of square leagues, without knowledge, or a desire of knowledge, and as indifferent, for the most part, to passing events, as the cattle that browse around them; while the excessive and busy jealousy of the censorship of the press makes it almost impossible that any dangerous seed of discontent, or even of enquiry, should be scattered. Catherine the Second flirted with the poets, the historians, and the politicians of the south; nor was she divested of literary acquirements, and literary ambition. We have seen productions of her pen manifesting a degree of application harmonising little with that round of gross and sensual pleasures, that restless and reckless spirit so predominant in all she did or planned to do. Of the names which now direct the cabinet of Russia, of the generals who command her armies, of the writers employed in her service, the proportion of foreigners is singularly great. Her guiding statesmen have been Greeks and Corsicans, her most eminent military leaders Germans and Poles, her public works are in the hands of Spaniards and Englishmen, the education of her princes and of her nobles has been committed to the charge of Swiss and Italian strangers. In all this despotism has found its account. This amalgamation of various interests and various sympathies, this constant importation from other countries to create and to control opinion in its most civilised sphere, has prevented the formation of a *Russian mind*,

— of a tribunal which might weigh and decide on the great questions of national or general weal. Thus it is that the cabinet can proceed forwards in all its ambitious designs, unmo-
lested by the obstacles which in all other countries, even the most despotic, the fear of public reprobation raises in the path of misrule.

The preponderance which Russia has obtained in European politics is derived, we have said, rather from the ignorance of other governments, than from the real strength of her own. Omnipotent in her means of defence, she is feebleness itself beyond her own borders. The war in the Morea demonstrates her weakness; for if a mere handful of revolted Greeks, almost un-armed and wholly unassisted, have been able to establish their independence against the Porte, the successful stand against Russia made by the Mussulman power, exhausted as it is, proves how much fear and delusion have exaggerated the Russian influence. Her power neither results from the number of her inhabitants, nor from her pecuniary resources, nor from the talents of her rulers, nor from the extent of her territory; but from her snowy and icy region, which, though it is a wall of adamant against attack, she cannot drag with her to the south for the purpose of attacking others. She appears indeed a giant; but is only a giant of the mist, which passes away before a penetrating vision, or a rising sun. The closer her pretensions are examined, the vainer and the more presumptuous they will be found. Her finances are in a state of notorious dilapidation. Abroad (*i. e.* in the distance) her security ranks on the level with that of most of the continental nations; and she obtains on the English exchange from eighty to ninety pounds sterling of solid cash for one hundred pounds' worth of her paper promises, while in Russia (and where is the difference in the security?) the great mass of her circulating medium, issued indeed without control, is at a discount of about seventy-five *per cent.* With this disgraceful and depreciated paper currency her provinces are deluged; it passes for about one-fourth of the value which it represents: yet so inefficient is the government to carry its decrees into general effect, that the introduction of this rag-money has been successfully resisted in many of the eastern governments, in which nothing but metals will be received. The whole character of the commerce of Russia affords the most striking exemplification of her poverty. All her foreign trade is carried on by the capital of strangers. The shopkeeper purchases at a very long credit, while the cultivator of produce is accustomed to be paid for it months before it is delivered to the exporting merchant; on every side there is sacrifice to be made by the Russian. Meanwhile exorbitant and ill-adjusted duties

have covered the country with adventurous smugglers and defrauders of the revenue. What system can be conceived more ridiculous and more oppressive than that which is now established in Russia, of making the *weight* of the taxed article the grade of taxation? so that the more coarse or the less costly the manufacture, the higher is the duty enforced. The whole fiscal administration presents such a mass of corruption and abuse as can scarcely be conceived; it might be described in a few words, as a system which gives to every individual an interest in fraud, and destroys every motive to honesty. Every custom-house officer, stinted beyond measure in his salary, manages to spend twenty or thirty times the amount of his wages; a fee is the passport to every facility, and there is no amount of dishonesty which may not be purchased for a proportionate bribe.

In the civil and criminal tribunals — which are in fact little better than records of the decisions of individual, irresponsible, corrupt, and military judges — injustice is dealt out in the most profligate contempt of evidence, and perfect disregard to shame. Paul — who every now and then had a fit of benevolence upon him — made an attempt to reform these abuses, by inviting the communication of any instance of wrong inflicted by the courts. The immensity of applications overwhelmed him with despair. He was not the Hercules to clean the Augean stable, and his successor still less so; for it may safely be affirmed that there never was a period in which justice was more openly, more habitually prostituted, than during the reign of the magnanimous Alexander. And are not these causes, and proofs of weakness? Heaven be thanked, they are. But let it not be forgotten — and this is the consideration which we would press on our readers — that the influence and the power which are only a vain usurpation and a delusion to-day, may by criminal neglect and indifference become a reality and a fact to-morrow.

One of the first elements of strength, population, increases every day, and with tremendous accession, in Russia; Petersburg, whose creation is almost in the memory of the present generation, contains the third of a million of inhabitants. Odessa, which has only lately been introduced into our map, is already become a very populous city. The provinces through which the Don and the Volga roll their gigantic streams are being rapidly covered with settlers. The wandering tribes of Caucasus and the Crimea are becoming stationary; and were not the busy meddling of the Russian cabinet obvious in every thing that passes in the west of Europe, it would seem, from the changes that are now going on, as if all its cares were directed to the east. To the increase of the population of Russia it would be as difficult

to place a limit as to that of America, each equally possessing an unbounded and a fertile territory, which can hardly be disturbed by invasion, and capable of producing sustenance for ten times as many inhabitants as now occupy it.

But as population increases, and as civilisation advances, it is scarcely possible that the great mass of power which Russia will have to wield can be preserved in all its compactness, and be used, as it is now used, for the purpose of annoyance. While completely sunk in ignorance and barbarism, her government took no interest, no share in the general politics of the world. Events of which she has most dexterously availed herself, have dragged her forth, and made her the sovereign as it were of the European confederacy. This calamity we owe to the mad ambition of Napoleon. It was he who created the power by which he himself was first crushed; and which has since broken the elasticity, and almost destroyed the name, of liberty. While the people of Russia remain in that state of inertness which makes them the ready instruments of despotic will, the plans of the cabinet of Petersburg may be carried on undisturbed, — but society cannot continue long in the state in which it now exists in Russia. There is enough of knowledge at work even among the peasants to produce great changes: the surface of society is frozen by seeming indifference; but there are waves and torrents rolling and flowing beneath, and those who direct affairs may not be, and are not, acquainted with what is passing in the minds of the people, from which their pride and aristocratic spirit have so far removed them.

To a certain extent they may calculate wisely; for long-existing slavery and its degrading influences give great security to despotic power. When liberty becomes a habit it is a necessity, and it is only then that it towers securely above the vicissitudes of time. It is seldom the want of freedom which convulses and revolutionises a people; — it is the intolerable weight of oppression. The miscalculation of tyranny more frequently than the well-organised plans of reformers, leads to beneficial change. It is the self-destroying principles of evil, rather than the active influences of good, that ameliorate the world.

The country to which the hopes and the affections turn, as offering from its position a future probable check upon Russia, is Poland: but Poland is bound in a triple chain. She is not only possessed, she is surrounded by her omnipotent despoilers. Among the wrongs committed on humanity by Bonaparte, none was more cruel than the disappointment he inflicted upon the Poles: eighty thousand of them gathered round his standard, because they believed it was for them and their

country the standard of redemption. He used them, not for the deliverance of Poland, but for the subjugation of other nations. Their remains have been scattered over Europe: for still with a fond and faithful devotion they clung to the vain thought that *he* might yet save their native land. While he lived, however, there was some check upon the despotism that held them in bondage, — a bondage now becoming more intolerable every day. A few facts will serve to illustrate the character and temper of the government of Warsaw, and to show with what fear and trembling the slightest expression of public opinion is regarded. Not long since a Polish lad of fifteen, a student at the university of Wilna, wrote on one of the walls of the college, “Long live the Constitution of the 3d May.” The awful fact was reported by the governor of the city, by a special messenger, to the Grand Duke Constantine, who immediately dispatched his aide-de-camp, M. Nesselrode, with instructions to sift the matter thoroughly, and to act with becoming severity. He found the fact was but too true. The rector (a gentleman equally distinguished for his talents and his virtues), and all the professors of the college where the fearful words had been inscribed, were put under immediate arrest: a number of the students were conducted by *gendarmes* to Warsaw; while the chief criminal, the boy-conspirator, was conveyed in fetters by M. Nesselrode himself, in his own carriage, to the seat of government, where he and his companions were thrown into dungeons under the especial *surveillance* of the great duke himself. The fierce brutality of Constantine Pavlovich has been often recorded. The character of his intellect may be judged of from the following circumstance: — A short time ago he observed a Russian officer reading a book; he commanded the officer to approach, and took the book from his hand. Finding the name of *Helvetius* on the title-page, he deprived the officer of his commission on the spot, violently exclaiming, “I know Helvetius was a *Carbonaro*: La Harpe wanted me to read him, — I was no such fool. He who reads Helvetius cannot be faithful to his sovereign.” So watchful is his despotism, that the baggage of foreign travellers is now frequently conveyed to the vice-regal palace, in order that his High Mightiness may personally examine the documents it contains; and individuals are led into his presence for the sole purpose of allowing him to judge by their countenance whether there be any treason concealed in their bosoms. Nothing can be more characteristic of the man, and of his government. These are “they to whom God has committed,” to use the words of the declarations

of the Holy Alliance, "to whom God has committed the welfare of nations."

In connection with the situation which Russia professes to occupy among the nations of Europe, we shall take a hasty glance over the rise and progress of the literature of this extraordinary power; and especially as very little attention has been directed to the subject, and as the little volume which heads these observations has enabled us to supply the deficiencies in our previous information. It can scarcely be uninteresting or out of place to enquire whether the course of Russian ambition has been escorted by the advancing steps of civilisation, in as far as civilisation is indicated by the national literature. In Russia, where the chasm which separates the many from the few is deep, wide, and impassable, — where all who are not comprised under one of the castes, *lord* or *slave*, are as nothing, the dust upon the balance, — literature must be considered as the representative of the privileged class alone; for though among the millions of slaves now and then an extraordinary genius has appeared, and has burst the fetters which bind both mind and body in vassalage, such instances of strength and elasticity are remote and rare. The brow of the boor is branded, — and who shall remove the stigma? The intellect of the slave is flung into the dust, — and who shall raise it from its degradation?

The workings of improvement in Russia, emanate from whence they may, must be slow and gradual. The race of man deteriorates under the influence of misgovernment — the aptitude for the reception of knowledge dies away; and though the ordinary and imitative faculties of the mind, which are the only ones called into habitual action in an oppressed and vitiated state, are singularly alert and vigorous in Russia, we have always observed that it is impossible to elevate the conceptions beyond a certain height: that height they reach with great celerity — but no effort, no explanation, will take them much beyond it. Thus the easiest and simplest principles of mathematics are rapidly received, and become permanently impressed on the minds of the common Russians; but when a proposition is offered to them which requires a greater stretch of intellect for its comprehension, it is in vain that its difficulties are cleared away and its obvious truth presented in the most luminous form — the task is too great — the burthen is too heavy — the mind sinks by its own weight to that position above which it cannot be raised, except by the influence of time and improvement acting upon the great mass of men.

In a country like Russia, just bursting the bonds of darkness, only two classes of writers can excite much interest, or possess

much nationality; that is to say, the historians and the poets. So few of the former are entitled to any special distinction, that we shall but slightly introduce them, while recording the works of the latter. One interesting subject of enquiry has been long the object of attention in Russia — the philosophy and origin of languages; and the contributions of Russia to this valuable branch of knowledge,* sometimes the only guide to the early history of nations, have been most extensive and most honourable to those engaged. *

The earliest recollections of nations are almost universally poetical. In the mystery and darkness which hang over long-since departed time, the restless spirit of man loves to wander. It seeks a scene above or beyond the sphere of his daily cares, and is best pleased to stroll where the flight of the imagination cannot be checked by the sober realities of experience. It cannot easily create fables for the present, for observation and reflection would dissipate them, so it builds them out of the past; and as they flatter the pride and the vanity of nations, they easily get blended with their histories, and are as much revered and cherished, as if they had been revealed by inspiration. Some of the northern nations, the Finlanders especially, have preserved a great mass of the poetry of a period long anterior to the introduction of Christianity, through which their old mythology can be distinctly traced, and on which the influence of the new religion may be followed, introducing merely a few new names. In fact it did but transplant the saints of the Christian calendar to the niches filled by the minor deities of the old Finlanders; while the persons of the Trinity, and of the Holy Family, were made to suit the attributes of the higher deities.

The Scandinavian tribes generally preserved the songs and traditions of their ancestors with reverential care; they are frequently the sole fragments on which the historian can build his theories. In the sunny regions of the south, the recollections are more imaginative; but where the inhospitable climate gathers tribes and families together, their tales, oft repeated, become deeply impressed, and scarcely vary in their descent through many ages.

Poetry has been called a universal element. It is co-existent with human passion and human society; and its condensed and emphatic forms peculiarly fit it for the communication of thoughts and feelings from one generation to another. The deeds and the memories of the great and the proud are preserved in their mausoleums and their temples, their pillars and their palaces; they

* Consult F. Adelung's *Catherinen der Grossen Verdienste um die Vergleichende Sprachenkunde*. Petersburg, 1815.

are molten in brass and sculptured in marble;— the traditions of song are the ancestral history of the people. Their forefathers leave them no inheritance of recorded deeds and titles of fame; but they bequeath the memory of their love and hate, of their passions and affections. All that constitutes nationality, all that distinguishes one race of men from another, is thus preserved in a continuous, unbroken stream, which cannot easily be turned from its onward course. But the Russian people have no popular antiquity; no poetry exists of an earlier date than the 16th century, and the few fragments that we possess in the vernacular tongue of that period are mean and worthless. The origin and early progress of the Russian language is wholly lost, but it was greatly influenced no doubt by the translations from the Bible, and by the works of the ecclesiastical annalists, who deluged every idiom of the Slavonic with Greek and Latin words. The residence of the Tartars produced no considerable change; but in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Sarmatian branch obtained considerable ascendancy from the residence of a number of Russian writers in the universities of Poland, then, as now, the most intelligent and cultivated of all the Slavonian nations. Under Peter the Great, the German and Latin tongues introduced a great number of new terms; during the reign of Elizabeth the Russian was completely *gallicised*. Catherine restored its characteristic nationality, and its daily progress has been most obvious from the period of her reign.

In the first ardour and fury of conversion, the pagan records probably perished. Zeal without knowledge is a destroying barbarian. The personal characters of Vladimir, Jaroslav, and Monomach, were certainly friendly to literature; but Russia was an arena of internal discord, of which at last the Tartar availed himself, and made the divided and distracted nation an easy prey. Some faint memorials of these struggles are yet preserved in the memory of the Russian peasant; and to the name of *Black Caps* (*Chernie Klobuki*), by which the Turks and oriental tribes are yet distinguished, recollections of deep-seated enmity attach. The only depositaries of history and literature were the monasteries, and the free town of Novgorod, whose foreign commerce introduced civilisation from the south. Ivan Danilovich, who obtained from his generous spirit the name *Kalita*, or Purse, by which he is generally known, and Vassily, who followed him after the lapse of a century, did much to elevate and improve the people. John the Terrible invited Swiss artists to his court; and Alexir stretched out his hand to distant alliances, and laid the foundation of the international relations of Russia with other powers.

The annals of Nestor are the earliest historical records which

exist. They are very valuable, and obviously the production of an ingenuous and vigorous mind. Their style is unaffected, but full of old Slavonic expressions. In the records of Pskov and Novgorod, much of interesting episode, and many pathetic passages are blended with the dry details of passing events. These, and the code of laws by which the Scandinavian princes professed to regulate their conduct, are almost all that has been left to illustrate historical antiquity.

Among the poetic names which have been preserved out of the ruins of old times, there is one which, though but a name, is religiously venerated in Russia. *Boyan*, the nightingale (*Solovei*), whom tradition has cherished as the bard who led the old Russian warriors to battle, and enabled them to work miracles of valour by the magic excitement of his strains, still lives in the universal mind, though not a single breath of his lyre has found its way to the existing generation. In a warlike and anonymous fragment, the hymn used in the campaign of Igor in the 12th century, written in the dialect of southern Russia, in measured prose, a fine spirit of heroism is mingled with the obscurity of a forgotten mythology. For three centuries there is a perfect chasm; after which the song of the Battle of the Don, a pictorial, unornamented narrative, is the only production worth even a mention, till the epoch of Peter the Great.

And truly marvellous was the influence of that extraordinary man. Every species of knowledge and of cultivation was planted in Russia under his protecting and active auspices. Even popular eloquence found a representative; and Theophanes taught the Russians to give expression to thought. His writings are argumentative and passionate, though his diction is full of barbarism. Kantemir introduced into Russia the artificial and insipid versification of the French; his style is harsh and broken — yet he opened the floodgates of European knowledge, and prepared the way for one of the most extraordinary phenomena that ever instructed or reformed mankind. Lomonossov was the son of a poor mariner. His mind received its deepest impressions from the poetry of the Old Testament, whose sublimity he transferred to his own language, creating all those elements of strength and harmony which he wielded with a sovereign hand. He enriched the literature of his country by purifying and fixing the standard of language; he dragged from obscurity its historical annals; he introduced the study and the love of experimental philosophy; he advanced the art of navigation; established the rules of poetry; and decorated every subject with eloquence and correctness. His contemporary, Tredyakovsky, did something to improve the structure of Russian verse: but he had neither taste nor genius; and

his laborious industry, his sole merit, has been eclipsed and long since forgotten. At this period Sumarokov founded the Russian theatre. Time, which does justice at last, has placed Sumarokov in the situation he ought to occupy; but in his lifetime he was the idol of the court, and was allowed, by the common suffrages of the nobility, to treat the father of Russian literature with scorn and contempt. He left the language of Russia nearly as barbarous as he found it. His dramatic pieces have neither originality nor nationality of character. The language is either inelegant or bombastic, the plots intricate, and the vanity of the author only exceeded by the weakness of his pen. Popovsky, treading in the steps of Lomonosov, wrote in a pure and graceful style, and translated into Russian, Pope's *Essay on Man*.

Meanwhile, many seminaries had been founded in Russia, and the university of Moscow was established in 1755. A number of distinguished foreigners were invited to settle in Russia; but no considerable progress was made in civilisation, and no extraordinary genius appeared till the time of Catherine the Second. She, in the midst of her follies and her crimes, had, as we before remarked, a most decided passion for literature, and no small literary ambition. She could abstract herself from sensual indulgences to write Russian verses, and forget her vast schemes of ambitious domination in plans of intellectual reform. While she sent forth her generals on most unrighteous missions, she founded academies and patronised schools; and to the present hour, in spite of the foul deeds and strange caprices of her reign, she is spoken of, and thought of, in Russia, with reverential affection. Petrov, a bold and fiery lyric poet, sung the triumphs of Orlov. Kherasikov sought inspiration from the epic muse: his style is flowing, but affected and diffused: in his *Vladimir* and *Russiad* are many passages which are strikingly pictorial, and some local descriptions drawn to the very life; but he wrote too much to write well. Every species of poetry he attempted,—but he perfectly succeeded in none. His *Fortune-hunter* (*Iskatelei Schastiya*) is the least defective of his productions. The gay and festive Bogdanovich produced the *Dushenka* (*Psyche*), one of the most graceful of poetical fictions; it immediately obtained, and still preserves, a high degree of popularity; and its desultory wanderings gave it a peculiar attraction in a country where the almost universal character of verse is too artificial and restrained. Khemnitzer's easy and instructive *Fables* do honour to a branch of poetical composition in which the Russians have had remarkable success. Von Visin gave an air of nationality to the Russian drama, and has seized with great success some of the peculiarities of his nation, and especially the frivolous pride and folly of the

lower nobility. They may be corrected, — as they will be corrected, — but the interesting picture will remain. Kapnist gave to comedy all the bitterness of satire, while his serious odes are grand and noble, and his shorter pieces graceful and delicately wrought. Kostrov's prose translation of Ossian is a fine specimen of the capabilities of the Russian language; and his version of the eight first books of the Iliad, though not equally sustained, is generally dignified and energetic. Kniajnin introduced tragedy upon the stage, where his Dido and Vadim preserve their place, as do one or two of his comedies and *vaudevilles*.

Derzhavin was born in 1743. There is no limit to the eulogiums with which his countrymen speak of this distinguished man. We will quote the language of Bestujev, for it is curious and characteristic: — “ The glory of his nation and of his age; the inspired, the inimitable bard, — he soared to a height which none before had reached, and none shall ever reach again. A poet and a philosopher, his similes brought truth to the ear of princes. His mysterious influence could enliven the soul — enrapture the heart — excite the attention by rapid thoughts, and bold eloquence, and glorious pictures. His style is irresistible as the lightning-flash, and luxuriant as the lap of nature: — so when the sunbeam falls on the brilliant diamond which has been long buried in obscurity, its rays burst forth in magnificent brightness; so ere the eruption breaks from the triple-regioned Vesuvius, its smoke is veiled beneath the sheltering snows, while the traveller looks upon the dark mists, and foretels the coming storm.” To such an extent has the spirit of oriental exaggeration pervaded the literature of Russia. Derzhavin is certainly a poet of a high order, and his Ode to God, his Waterfall, and his *Felitza*, are among the best, if not the best, productions of a Russian pen. The poetry of Derzhavin is of too lofty a tone ever to become extensively popular; but a playful and elegant writer, who first excited attention by the justice of his criticisms, and next became an example of prudence from the faults he had reproved, appeared nearly at the same time, and occupied, as he still occupies, a high place in public opinion. Dmitriev's poetry obtained currency in the circles of fashion and served to popularise the Russian language. His fables are shrewd and sarcastic, yet easy and flowery; his songs gay and picturesque. Meanwhile Karamsin assiduously corrected the redundancy of his early productions, and threw off much of the foolish sentimentality in which he had been fond of indulging. He has produced a work on the History of Russia, which will become an European authority. It were to be wished that he could have found more materials beyond the courtly and aristocratical circle, and

that he had written rather in the spirit of a philosopher than with the special pleading of a Russian advocate, — but he has on the whole given to the world an important contribution to the sum of knowledge, while the fact that many thousand copies of an expensive and voluminous work should have been readily sold augurs well for the progress of information in Russia. As a specimen of style, Karamsin's history is entitled to the highest praise. Muraviev and Podshivaloy co-operated to improve the general tone of Russian composition. Bobrov's "Khersonida" is highly coloured with orientalism; but it is energetic, and its delineation of scenery appropriate and picturesque. Vosiokov introduced many new varieties into Slavonic prosody; while Kaiserov, the translator of Sterne, and Martinov, published versions of the most renowned of the poets of Greece and Rome, and modern Europe. The satires of Gortshakov, and the parodies of Marin excited much attention; and a Siberian bard, the blind Eros, published a popular volume of jocose poetry. Ismailov, whom the Russians call their Teniers, has been very successful in his pictures of vulgar life. Benitzky wrote a few pieces which are characterised by strong and glowing thoughts. He died in 1809 (æ.t. 29), at a moment when he had excited strong admiration in his favour. Shishkov's writings for children have considerable merit. He has been a leading controversialist in the discussions which are still going on in Russia on the subject of language; and he has thrown much light on the history of the Russian dialect in his *O Starom i Novom Slogie*, On the Old and New Style. Sudovshchikov, Krinkovsky, and Oserov have written several successful plays; but the "Pozharsky" of the second is full of historical mistakes. Oserov is the most admired dramatist of Russia. He uses the hexameter verse with considerable effect. His "Œdipus" is good; but his "Donskoi" is most interesting to a stranger: — Russian character is generally well preserved, though the hero of the piece has little likeness to either truth or nature. The influence of Oserov will necessarily be baneful in Russia. He has fettered tragedy in rhyme, and it will be difficult to release her, — yet the Russian language requires no such support to make it poetical. It has variety of accents, richness of tones, flexibility and strength. Shakhovsky has done something to throw off the trammels of the drama, though without sufficient genius to introduce a better model. The French theatre is the parent of the Russian, which is solely imitative. Moliere's master-pieces have been translated by Kokoshkin; Racine's, by Lobanov. Kantenin has introduced Cornéille. Of Shakspeare, some fragments of the Julius Cæsar have been badly rendered by Boris Fedorov; and Hamlet has been brought

out on the Russian stage by Viskovatov. Krilov is a fabulist, who in any country would obtain the highest praise. Easy, pointed, forcible, original,—his laughing satire is one of the best examples of good-humoured philosophy with which we are acquainted. A volume of Russian fables would be an acceptable present to English literature.

Zhukovsky and Batinshkov have employed the language of poetry with great success, and have excited a more active and general enthusiasm than was ever before awakened;—they have popularised literature. The translations of the former are models of poetical version; and his mastery over language, and facility of reproduction in another form, are very remarkable. Sometimes he is obscured by a strange, unintelligible mysticism; but his “Warrior among the ruins of the Kremlin,” and his patriotic poetry in general, have had a very decided influence on the general feeling. His ballads are remarkably pleasing and pointed. Batinshkov is a poet revelling in the joy of existence,—flinging his charms of song around as he proceeds on his flowery way. His “Dying Tasso” is a work of decided genius. Pushkin is very original. His “Ruslan and Lindmilla,” and “The Prisoner of War on the Caucasus,” are filled with exquisite images. Væsensky has the force of proverbs in most of his compositions. He has had the boldness to create, and the success to introduce, many new words and new forms of language. Gnædich has been very felicitous in his translations from the Greek in the classical measures. His poem on the birth of Homer seems as if it had been written near the waters of Alpheus. He has published Idyls for the people. Glinka is fanciful and melodious; Davidov, rich and martial; Baratinsky, gay and graceful; Milov, abrupt and broken. Riliev has opened a new career of poetry; one in which Niémcewicz, one of the most distinguished of the poets of Poland, has had great success. He has written popular and historical hymns. He who would do good in Russia must work downward—he must act upon the mass of the nation. The nobles are too selfish and too depraved—too self-sufficient to learn, and too proud to teach: the few will not bend down towards the many, nor detach from their privileged aristocracy any who may form a link for blending the distant castes. If the rich will not descend, the poor must rise; and he who elevates them most is the greatest benefactor of both poor and rich. Ostolopov has published a series of shrewd allegories. Rodsi-anka is the painting poet of still life. Merslakov has written a masterly translation of Horace’s *Ars Poetica*; and Virgil’s *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* are finely rendered by Raich. Two Russian ladies have also lately appeared in the field of poetry, Anna

Bunin and Anna Volkov. The "Fall of Phaeton," by the former, has very varied beauties. In the Russian periodicals, which lie before us, we have been much struck with the lively productions of some female pens. A good hope is built on the intellectual improvement and cultivation of the mind of woman in Russia, whose influence may gradually lower the tone of despotism.

Of the prose writers of Russia, Kachenovsky is one of the purest. He has discussed a variety of historical and critical subjects. Grech, whose volume on Russian literature is the safest guide to the study of its authors, has done abundant service to the language of his country. His Travels into France and Germany are petulant and ill-humoured. Bulgarin, though a Pole by birth, is the most powerful political writer in Russia; and such extracts from the Russian newspapers as have been deemed worthy of translation into the German, French, and English journals, have been generally from his pen. Golovin's Travels have found their way to England, through the German translation. Svinjin's Journey through America is worthy of the same honour. The Slavonian Evenings of Naræjny are full of interest, for they are strewn with fragments of old national poetry. Menshenin has published several respectable chemical works. The descriptive essays of Jakovlev, the European letters of Kurkhelbecker, and the criticisms of Somov, ought not to be passed over unnamed.

Political economy has found an advocate in Russia. We do not speak of Storch, whose writings, though published at Petersburg, are in the language of his country (Germany); but of Turgenev, whose Theory of Taxation has obtained him great applause. The brothers Bestushev are interesting travellers, and excellent critics.

We have thus made out a catalogue,—it will perhaps seem a dry and uninteresting one,—of the most prominent among those authors who have been pouring forth their streams of knowledge upon the widest and most consolidated empire in the world. It will appear eulogistic; but we have only mentioned the authors who are entitled to praise. There are hundreds who are entitled to none. We are proud of our list. Is it not something to point to such a number of civilising elements in a country just escaped from absolute barbarism? The standing armies of the Holy Alliance scarcely give us concern and apprehension enough to counterbalance the consolation we derive from such a display as this. Why, in Russia itself, the tribunal of public opinion is beginning to erect itself, even in the midst of swords and spears. Hear the language of our

Russian author :—“ Well, then, let us be consoled ; for public taste (he would say *opinion* if he dared) public taste is mounting upwards, like the streams hidden in the bosom of the earth, which struggle to burst forth. The new generation begins to feel the charm of our native language, and to erect itself on its strength. Time is working silently in favour of the seed that is sown ; the mists that cover the field of Russian literature may seem to hinder the growth of the young plant ; but it springs up and will flourish, and promises an abundant harvest.” (*Poliarnaia Svæda*, pp. 43, 44.)

Indeed it is most obvious that, by the action of so busy a spirit of enquiry and literature, the preparation for important changes in favour of human happiness is silently going on. Even in Russia despotism appears to be providing for its own downfall. The day of freedom must yet, it is true, be distant ; for the virtuous soil in which its roots can be planted remains to be discovered. Over the nobles, pride and profligacy have obtained an omnipotent sway : the peasants are bent beneath the degradation of ages ; the streams of knowledge flow on, and seem to produce no fertility ; yet there are some green spots, and seeds are springing up to be watched over and watered by those who are labouring for futurity. The great plague and pest of Russia, — its insolent and arbitrary feudal lords, the masters of its millions of slaves, — might be removed by the necessity of an autocrat seeking a security in popular opinion against the dictation of the nobles. Of such an event there have been symptoms more than once during the reign of Alexander. Some fatal genius has presided over his destinies. A miserable delusion that he is called on to be the guardian of *social order*, — social order being the silence of despondency and fear, the contentedness of ignorance and degradation, — this miserable delusion has crushed in their embryo, plans of consummate benevolence, defeated projects which might have blessed millions of human beings through untold generations, and have crowned the memory even of an autocrat with never-fading glory.

A monstrous despotism was, indeed, destroyed when Napoleon fell from the summit of his power ; but he stood in his single strength, and the gigantic pile would of itself have crumbled into dust with the crumbling of the hand that reared it. Proud and terrible as it was, it made no mockery of the mind of man. It courted genius, it sought alliance with poetry and philosophy, it even professed to respect the name of freedom. If the despotism of triple tyrants have succeeded the despotism of the solitary warrior, let it be acknowledged that it does not seek to deceive by

words. Once and again, in its hour of weakness, nations lent an easy ear to its flattering promises; but being enthroned in its *legitimate* strength, it flatters no longer: it will not sheath its sword. Let no one be deluded into the idea that this monstrous confederacy is less terrible than it appears to be. Its eye is omnipresent, its arm is now omnipotent. It sits amidst clouds and mists, and throws the bolt of perdition at its will. Yes! these lords of nations have power enough, and well have they used it for the infliction of misery: they have that steady purpose, which can look with unwet eye and hardened heart upon the wide scene of desolation which it causes. Yet let them not be too confident; for though they have rooted out from their spheres of wonted influence the enlightened, and the virtuous, and the brave, who have been gradually improving society, and leading forward civilisation with no tardy step, these very reformers are as determined in their projects, as unwavering in their will, as their oppressors are. Out of the ruin of their hopes, they have saved their hate; and they treasure it up, and watch over it, till the day of retribution. They are scattered over the face of the earth; they are disciplined by every species of want and woe: but their very sufferings are the best and noblest pledge of their sincerity, and of their integrity. They have not plundered the people; nor have their depredations placed them beyond the reach of public opinion; nor are they protected except by those unarmed interests over which they honestly watched, and for which they have been cruelly sacrificed: but they are not, they cannot be destroyed.

ART. VI. *Memorable Days in America*; being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain, by positive Evidence, the Condition and propable Prospects of British Emigrants. By W. Faux, an English Farmer. Simpkin and Marshall. 1823. 8vo. pp. 488.

Letters from America. By James Flint. W. and C. Tait. Edinburgh. 1822. 8vo. pp. 300.

Travels through Part of the United States and Canada. By John M. Duncan, A.B. Glasgow. Hurst and Robinson. 1823. 2 vols. 8vo.

TH**ERE** are few topics of modern interest on which we have been furnished with so much and such varying information as the actual condition of the great republic of North America, and the prospects of such as may be desirous to emigrate to that land of promise. Scarcely a quarter of the year elapses without

a fresh publication, and still the last is read with undiminished curiosity. In the present melancholy state of Europe, when despotism and bigotry have succeeded in establishing at least a temporary dominion, when in England itself, by bishops and judges, by ministers and hireling writers, are daily advanced and maintained doctrines of passive obedience which would have disgraced even the reign of James the Second, — America possesses a stronger hold than ever on the hopes and affections of those who desire improvement in the general condition of man.

But it is not on this account solely, nor because the whole of America is, year by year, undergoing changes almost incredible to Europeans, that every new statement from candid and well-informed men is received with increasing avidity. With regard to European countries, the demand for information is of various kinds, and has been supplied by travellers of various qualifications, many of them fully competent to the task they have undertaken. The sentimentalist, the poet, the antiquarian, the geologist, and even the drawing-room beau, have each of them the tours performed with a view to the objects in which they respectively take interest. The greater number of men possess sufficient qualifications to furnish a decent volume in one or other of these departments; and the political institutions of the Continent scarcely deserve the trouble of investigation.

With respect to travelling in America the case is very different; — the demand for information, or at least by far the chief demand, is all of one kind; and the aptitude requisite for the supply of this demand, is such as few possess. America is the only country which has presented us with the spectacle of a people governed by a system of genuine representation; the spectacle, not of a nominal, but an actual republic, and of entire democratic ascendancy. The object of paramount importance, the first object which every man has at heart with respect to such a country, is, to know in detail the effects of such a system on human happiness. Information of this kind can only be furnished by a traveller who, with a clear and unprejudiced intellect, possesses a knowledge of the leading principles of legislation and political economy. What we want is, to have the facts relating to these branches of knowledge presented to us in all their integrity. But how few, even among the educated, are capable of separating the essential from the accidental, or of conveying to us, with relation to any given subject, a fact undistorted by omission, arrangement, or colouring, or unincumbered with irrelevant details! Hence arises, notwithstanding all the volumes which have already appeared, the imperfect, and apparently conflicting testimony on the subject of the great American community.

Of all the writers of these volumes scarcely one has possessed the requisite qualifications to place clearly before us the facts essential towards forming an accurate judgment. Tradesmen have given us a list of prices, and merchants have explored the rate of profit; farmers have found fault with the soil and husbandry; and fine gentlemen have decided that good breeding cannot exist where bowing, scraping, and *cutting* have been superseded by plain speech and affability; all have admired the height of Niagara, and the length and breadth of Mississippi; — but few have directed their attention to the grand point, — whether, taking the whole population into account, a greater mass of happiness is or is not enjoyed by the Americans than by the same number of people in any part of Europe; and if it be enjoyed, how far this good effect is ascribable to the nature of the government, and how far to other causes.

Considering the character of the witnesses, we think it by no means difficult to reconcile the apparently conflicting testimony which has been adduced with reference to the expediency or in-expediency of emigration; nor, indeed, in the absence of all testimony, should we ever have despaired of coming to a safe practical conclusion on the subject.

In a newly settled and thinly peopled district, where towns have not been built, and the inhabitants for the most part have little to subsist on besides the immediate produce of their labour, it is obvious that men cannot procure those conveniences and comforts which are attainable by a large proportion of the members of a more advanced state of society; nor can they obtain even that degree of mutual assistance which in older countries the poorest individuals are able to extend to one another. In order to live, each man *must* be a farmer; and he will labour under considerable difficulty, if he be not also in some degree a carpenter, blacksmith, and tailor. With these qualifications he may, at a moderate amount of labour, insure subsistence; and if he be careful and industrious, may, after a few years, as the settlement advances and markets approach him, arrive at comparative opulence. In the meanwhile his enjoyment of security will not be of the highest order, and will consist rather in the absence of temptation, than in the presence of the magistrate and police, or the prevalence of a very rigid morality. Where all have the means of subsistence, and few possess superfluity, still fewer will resort to violence as a relief from want; but when occasionally violence is resorted to, there will be but slender means of redress. The whole produce of the country would not support a magistracy and efficient police; and the paramount sanction for good conduct in the bulk of a populous society, namely, the necessity of acquiring the good

opinion of others, in order to obtain subsistence, will not here exist. Where a man has no neighbours nearer than five or ten miles, he can derive little inconvenience from their bad opinion, and little advantage from their good. Such is the state of what are called the back settlements;—such is the state of every infant community. To complain that under these circumstances occasional outrages should remain unredressed, is to expect effects without a cause; but it can hardly be asserted that the degree of insecurity is very formidable, where capital and population are on all sides so rapidly increasing.

However, to thrive and be contented in such districts, a man must be resolute, industrious, and frugal; he must have been unaccustomed to the luxuries of city accommodation, must be able to turn his hand to any thing, and look for society in the circle of his own family. To the agricultural labourer, who, in England can earn but six shillings a-week by twelve hours' hard labour every day, — who, if he has a wife and children, obtains no better fare from year to year, than bad bread in insufficient quantities, — who goes to bed hungry every night, and sees his children half starved around him; and we know many districts of the state of which this is a mitigated representation, — to such a man, if he can find a friend to convey him thither, it must be the height of bliss to sit down in the back settlements of North America: he has never been accustomed to the luxuries and accommodations of city life, he has never moved in refined society; he therefore has no sacrifices to make, nor any very agreeable associations to snap asunder in leaving his native village; and if he live in a log-house with one room instead of a broken-windowed mud cottage with two, he is at least exempt from the constant pain of hunger, and has the satisfaction of being released from all anxiety with respect to the fate of his children.

So, the small farmer, — who, moving in a circle scarcely more elevated than that of his labourer, has spent his days in some remote village almost as little frequented as the American wilderness, — who, after pinching and struggling against poor's rates and taxes, finds his little capital hourly diminishing, and his family verging fast into the class of paupers, — may take courage while he has yet enough to pay for his passage: the industry and parsimony which here reward him with nothing but care and disappointment, will insure him competence in the western world, and his circle of society and enjoyment will not be more contracted than in his native country.

But with the town mechanic, who has generally obtained, even under great disadvantages, a certain portion of the conveniences of a more refined state of existence, and still more, with persons

who have been in the enjoyment of competence and of an enlightened class of society, the case is altogether different. If a choice *must* be made by such persons between European comfort and society on the one hand, (alloyed as they are by taxation and oppression,) and the solitude, silence, and want of accommodation in the western forest (mitigated as these evils are by the absence of insult and hunger) on the other hand, there can scarcely be a doubt that to the great mass of dispositions, the annoyances of Europe would on the whole be esteemed less in amount than the inconvenience to be endured by a total change of the habits, and disruption of the associations of former years.

To this alternative, however, no person already possessed of a competence removable at pleasure, or of mechanical skill, need be reduced. In or near the large towns of the eastern and northern states, he will find society and accommodations not materially differing from those of European cities. In consequence of the facility with which employment and subsistence may be obtained, his servants will be less obsequious and accurate in their duties, his house will be less neat and orderly than in Great Britain, the attendance of menials in minute matters he must dispense with altogether: but his suffering from the misgovernment and barbarous political institutions of Europe cannot be very intense, if he does not esteem an exemption from taxes and oppression an advantage which more than compensates for the absence of extreme neatness in domestic economy.

Whether the evils occasioned by despotism and aristocracy are so painful as to make it worth while for a man, who is otherwise tolerably well off, to forsake, on any terms, the scenes and connections to which he has been attached through any considerable period of his life, is a question, the solution of which must altogether depend upon the circumstances and disposition of each individual; but it may fairly be confessed that this is a step which no one should venture to make, unless he feels some enthusiasm for the progress of human improvement, and considerable annoyance at the mischievous political institutions of the Old World. As to capitalists and tradesmen, who, without any other motives for preference, seek a residence in America with the sole view of obtaining a larger rate of profit than Europe affords, all the information we can collect leads us to suppose that they must encounter disappointment.

With respect to the western settlements, the views we have taken are fully confirmed by the statements made by Mr. Faux, one of the latest and not least instructive of the various travelers through the Union. Mr. Faux, who states himself to be a farmer, does not indeed appear to have possessed in any great

degree the highest order of qualifications which we should wish to find in a traveller through America; but he seems to be a clear-headed, unprejudiced, honest man; and his work, in the shape of a journal, — a shape which, of all others, most entitles to credit the statements it contains, — bears every internal mark of truth, and of a veracious disposition in the writer.

The facts which fell within the author's observation are clearly and fearlessly stated; but the defect of his book is, that instead of its consisting altogether of a statement of such facts, or the author's own remarks upon them, a very large proportion of it is made up in detailing the foolish opinions of foolish persons with whom the author happened to fall in company: as, of a certain Captain Strode (p. 54.), who thinks "king, lords, and commons, to be the best system of government for old England, if the commons were but good and faithful." The problem is, how to make them so, or to act as if they were so. In page 71. we are told Judge King thinks a limited monarchy the best for all countries, and (like Mr. Justice Bayley) the national debt a national good.

In page 126. is given a long character of the Americans by one Perry, full of idle generalities, assumed probably from a very insufficient number of particulars; but, in the very next page, we are expressly told that Mr. Perry is not to be trusted.

Towards the close of the book a very large space is filled with the sentiments and sayings of Mr. Thomas Law, who seems, indeed, to be a kind-hearted amiable man; but of the value of whose opinions the reader may form some estimate, when he learns that Mr. Law esteems a paper circulation essential to the prosperity of America (p. 444.); — that he is an advocate for the exclusion of foreign manufacture, by high duties or prohibitions (p. 441.); — that he deems a philosophy false, of which utility is made the basis, believing that *impulse* and *feeling* furnish the best moral guide.

From the facts which Mr. Faux gives on his own authority, it clearly appears, that of the agricultural labourers who have emigrated to the back settlements (where Mr. Faux's time was chiefly spent) a large majority are doing well; and that by far the greater part of those persons who have failed, have failed through drunkenness and improvidence, or their own extreme unfitness for an employment newly adopted. At page 142. he says, —

' I visited and spent the night with Mr. Worsley, a first-rate practical farmer and grazier, late of Lincolnshire. He owns a fine farm, in a Maryland valley, of 350 acres, which 13 years ago he bought at 20 dollars an acre, but which is now worth 60 dollars. It has averaged yearly, exclusive of a good living, a net gain of 600 dollars, by cultivation only. He finds 40 miles from a market of no importance,

as the carrying is done when men and horses have nothing else to do. He is also paid for the carriage, and brings in return plaster, for which he must otherwise have gone empty; or if he preferred it, he might sell his grain to a neighbouring miller at a city price, only allowing the miller for the carriage to the city: — “My expenses,” says he, “on an acre of wheat, amount to 12 dollars, and it has always averaged 22 dollars, or 23 dollars at market, so netting near 100 per cent. I have always 150 acres in grain and corn, 100 in clover, and 100 in wood; the latter of which is worth, to sell, 150 dollars an acre, but that must remain as indispensable to a farm without any green hedges. I consider green clover crops in value equal to grain, when fattening beasts and pigs pays well. This dry year, the four-years old beasts, which cost in, as stores, 35 dollars a-head, will sell out only for the same money; — a sad loss! All my time, keep, and labour are wasted on them.”

Again at page 149. —

‘Supped and slept at New Town with Mr. M^cGill, a venerable and highly respectable merchant, who knows that farmers have made large fortunes quickly, where disposed to economy and industry. Still, many of the Virginians have spent all as fast as it came, indulging in all manner of luxury and excess; giving their children most expensive educations, which never turned to any account, as they afterwards all sat down on small plantations. Colonel Thomas (says he) has saved much and spent liberally too, although he talks to you of money being made slowly by farming. Bacon, potatoe, and bonny claber farmers (Germans), have become invariably rich by cultivating. On farms of 300 acres each, 100 is in wood, 100 in corn and rye, for the support of the farm and establishment; and 100 is in wheat, clear gain, which might be put into the pocket every year.’

At page 104. we read of two emigrants who had failed; but both these young men, “lived freely and imprudently: they dressed in style, and would have dinners which cost four dollars a week.”

Near Zainsville in Ohio, our author passed through a fine rich country, “full of the natural means of living well by the sweat of the brow: — the poor complained of a want of money, and others of a scarcity of it; but none of want of common necessaries, such as bread, meat, and whiskey.”

At Lexington, and in the neighbourhood, housekeeping is very cheap: 100 pounds of fine flour for two dollars; a fine fat sheep two dollars; beef, two-pence and three-pence a pound; a dozen fat fowls from three-quarters to one dollar; but (p. 228.) “our party were all agreed in this particular, that the western country is only fit for the little hardworking farmer with a small capital. He must live, and better than he could elsewhere, on the production of his own hands and lands.” — “Wholesale farmers from England expecting to cultivate from 300 to 1000

acres, and sell the produce of the farm in lumps, will come here only to be disappointed."

Eighty miles to the westward of Vincennes, in the very depth of the Illinois wilderness, Mr. Faux arrives at the abode of John Ingle, an old acquaintance, lately settled in the district. Mr. Ingle, a hard-working man with a wife, a female servant, and six children, is evidently in a situation exempt from want or the apprehension of it; but subject, like all new settlers, to a scrambling kind of existence for the first two or three years after his sitting down. The description of his abode, which probably differs little from that of most new-comers, is as follows:—

' My friend's log-house, as a first, is one of the best I have seen, having one large room and a chamber over it, to which you climb by a ladder. It has, at present, no windows; but when the doors are shut, the crevices between the rough logs admit light and air enough, above and below. It is five yards square and twenty feet high. At a little distance stand a stable for two horses, a corn crib, a pig-stye, and a store; for store-keeping is his intention, and it is a good one. Two beds in the room below, and one above, lodge us in the following manner:— myself and Mr. Ingle in one bed; in the second, by our side, sleep six fine but dirty children; and in the chamber, Mrs. Ingle and a valuable English maid. Thus, on my account, husband and wife are divided. It is not unusual for a male and female to sleep in the same room uncurtained, holding conversation while in bed. In a yard adjoining the house are three sows and pigs half starved; and several cows, calves, and horses, very poor, having no grass, no pasture, but with bells about their necks, eternally ringing. Shame, or rather what is called false shame, or delicacy, does not exist here. Males dress and undress before the females, and nothing is thought of it. Here is no servant. The maid is equal to the master. No boy, or man-servant. No water, but at half a mile distant. Mr. Ingle does all the jobs, and more than half the hewing, splitting, and ploughing. He is all economy, all dirty-handed industry. No wood is cut in readiness for morning fires. He and the axe procure it, and provender for the poor hungry cattle, pigs, and horses. His time is continually occupied, and the young boys just breeched are made useful in every possible way.'

Of the bad faith but too common in such remote and thinly peopled districts, the following is an instance:—

' A preacher took a piece of land to clear for my friend, and received, before he began, forty dollars on account, but refused to perform his contract. To sue him was idle. My friend, in the presence of the fellow's son, called him a right reverend rascal and thief. "Call him so again," said the son, doubling his fist ready to strike. My friend repeated it and taking up an axe, said "Now strike; but if you do, as I was never yet afraid of a man, I'll chop you into rails."'

No medical man lives nearer than within twelve miles of Ingle's

settlement, (Sandeville,) nor is there any school for children; — but an ordinary schoolmaster might, it is said, earn from four to five hundred dollars a year. — Soap, candles, sugar, cotton, leather, and woollen clothes of a good quality, are all made in the district; but not without the most unremitting industry on the part of the females. Filth and rags, however, are often preferred. Imperious necessity alone commands extraordinary exertion: but the industrious speedily thrive, and even the improvident secure subsistence.

‘Mr. Peck, late of Chatteris, introduced himself to me this day. Born and bred a labourer, he at length became a little farmer, on the dearest land in Chatteris, from which he brought a wife, four daughters, one son, a man, and 500*l.*; all the perfection of British industry. Feeling themselves likely to lose all, they came here to two quarter-sections, costing 145*l.* to be paid, in three years, by instalments; so leaving 355*l.* for stock, seed corn, and housekeeping, until they shall have cleared twenty acres, and raised produce. He begged I would come and dine with him, so that I might hear particulars of his former state, present condition, and prospects, and be able to tell his old neighbours of his comforts and satisfaction. “Now,” says he, “I feel I can live, and live well, by working, and without fretting and working, seventeen, out of the twenty-four hours, all the year round, as I used to do at Chatteris. And what is sweeter than all, I feel I am now the owner of 300 acres of land, all paid for, and free from all poor-rates, parsons, and tax-gatherers; and that I shall be able to give and leave each of my children 100 acres of good land to work upon, instead of the highway, or Chatteris work-house. No fear of their committees now, nor of Ely gaol.” (P. 242.)

‘By a conversation with old Ferrel, I find he began, thirty years ago, with nothing but his own hands. Striking each hand, he said, “This is all I had to begin with;” and it seems, that excepting his children, he has little more now, — merely a quarter-section just entered, and a log raised on it. All seem very improvident and extravagant, the family sometimes eating four or five pounds of butter a-day, the produce of all their cows. Thus, with the corn-cake and bacon, a part of the year (for they are almost always destitute of fresh meat, tea and sugar), is their table supplied.’ (P. 245.)

In November, 1819, Mr. Faux visited Birkbeck’s settlement at English Prairie: at that time little of the lands purchased had been brought into cultivation, but Mr. Birkbeck had sold off various portions at a profit; and Mr. Flower had a flock of five hundred Merino sheep, and a large herd of cattle: — all the family of the latter said they had nothing to regret, and were well satisfied, but wished that more friends would follow. They acknowledged that they had much to do from want of servants. Their log-houses were well laid out, replete with every comfort, and many of the elegancies of European life; books, music, &c.

The little town of Albion close by, consisting of one house only, and ten or twelve log-cabins, contains a good market-house, and a public library, — the books, a donation from the Flower family, and their friends in England; but the town, according to our author, is full of degenerate English mechanics, too idle to work, and above every thing but eating, drinking, brawling, and fighting. The streets and paths are almost impassable with roots and stumps; and in front of every door is a stinking puddle, formed by throwing out wash and dirty water.

Wanborough, the village rising on Mr. Birkbeck's estate, seems in a better condition; and every log-house has a cleared enclosure of a few acres attached. However, the Hunters, or Illinois Rowdies, as they are called, appear to be rather troublesome neighbours. They come rudely with their hats on into the parlour, and when drunk, threaten violence; but a little resolution is in general a sufficient protection. The greatest obstacle to the prosperity of the rising settlement, is the unhappy and apparently irreconcilable quarrel between the two families of Flower and Birkbeck: this quarrel originated in conflicting claims for the hand of a fair lady, now the wife of one of the parties; but as the cause of dissension existed before the settlement at Albion was commenced, it is, for the sake of both parties, to be regretted, that the last comer did not fix himself in some other quarter. The prevailing opinion of the Americans was, that both must fail.

Of the native western labourers we have the most repulsive account. The greater part of them are small farmers, poor, dirty, and wretched, because idle and ignorant; they live chiefly on the deer they shoot, their children staying at home in rags and filth, because it is disgraceful to go to service. Though able workmen when they choose, they are a great annoyance to the English, by whom they are employed, haunting the fire-side at meals, where they stand in pairs with their backs towards the fire, to the exclusion of the family, at whom they gaze, expecting to be asked to dinner, breakfast, or supper. When they come for work, they often brush in with their hat on at meal times, expecting to be fed. If the female of the family is in bed, they stand and see her get out and dress, and it is often necessary to show or threaten them with a pistol.

The distance and consequent inefficiency of the magistrature, and the expense and inconvenience attached to a demand for redress, under the regular tribunals of the country, have occasioned the institution of a kind of self-appointed police, called *regulators*, who punish or destroy offenders, where the law cannot be enforced; and the inhabitants often exert themselves for mutual protection.

A stranger was waylaid and robbed of 3000 dollars: on making it known, colonels, majors, captains, and lieutenants, all as one man, instantly armed, without fee or reward, and scouring the country round for many miles, overtook and seized the robber, and recovered all the money. (P. 147.) The *regulators*, however, as might be expected, are sometimes guilty of great oppression; and we are told of one instance in which a person acquitted on a charge of theft was desired to leave the town, when having obeyed, and being in the act of quitting the country, he was overtaken in the woods, and severely whipped. The lonely road to the Missouri is still exposed to danger, by combinations of Rowdy robbers.

It ought also to be borne in mind by persons disposed to emigrate, that almost all the prairie lands have been found unhealthy. These lands consist of large tracts of rich soil near the sides of rivers: they are naturally clear of wood; and there is strong reason for supposing they have formerly served as a bed for lakes or extensive inundations. But as they are annually visited in the autumn with dangerous fevers, the advantage of having the soil ready cleared, is outweighed by the peril of sickness. There seems to have been less of this sickness in the prairie chosen by Mr. Birbeck, than in other situations of the same sort; but the native Americans generally prefer a more elevated district.

In his journey through Carolina to the western settlements, Mr. Faux had ample opportunities of ascertaining the actual condition of the negro slaves, and the opinions prevalent on the subject of slavery. In the majority of instances it is clear the slaves are used well in point of diet and housing, and seldom overworked; but with this comparative mitigation, the horrible and degrading effects of the system, both on the oppressors and oppressed, are but too apparent. Under the influence of fear (the most cruel of all the passions), laws have been enacted which deprive the black man of the most ordinary security against injustice and violence. According to a provincial act of Carolina, made perpetual in 1783, a master who tortures or dismembers his slave in any way, is liable only to a fine of about 14*l.*; for killing him in cold blood, a fine of 100*l.*; for killing him in anger, a fine of 50*l.*; while a penalty of 100*l.* is imposed on any person who shall dare teach a negro to write. In these laws we believe some alteration has very recently been made, but the effects of them on the dispositions of the planters will long remain unchanged. Under such institutions instances of outrage cannot be unfrequent. Two slaves were whipped to death during our author's passage through the country; and he was so much affected by seeing the remains of one of them, whipped into a

shapeless mass of putrefaction by a drunken master and two assistants, who each relieved the other for a whole night, during which the execution lasted, that he had the courage to publish all the details, subscribed with his own name, in a Charleston newspaper, and to apply to the attorney-general of the state. We say the courage; for, as might have been anticipated, what he had done was ill-received by all ranks, and his life may be considered to have been actually in danger. (See pp: 75, 79, 80.) His interview with the attorney-general is not a little curious.

‘ At ten o’clock this morning I went in due form with the governor’s aid-de-camp to Colonel Haines, the young attorney-general, who, when I entered, after a polite reception, addressed me as follows:—“ Now, sir, will you please to open to me your sources of information touching this alleged murder? But, sir, give me leave to say, that I think that you have acted imprudently in publishing it so hastily, inasmuch as it interferes with the province of a jury.” I replied, “ My motives are good, and they must shelter me. I fear not the consequences. Too little publicity, I think, is given to such cases: what I have done is calculated to prevent a recurrence of such enormities.”—“ But, sir, you have stained the character of South Carolina; and *what you have thus written will be greedily copied and extensively read to our injury, in the northern and eastern states, and all over Europe.* But, sir, let me tell you, further, that such offences rarely occur in this state, which is always prompt to punish the offenders. Will you or can you give personal evidence?” I answered, “ I cannot. I can do no more than I have done. My publication and my conversation with you, sir, are sufficient. From what I have said to you now, the matter is tangible enough.” “ Well, sir,” rejoined he, “ if that is all you will do and say, we must leave it, and I will write immediately to the district attorney, and get Kelly indicted.” This conversation or examination occupied about an hour, and was politely conducted. There is no evidence that the learned gentleman redeemed his promise here given.” (P. 76.)

It is pretty evident the learned gentleman dared not proceed against the offender, or even countenance the exposure of the offence. But his apprehensions, with respect to the opinion which would be formed on the case by the northern and eastern states, sufficiently discover the cause of the comparatively mild treatment experienced in general by the slaves of the United States; the more so as the same apprehensions were openly expressed by other respectable persons. (See p. 77.) Outrages, which the law rather encourages than represses, seem, in some degree, to be checked by the powerful sanction of the tribunal of public opinion: in many respects the condition of the Carolina slaves approaches nearer to that of domestic servants than could reasonably be expected under such a state of things; and this seems to be

confirmed by the fact, that their numbers are continually on the increase by births. (See pp. 59. 63. 68.)

But the portions of the British dominions in which slavery is still established, being severed by the ocean from those in which the population is free, the opinions entertained in Great Britain on the subject of slave treatment are almost a matter of indifference to the Jamaica planter; and the obvious result is, that horrible as is the condition of the slave in Carolina, in the West Indies he is subjected to an extremity of misery and degradation a thousandfold more frightful. This is put out of all doubt by the testimony of Mr. Cooper, who was sent out three years ago by Mr. Hibbert, an eminent planter, with a view to enquire into, and if possible ameliorate, the condition of the slaves on the estate of that gentleman. From this fact alone, it is evident that Mr. Hibbert is a man generous and humane in no ordinary degree; it may therefore be presumed that the treatment experienced by slaves on his estate affords at least a fair specimen of their condition throughout the West Indies. Yet, what is the statement? —

During the sugar harvest, which lasts for about five months, the manufacture of sugar is continued without intermission either day or night, except for about eighteen hours from midnight on Saturday to Sunday evening. The slaves are for the most part divided into two gangs, which, besides being fully occupied in the labours of the plantation during the day, are engaged the whole of the night on alternate nights. In the exaction of this labour no difference is made between men and women.

The men employed in carrying the canes from the field to the mill have no regular time of rest, except half an hour for breakfast, and two hours' interval in the middle of the day; but it seldom happens that they get a whole night's rest at one time. The whole of Sunday they are obliged to employ in the cultivation of their provision ground, — in bringing thence the food requisite for their sustenance during the week, and in keeping market. The punishment of the whip is inflicted on all occasions at the discretion of the driver and overseer. The law which limits the number of strokes to thirty-nine is practically disregarded, and the wretched victims are frightfully mangled and excoriated by every execution. When the lacerations produced by one flogging are sufficiently healed, a second is frequently inflicted; and while the sores are unhealed, maggots often breed in the lacerated flesh. Their numbers, as might be expected, annually decrease; and suicide, by dirt-eating and otherwise, is not unfrequently resorted to as the only escape from misery; or

(as the perverted intellects of West Indian writers will have it) out of an ill-disposition to their masters !

After this, and a thousand corroborating statements, how childishly absurd is the tone of triumphant reproach with which British writers, Whig as well as Tory, assail the American republic for permitting the existence of slavery, as if no such evil existed in the British dominions, or as if the influence of property or the prejudices of education were to be overcome in an instant by the breath of the republican legislator !

Are the mischievous effects of the system less notorious in Great Britain than in America? do we less “ know the value of liberty,” less “ understand its principles,” than the Americans? If the existence of slavery in America is “ an atrocious crime with which no measures can be kept” (see Edinb. Rev. No. LXXI. pp. 146. 148.), is its existence in the British dominions less atrocious?

It must be remembered too that slavery was established and took firm root in America, under the British dominion; that the Americans themselves had no means of efficiently attacking the evil till it had been strengthened by an existence of near 200 years; and that, notwithstanding the obstacles opposed by property, prejudice, and not unreasonable apprehensions as to the effect of any sudden emancipation, these same Americans have already done much more towards the ultimate eradication of the evil than Great Britain has ever been able to accomplish. So early as the year 1703, the colony of Massachusetts imposed a tax to prevent further importations. The same settlement made attempts to prevent the import altogether in 1767 and 1774. Previous to the year 1772 no less than twenty-three acts were passed by the legislature of Virginia for applying taxes to the trade with a view to its restriction. In 1772, Virginia petitioned the throne on the same subject, but *obtained no redress*. Several other colonies made remonstrances at different times, but were repressed *by the opposition of British governors*. In 1780, the state of Pennsylvania, though then occupied in the struggle for independence, passed an act for gradual manumission. Since that time the whole country north of Virginia has nearly effected the extinction of slavery. In 1787 a law was passed prohibiting slave keeping in the large districts north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. In about forty years the United States have effected the emancipation of negroes over half the territory subject to their jurisdiction. A progress much more rapid than Great Britain has been able to effect with regard to its dependencies; and, as Mr. Flint has well observed, a striking illustration of the power of democratic ascendancy to

correct the abuses implanted and fostered by aristocratical sway.

There is another circumstance which imposes additional difficulties on the American legislatures. Mr. Flint says,

‘ The governments of new territories are allowing vast tracts of country to become markets; and the older slave-keeping states are converted into nurseries, from which multitudes of slaves are procured. If this course of policy is persisted in, the humane exertions of individuals, and the benevolent associations in Britain and elsewhere, cannot counteract the growing abuse. Emancipation can scarcely be contemplated, where its objects are multiplied with such rapidity. Amalgamation with the whites, extermination, or ultimate preponderance, present themselves to the penetrating mind.

‘ The baneful effects of slave-keeping are not confined to negroes, but are widely diffused amongst white people. The necessity of personal labour being removed from the master, he either indulges in idleness, or spends his time in amusements that are incompatible with industrious habits. His progeny, seeing that every sort of useful labour is performed by the slaves, whom they are taught to regard as an inferior class of beings, naturally conceive that the cultivation of the earth is a pursuit too degrading for white men. Where such early impressions are entertained, we need not be surprised with the multitudes of idlers, hunters, horse-racers, gamesters, and dissipated persons, that are here very prevalent.’

Mr. Faux and Mr. Flint spent the greater part of their sojournment in the western settlements. The travels of Mr. Duncan were chiefly through the large towns on the eastern coasts. He appears to be an eminently pious and loyal man; one who loves kings, lords, and commons, especially Kings George the Third and Fourth, and whose antipathy to and dread of universal suffrage resembles, and is about as reasonable, as that which a fine lady entertains towards a spider. He is constant in his attendance at public worship, never travels on the Sabbath, and is seriously afflicted at the sight of enjoyment or business on a day which he would devote exclusively to religion.

The testimony of such a witness as to religious matters cannot, we think, be impugned; yet according to him, without a splendidly endowed establishment,—without a law against blasphemy,—without a vice society, or the aid of those impiously inconsistent persons who tell us that the Almighty, unless assisted by them, is unable to support a creed expressly propounded by him for the benefit of man,—without state prosecutions for libel,—and without burning every copy of Tom Paine, or even discountenancing the sale of his works,—religious observances obtain in the United States to an extent, and with a degree of rigour, of which Europe can furnish few examples. At the same time, universal equality

as to political rights has extinguished a great proportion of the ill-will and dissension between contending sects, and all the cruelties and oppressions inflicted in Europe by the members of prevailing creeds over those who differ from them in opinion. Mr. Duncan says, with much effect (vol. ii. p. 329.): —

‘ The inquisition undertook to regulate astronomical science, and kings and parliament have, with equal propriety, presumed to legislate upon questions of theology. The world has outgrown the former, and it will one day be ashamed that it has been so long of outgrowing the latter. The founders of the American republic saw the absurdity of employing the attorney-general to refute deism and infidelity, or of attempting to influence opinion on abstract subjects by penal enactments; they saw also the injustice of taxing the whole to support the religious opinions of the few, and have set an example which older governments will one day or another be compelled to follow

‘ In America the question is not, What is his creed?—but, What is his conduct? Jews* have all the privileges of Christians; Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents, meet on common ground. No religious test is required to qualify for public office, except in some cases a mere verbal assent to the truth of the Christian religion; and in every court throughout the country, it is optional whether you give your affirmation on oath.

‘ It has been often said that the disinclination of the heart to religious truth renders a state establishment absolutely necessary, for the purpose of christianizing the country. Ireland and America can furnish abundant evidence of the fallacy of such an hypothesis. In the one country we see an ecclesiastical establishment of the most costly description utterly inoperative in dispelling ignorance or refuting error; in the other no establishment of any kind, and yet religion making daily and hourly progress, promoting enquiry, diffusing knowledge, strengthening the weak, and mollifying the hardened. The religious aspect of America is no doubt checquered with gloomy spots, and I believe that in a large portion of the southern states ignorance and irreligion prevail to a deplorable extent; but even in our own comparatively small portion of the globe’s surface, how large a proportion of parishes are to be found, where there is all the apparatus of religion, a steeple, a benefice, and an incumbent, but an utter famine of the bread of life! and in how many more do we find that dissenterism, that is, systematic opposition to the established religion, has been the sole means of preserving the knowledge of the truth!

‘ When we dispassionately examine the history and present condition of the various divisions of the United States, we shall be constrained to admit that religion has made as extensive progress as we could possibly have expected from any establishment; nay, that it is probably in as active a state of advancement, in the older sections of the country, as in any part of the world. If any would imagine that an establishment would have improved matters, let him look to Canada; and

* “ While I was in New York the sheriff of the city was a Jew.”

even setting aside all reference to the French population, let him tell us what has been effected, among those of British descent, by a lordly episcopacy, supported by annual stipends from government, and a seventh part of all granted lands.'

The inferiority of the Canadians to the inhabitants of the United States, at least as far as regards activity and enterprise, has been remarked by Mr. Duncan, as well as by every other traveller. A canal of nine miles in length to elude some of the worst rapids of the St. Lawrence, has been *talked of* at Montreal for the last twenty years; the people of New York in the meanwhile have united the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson and the Atlantic, by a cut of near 400 miles. All this, however, joined to an almost entire exemption from taxation, cannot overcome Mr. Duncan's evident hatred of republicanism. His arguments against the system of suffrage which prevails in America, are indeed confined to the calling it a "pestilent system," and predicting that the evil of it will be felt hereafter, without attempting to show us how; unless indeed at vol. ii. p. 335., where it is evident he considers as an evil a change in the constitution produced at the desire of the people, even though the change should be attended with nothing but advantage. "It does seem ominous of evil," says he, "that so little ceremony is at present used with the constitutions of the various states." Why is this ominous? or rather, of what is it ominous, save good? If there be any thing defective in the constitution of these states, why should ceremony be used towards such defects? When the people at large have ceased to use ceremony towards a form of government, what instance can Mr. Duncan adduce of their having made it worse? when sovereigns have ceased to use ceremony, what instance of their having made it better? "The people of Connecticut not contented with having prospered abundantly under their old system, have lately assembled a convention, composed of delegates from all parts of the country, in which the former order of things has been condemned entirely, and a completely new constitution manufactured; which, among other things, provides for the same process being again gone through, as soon as the *profanum vulgus* takes it into its head to desire it."

Now admitting the full force of the argument contained in the words "*manufactured*," and "*profanum vulgus*," we cannot truly see the harm of all this. — If the alteration were for the better, the learned friend of antiquity, immutability, and "*the old original*," would scarcely venture to object to it: if it were for the worse, why has he not pointed out to us in what respects it was so? What evil has accompanied this change? Tumult,

dissension, insecurity, abridgment of the rights of the governed, dangerous addition to the power of the governors, — not one of these, nor any other assignable evil, is so much as hinted at; and since it is obvious that it would have afforded our author no small pleasure to be able to indicate the slightest inconvenience attending the change, we may rest assured from his having failed to do so, that no such inconvenience existed; — and yet says he, “this is universal suffrage in its most *pestilential* character.” But though he can assign no evil arising out of the supposed pestilence, he has his fears and his anticipations: — “I am afraid that if the Americans continue to cherish a fondness for such repairs, the highlandman’s pistol, with its new stock, lock, and barrel, will bear a close resemblance to what is ultimately produced.” And if the old stock, lock, and barrel were worn out or unfit for service, how is the highlandman injured by obtaining a serviceable instead of a mischievous instrument?

Mr. Flint entertains quite a different opinion as to the effects of Mr. Duncan’s pestilence: —

‘I am almost of opinion that the more extended bonds of American society are much strengthened by universal suffrage, and the frequent recurrence of elections; for this reason, that the candidates having no boroughs to be treated with in the wholesale way, and the constituents being too numerous, and coming too often in the way, to admit of their being bought over, expectants are obliged to depend on their popularity, and do not find it their interest to repulse any one. It is only from these causes that I could attempt to account for the affability of manners which are almost universal.’

‘To-day the inhabitants of Pennsylvania elect their representatives in congress, members of the state assembly, and county officers. I have gone repeatedly to the court-house of Pittsburg, to see the popular proceedings. The citizens wrap up the names of the candidates they recommend in a small slip of paper, which they hand through the open pane of a window to the inspector, an officer previously appointed for counting the tickets. This way of balloting places the poor man beyond the control of his superior or creditor. I have seen no riot or confusion. Populous cities, in America, are divided into wards, where separate elections are held at the same time; a salutary precaution, that prevents the assembling of great crowds.’

‘A few days ago I witnessed the election of a member of congress for the state of Indiana.—Members for the state assembly, and county officers, and the votes for the township of Jeffersonville, were taken by ballot in one day. No quarrels or disorder occurred. At Louisville, in Kentucky, the poll was kept open for three days. The votes were given *viva voce*. I saw three fights in the course of an hour. This method appears to be productive of as much discord here as in England. The states Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Penn-

sylvania, and all north of the latter, vote by ballot; and the southern proceed verbally.'

He afterwards draws the following striking contrast between the institutions of a country where extensive suffrage and voting by ballot prevail, and those of a country where king, lords, and commons, are balanced so much to the admiration of Mr. Duncan:—

' There are no boroughs where the members monopolize the business of the place, or who chase away the stranger as if he were an enemy, or who can exact town taxes contrary to the will of their fellow-citizens. Public accounts are not kept from public inspection. There is no separate borough representation to be hired over, or owned by the partizans of a ministry. The clergy are here exalted to the dignity of citizens, whose interests are identified with those of the people. Their condition, relatively to that of their adherents, is in every respect similar to the situation of dissenting clergymen in Britain. America elevates no spiritual lords, on wool-sacks, in her senate, to oppose the introduction of parochial schools. Nor is there any political body which courts an alliance with the clergy. I have never heard of any parson who acts as a justice of the peace, or who intermixes his addresses to the Great Object of religious worship with the eulogy of the Holy Alliance.'

With the exception of these strictures on democratic ascendancy, some powerful remarks on slavery, and the very judicious observations on religious establishments which we have already extracted, Mr. Duncan's work is chiefly a description of external objects in the various towns through which he passed. These objects are concisely and perspicuously presented to our conception, but they possess less of novelty and interest to a large class of readers than the statements made by Faux and Flint. From the three works, taken together, the reader may form a fair estimate of the condition of nearly the whole of the United States, between 1818 and 1820. We wish our limits had enabled us to present more copious extracts, particularly from Mr. Flint, whom of the three we esteem by far the best qualified to give an accurate report; however, on the more important points which fell under their mutual observation, there is very little difference of statement. The prevailing vice of America is a barbarous and cruel system of duelling; the prevailing foible, an impertinent curiosity with regard to the private affairs of others: but the concurrent testimony of these writers, must serve to overthrow many of the generally received prejudices which prevail in England; respecting the manners and opinions of Americans. For instance, so far from having experienced any of that jealousy and unkindly treatment to which it has been said Englishmen have been

peculiarly obnoxious, our three travellers met with nothing but undeviating kindness, confidence, and even generosity. We particularly refer to Faux, pp. 54. 127. 258. 308.; to Flint, pp. 145. 267, 268.; and shall conclude with the following extract from Duncan, vol. ii. p. 230. —

‘ Much that has been written on the incivilities to which a stranger is exposed here, is destitute of truth. Generally speaking, a traveller will meet with respectful treatment, if his own manners are not rude. The imperative tone which empty-pated coxcombs are prone to assume at home, would be resented here most indignantly; but if you *request* instead of *ordering*, you will rarely receive an uncivil reply. The country innkeeper is not unfrequently a man of some consequence in the neighbourhood, either from his property or from holding some official situation; and if you enter into conversation with him, you will often discover that under a plain exterior is concealed a great deal of shrewdness and information. Sometimes the landlord’s daughter pours out tea and coffee at a side-table; but she always maintains a dignified deportment, and is respectfully treated by her guests. The females of every class whom I have seen employed in American inns, have been in all cases perfectly correct in their manners; nor did I ever see any rudeness offered to them. In waiters, stage-drivers, and the other retainers of the road, you will find little of the obsequiousness which is common at home; they generally indeed speak to you more on the footing of equality than inferiority: I have once or twice had uncivil answers, but not more frequently I think than at home.’

ART. VII. *A Selection of Popular National Airs.* The words by Thomas Moore, Esq. Fourth Number. Power, Strand. December, 1822.

The Sea Songs of Charles Dibdin, with a Memoir of his Life and Writings. By William Kitchiner, M. D. G. & B. Whittaker. 1823.

The Loyal and National Songs of England. By William Kitchiner, M. D. Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 1823.

Observations on Vocal Music. By William Kitchiner, M. D. Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 1823.

WITHOUT labouring like the writers of old treatises to prove the importance of the pursuit in which we are employed, — without introducing Sculptor, Pictor, and Cantor, engaged in an apparently equal contest for superiority, but slyly taking care that Sculptor and Pictor shall not have a leg to stand on, just as it happens when an attorney-general or a vice society are coping with a political or theological libeller, — we may fairly say, that in this, which has been deemed an unmusical nation, music is becoming an object of great and increasing interest. That middle age through which a people advances from bar-

barism to refinement, has passed away: whole days are no longer wasted in tedious formality, nor whole nights in brutal intoxication. Reading and knowledge have induced a more general attention to health and fortune; and as the leisurely class are no longer employed three hours at a time in adjusting a head-dress, a demand has arisen for employment of a more improving cast. To find, for a mixed company, topics of rational and entertaining conversation during a whole evening, seems, in England at least, to be a hopeless task; at all events, the difficulty is not a little increased, if we feel ourselves under the *necessity* of finding them; and the mistress of a house must be comparatively at ease, when the apartment contains a piano-forte, to which, as to a *corps de reserve*, she can fly for aid when conversation flags. With respect to that portion of the occupied classes of society, who can afford an occasional relaxation from business or speculative pursuits, — and few indeed are capable of unremitting application to serious matters, — music affords, to such as have the musical ear, or sixth sense, a fund of the purest pleasure.

Having thus premised, we shall proceed to consider at some length the present state of vocal music, the highest branch of the art. We say, the highest branch of the art, because, by the employment of musical notes and musical rhythm to add force and effect to the articulate expression of definite images and conceptions, is a task much more difficult and much more likely to combine utility with pleasure, than the merely exciting, by means of inarticulate or instrumental sounds, a succession of indefinite sensations.

However, in this description of vocal music, we have indicated rather the rank it *may* assume, than that which it usually does. As, in playing on instruments there are two distinct species of composition, — the one the concerto or studio, the object of which is to ascertain and exhibit the peculiar powers of the instrument and exercise the fingers of the player, in order to the more efficient performance of the other species, *viz.* symphonies, overtures, sonatas, or single airs; and as the concerto, addressed chiefly to the judgment of the hearer, produces scarcely any other sensations than those of approbation, surprise, or admiration, while the object and effect of the other species of performances are to produce, in deeper emotion, the various degrees of cheerful excitement, sentimental depression, and religious or amatory fervours; — so, there are two distinct branches of the art of singing, essentially different in their object and effects.

For the sake of clearness, we will designate the one *mechanical*, the other *oratorical*.

Mechanical singing, is that *adjective* branch of the art which consists in ascertaining, exercising, and exhibiting the mere powers of the human voice. This process is carried on sometimes in the closet, sometimes before an audience. In the closet, *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, are the articulate sounds usually employed for this purpose; — before an audience, *fal, lal, la*, — nonsense verses, — and certain extraordinary excursions of the voice termed *cadenzas*, starting off, like a comet with a tail, from the orbit of the song. With a view to giving flexibility and power to the voice, and a perfect command over it, these exertations are highly useful, and may greatly tend to promote the success of —

Oratorical singing, or the *substantive* branch of the art. This consists of the distinct enunciation and appropriate delivery of fine poetry, or at the lowest, of common sense, in musical notes and musical rhythm.

They who on the one hand have heard Bartleman sing “Angel of Life;” Braham, “Deeper and deeper still,” “The last words of Marmion,” “Scots wha ha’ wi’ Wallace bled;” or Miss Stephens, a simple ballad; — and on the other, have heard Madame Catalani or Mrs. Dickons execute their elaborate variations on “Oh! Dolce concerto,” or “Cease your funning,” — will be fully competent to apprehend our meaning, and to appreciate all the difference between mechanical and oratorical singing.

Hear the performance of the three former in the pieces we have indicated, and various emotions will be excited, in the same manner and to the same degree as by the happiest efforts of the dramatic actor: listen to the two latter, and the sensations experienced will be the same as those on hearing Moschelles or Kiesewetter on the piano-forte or violin: a modification of the pleasure of address, — a kind of surprise that the performer’s fingers and the instrument should do so much, or that the human voice should do as much as the instrument.

It is evident that the mechanical singer, however highly gifted by nature or acquirements in his branch of the art, can, if he be ignorant of the elements of oratorical singing, produce little effect beyond surprise or admiration; while the oratorical singer, although he may greatly increase his success by application to the details of mechanical singing, may, nevertheless, if he be but moderately skilled in these latter, excite every emotion which is subject to the dominion of music.

Hitherto, however, vocal music of the adjective or mechanical sort, — differing in no respect from that which is termed instrumental, but by the employment of the human voice for the instrument, instead of fiddle or flute, — has been cultivated almost to

the exclusion of the substantive, or oratorical. In the ordinary execution of this mechanical singing, it is as impossible to collect words from the mouth of a performer as from the string of a violin, and the sensations produced by the musical tongue differ in nothing from those which the musical string is able to excite.

It is immaterial therefore what form of words or what language is employed — sense or nonsense, English or Italian, — the ear is scarcely ever able to distinguish the difference; and if the good company would but confess it, a succession of *sol-fa*-ings, or *fa la las*, would entertain them quite as well as the sublimest effusions of lyric poetry.

This cultivation of the subsidiary and less efficient branch of the art to the almost entire exclusion of all the oratory of music, we ascribe to two causes.

1st, The contracted education and acquirements of the greater proportion of composers and singers, who, exercised only in notation and counterpoint, have seldom sufficient intellect to distinguish sense from nonsense; and

2dly, The very limited quantity of good poetry fitted for the purpose of singing.

To begin with the singer. We know of no treatise in which the principles of musical expression have been satisfactorily or deeply investigated; but to us the analogy between the arts of music and oratory, seems close and complete; if, indeed, the various inflections of voice to which a fine speaker has recourse during the utterance of an harangue, ought not of themselves to be esteemed musical notes and intervals. At all events, taking a correct and impassioned elocution for our guide, we shall experience little difficulty in producing a great and uniform impression from the efforts of the singer: following any other criterion, our success will be inferior and uncertain. As an instance of this, let us consider a moment the nature of an *apoggiatura*, the expressiveness of which consists in a commencement of extreme softness, a gradual increase of sound till the voice has attained the requisite volume, and then a gradual decrease, till sound is almost imperceptible. “As different degrees of emphasis in elocution” (says an able teacher of instrumental music*) “serve to point out the particular stress the speaker lays upon certain words and ideas, and to render his meaning more forcible and expressive, so this variously *leaning* upon a lengthened sound, may be conceived to be a continued emphasis or natural expression, whereby the feelings of the musician are impressed upon the hearer; — every one knows that it is not merely the word

* Mr. John Gunn, formerly of Cambridge.

made use of that soothes, consoles, encourages, animates, engages our confidence or affection, or on the contrary, that makes it discouraging, cold, abusive, or insulting; but that all these opposite and different shades of meaning are conveyed to us by the tone and emphasis of the sound which is uttered."

If this theory be correct, here is sufficient to account for the feebleness of ordinary singers. Even among the educated classes, to read aloud with propriety and effect is no common attainment, and to speak with moving eloquence is still more rare. Now the individual who could experience a difficulty in reading a song correctly, is not likely to improve his recitation in singing; for, as will presently be shown, he will rarely derive any assistance from the composer of the music. But in many instances where the composer is necessarily passive, as in the common case of singing a succession of stanzas to the same tune or melody, the singer who is unable to read with propriety, and occasionally to make slight changes in the notes of the melody so as to suit the varying punctuation and emphasis in successive stanzas, will constantly be committing the grossest absurdities, and destroying all the effect which the music might have added to the poetry. Thus, whenever an air falls on its key-note where the words of the accompanying stanza are broken by a comma only and the sense remains to be completed, the same absurdity has place, as if a person in reading the same stanza aloud, should, when he arrived at the comma, give his voice the inflection which is exclusively appropriated to a full stop, and so render the passage absolute nonsense.

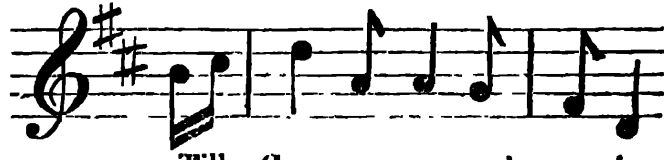
Instances of this kind are innumerable: scarcely is a song to be found in which they do not occur; but we shall point out one or two, to make our meaning more clear.

In Mr. Moore's beautiful song, "Ne'er ask the hour" (Irish Melodies, No. 8.), the second stanza runs thus,—

‘ Young Joy ne'er thought of counting hours,
 Till Care, one summer's morning,
 Set up, among his blooming flowers,
 A Dial, by way of warning:
 But Joy loved better to gaze on the sun
 As long as his light was glowing,
 Than to watch with old Care how the shadow stole on,
 And how fast that light was going.’

Now it is obvious, that if, in reading these lines, we should, at the words "morning," or "glowing," give our voice the inflection employed to denote a full stop, the passage would be rendered nonsensical; and this will be equally accomplished if the singer employs for the last syllable of either of those words

the note printed in the melody; which being the key-note of the piece, the musical phrase is as much completed, and the ear as much at rest as the attention would be when the reader comes to a full stop. The first passage stands thus:—



Till Care, one summer's morning,

For the D substitute an A, and the ear remaining in suspense and unsatisfied, will perceive that the sentence is incomplete:—



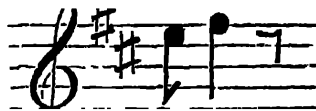
morning, Set up, &c.

The second passage is printed as follows; and, as far as sound goes, the sense is entirely closed:—



As long as his light was glowing.

For the last F and D substitute E and F, —



glowing, Than to, &c.

the inflection of the voice will be nearly the same as that employed for the same passage by the most correct reader; and in neither case will the beauty or character of the melody be in the least affected.

Take another instance from the striking air of *Le garçon volage*, in the second number of Mr. Moore's National Melodies:

' Like sunset gleams that linger late
When all is dark'ning fast,
Are hours like these we snatch from fate,
The brightest and the last.'



all is dark'ning fast,

According to this, the printed notation, and the exact passage of the original melody, the sense is absolutely concluded at **D**, the key-note of the second strain of the air. The passage being in the minor key, it is difficult to alter it without departing from the air more than could be wished: but if a sacrifice *must* be made, we should prefer sacrificing the air to the sense; and taking **C** with a flat seventh for the harmony of the first of these two bars, and the beginning of the second, (instead of the harmonies of **G**, **A**, and **D**,) would sing the passage thus,—



all is dark'ning fast, Are hours, &c.

So, where, in order to give meaning to a sentence, it happens to be necessary that a particular word should be enounced with emphasis, it becomes frequently indispensable to substitute for the note in the melody some other which shall convey this emphasis. Thus, in the stanza (Ir. Mel. No. 8.), —

'Twas nectar fed, of old, 'tis said,
Their Junos, Joves, Apollos;
And man may brew *his* nectar too,
The rich receipt's as follows;'

the sense of the passage cannot be given unless a decided emphasis be laid on the word *his*: but this emphasis it is impossible to give with the unaccented note assigned to that word in the printed air:—



man may brew his nectar too,

But for the **Bb** in the first of these two bars substitute **Eb** with the harmony of the dominant of the key, thus, —



man may brew *his* nectar too,

and the singer may pronounce the emphasis as distinctly as the speaker.— Again, in order to avoid giving emphasis to words that are *unemphatic*, it is equally necessary that the singer should know how to make occasional changes in the strict *time* of musical notes or bars. In the words, for instance, —

'Twas but to bless these hours of shade
That beauty and the moon were made;'

if they be sung according to the time allotted to them in the printed air, the emphasis is thrown on “*but*,” instead of “*bless* :”



'Twas *but* to bless

Simply by singing “*'Twas*,” to the first note of the second bar, instead of the last note of the first, the musical emphasis is made to correspond with the oratorical:—



'Twas but to *bless* these hours.

We have taken the foregoing examples from Mr. Moore's works, because they are more extensively known than any other; but there is scarcely a song of the ablest composers that does not abound in the vices we have pointed out. Among the thousand instances of the kind which his works furnish, we would adduce from a recent opera of Mr. Bishop's, a striking instance of the ill effect of bringing a musical phrase to a close on the key-note, while the sense of the words is yet in suspense.

In the exquisite air which Mr. B. has composed, so appropriate to the situation of Clari, when delivering the following words,—

Light bounds my heart! — Thro' sorrow's night, that drearily
 Closed o'er my hopes, the sun of joy is breaking :
 Freed from suspense, my jocund spirit, cheerily
 Is from its mournful dream to life and rapture waking !

Would the reader believe that the composer 'has so managed the inflection of the singer's voice as to make it appear he comes to a full stop at “*drearily*,” and to another at “*cheerily* !” Yet so it is:—



Thro' sorrow's night, that drearily



my jocund spirit cheerily

and by this the whole passage is rendered nonsense. How easily

might he have preserved the sense, without in the least detracting from the beauty of the air, by writing as follows :—

'Thro' sorrow's night, that drearily,
my jocund spirit cheerily.

To return. — Besides the alteration in the time of individual notes, it is equally necessary to the success of an impassioned singer that he should know how to depart occasionally from the general time of the piece; and instead of inflexibly equalising the beat for each bar, like instrumental performers, in the conduct of a symphony, sometimes to accelerate, sometimes to retard his pace, as vehemence, tenderness, or the enunciation of a complicated sentence, may require;—above all, he may indescribably increase the effect of his art, especially in the delivery of simple songs and ballads, by short pauses * interposed in accordance with the due punctuation of the verses; as thus,—

Joy so seldom weaves a chain like this to-night, that oh! 'tis pain to break its links so soon.

To do all that we have here required, a singer must have received not only a good musical, but a good literary education; advantages which unfortunately fall to the lot of few who follow the profession for a subsistence: he must have an acquired, if not a natural judgment in these matters. But how lamentably

* Since writing the above, we have met with the following extract in Dr. Kitchiner's Observations, and are happy to see that the practice we have just recommended has the sanction of the judicious writer of the extract.

“ Do not make words, which ought to be separated according to the principles of just elocution, *stick too close* to each other. I am disposed to think (I speak with due deference to professional information), that little breaches in singing frequently produce a most admirable effect. All good readers make perceptible pauses, where not even a *comma* is, or ought to be, found in the typography of a sentence. *The finest reader*, if he had a voice and intonation, would probably be *the finest singer*.” — *Smyth on Singing*, p. 19.

almost the whole class are deficient in this quality, how little they are able to distinguish sense from nonsense, to understand the merit of congruity, and to suit the matter to the occasion, is but too apparent in the selections which, when left to themselves, they commonly make for the edification of their audience. We have heard "Oh! my love's like the red red rose," sweetly trilled out in falsetto at a public dinner to celebrate a county charity, instead of those convivial or political strains expressly suited to the occasion: we have heard "The tough wooden walls of old England for ever," bellowed out in the music-room at Oxford, before an amazed audience of dignified academicians.

That composers in general, so far from assisting the singer, have done as much as in them lay to embarrass him, and increase the difficulties occasioned by his want of education, is but too evident from the very examples we have taken to illustrate our subject. If Sir John Stevenson and Bishop, — men unquestionably of higher talents and attainments than usually fall to the lot of composers, — if, under the guidance of Mr. Moore, — himself a musician, a scholar, and a man of genius, — such men, while they put us to the expense of buying the same air repeated two or three times to the successive stanzas of the song, are ignorant of the effect they might produce by occasionally changing a note in the original melody for the purpose of rendering the song itself intelligible, or, if not ignorant, contest the propriety of this practice, — what are we to expect from other composers? What are we to expect, when, instead of selecting for duetts, trios, and harmonised airs, such words as may, without inconsistency, be uttered by many voices in conjunction, to wit, dialogues, general expressions of sentiment, or choral exclamations, — the best composers have never hesitated to make three or four persons, male and female, utter at once what could only issue with propriety from the mouth of a single male or a single female. Let the reader imagine two unprosperous swains with one mistress between them, all three simultaneously exclaiming, each to the others, —

‘ I’d mourn the hopes that leave me,
If thy smiles had left me too;’

or four men at once sighing —

‘ When first I saw your face I resolved
To honour and renown you;’

and he will at once recognise an absurdity which has never been discovered by musicians, and for which there is the less excuse, inasmuch as every sentiment expressed in general terms is suited to the purpose of simultaneous utterance in any harmonic com-

bination of voices, and may, without incongruity, be supposed, like the chorus in a Greek play, to come from many persons at once.

In truth, with a very few exceptions, composers have generally contrived to sacrifice the words to the music; assigning the principal notes of the air, and sometimes whole bars, to feeble conjunctions or prepositions, and passing over, without effect, the prominent idea of the passage; laying a stress on final syllables which are scarcely sounded in conversation; converting iambics into trochees, and trochees into iambics; coming to the close of a musical phrase while the sentiment to be enunciated is yet incomplete; and in short, evincing such a disregard of grammatical rules, that if a person were to read the sentence according to its musical notation, the hearers could never refrain from laughter.

No composer has sinned more in this way than Mr. Bishop; and if we are not misinformed, he sins against knowledge. In answer to objections made to his compositions on this score, he openly propounds that the music is all in all; the appropriate enunciation of the poetry, a matter of no importance; and that the sense ought, without hesitation, to be sacrificed, when, by doing this, a smoother sound can be conveyed;—and most manfully does he carry his doctrine into practice. Take the following as a single specimen from the song, “Let us seek the yellow shore,” the music of which is, in our estimation, for the most part transcendently fanciful and touching:—



Then hasten to, hasten to some leafy nook.

In both instances care has been taken to throw the word “to” upon the strongest accented note of the bar; and in the first instance the note appropriated to it is of such duration, and forms so principal a part of the musical phrase, that the meaning unavoidably conveyed is, that the singer is addressing a given individual, and exhorting him to join company: “Then hasten too,” *i. e.* do you hasten as well I. By distributing the words as follows, this blunder might have been avoided:—



Then, then hasten, then hasten to some leafy nook.

But then Mr. Bishop would lose the smooth sound of the *oo*; for the swelling note at the beginning of the second bar, and the four syllables, “*hasten to some*,” would (unless the performer

were careful enough to resort to a *lentando*) be enunciated with a rapidity inconsistent with the dignity of the rest of the piece.

The verses of this song are not destitute of merit, and deserved better treatment at the hands of the composer ; but Mr. Bishop, we suspect, is not aware of the distinction between mechanical and oratorical singing, and has never carried his attention beyond the subsidiary and commonly practised branch of the art. Future editors will probably say of his compositions as Dr. Burney has said of the contemporaries of Purcell, " Inattention to prosody, accent, and quantity, was common to all the composers of that time ; and *it is absolutely necessary for the words to be newly adjusted to the melodies by some judicious person* equally tender of the harmony of these admirable compositions as of the prosody of our language, taking care to place the accent of each word upon the accented part of each bar in the music." (Hist. Mus. vol. iii. p. 146.) However, in common with other musicians, he has to urge in extenuation of this neglect the *sort* of poetry which he is usually condemned to wed with music ; and this brings us to the other cause of the cultivation of mechanical, almost to the exclusion of oratorical singing, viz. the very limited quantity of good poetry adapted to the purpose of singing. But before we proceed, we beg it may be understood that the foregoing observations, with regard to the deficiencies of singers and composers, are applied almost exclusively to English songs and English singing. That in the Italian opera there is a large proportion of highly oratorical singing, no one can doubt who has heard Tramezzani or Camporese in any of their celebrated performances ; nevertheless it is obvious that singing in a foreign language cannot, on those who are unacquainted with the language, produce any emotions other than such as might be equally produced by instrumental music.* Into the merits or defects of the Italian opera it is not at present our purpose to enter : we apprehend, however, that the opportunities it affords for oratorical singing are furnished chiefly by dramatic situation, and that the song poetry it contains is at least as contemptible as our own. As to this latter, till the days of Moore, the quantity in hand, fit for use, was scanty indeed. Even at the present hour, with the exception of a few songs from Shakspeare and Burns, and a few extracts from Milton, Campbell, and Walter Scott, the Grubstreet trash with which, in the shape of song, an audience is usually treated, is such as it were infinitely better *not* to hear ; and when Mr. Sinclair is ordered to trill out such delectable namby-pamby as

‘ Love’s blind, they cry ;
Oh ! never, I, ’ &c.

we should congratulate ourselves if the words issuing from his mouth were altogether indistinguishable, and if, renouncing all expectation of enjoyment from *vocal* music properly so called, we could at least fancy we heard a very equable clarionet playing a very pretty air.

The deficiency in the quantity of poetry adapted to singing, Mr. Moore has supplied to a greater extent, and with happier success, than any individual who ever wrote. In his various songs, amatory, convivial, elegiac, playful, and patriotic, we possess a mine of musical pleasure such as our predecessors have never enjoyed. Of these songs, some are so strikingly beautiful, that the mere slow and distinct enunciation of them, even by an indifferent voice, in the notes of the melodies to which they have been adapted, will, if executed with judgment, produce more effect on an educated audience, than the most scientific performance in which sound alone is regarded, and throw far into the shade all the legerdemain cadenzas of a tricky singer.

The *conceits* with which Mr. Moore's writings abound, have furnished matter of great offence to the critics, especially of that Quakerly and sober sort, who would confine us to one style of literature, and clothe all our ideas in the simple garb adopted by the Greeks and Romans. However the question may stand with regard to other species of composition, it seems to us, that in a song, a conceit, as it is called, is by no means misplaced. It is difficult by ordinary means to concentrate attention in the short space of time occupied by the delivery of eight or ten verses; and,

- If existence would cloy
With hearts ever happy and heads ever wise,
Be ours the light grief that is sister to joy,
And the *short brilliant folly that flashes and dies.*'

It ought also to be always remembered, that many of Mr. Moore's most exquisite and polished gems are entirely exempt from these brilliant follies; the objection to which is, that they sometimes carry with them an air of painful research where we are accustomed to look for the first simple expression of feeling. The songs of "Those evening bells," "Oft in the stilly night," "Dear harp of my country," and many others, are perfect instances of the most affecting simplicity.

The precise emotions which the instrumental performance of any given air is calculated to excite, must in a great degree depend upon the hearer's early associations of ideas, and it is impossible to foretel in what way each individual may be affected by the performance; the *species* of emotion, however, which will be experienced by a large proportion of hearers, may be guessed

at with more probability of success; as, whether they will be of the melting or animated kind,—whether depressive or exhilaratory.

But how few composers or writers have heretofore succeeded in making this guess, is apparent from the extreme incongruity between many of our old popular tunes and the words originally attached to them. The “Groves of Blarney” was formerly sung to a ludicrous kind of auctioneer-catalogue of the goods, chattels, and effects belonging to Blarney-house and estate. That Mr. Moore should have discovered, through all the envelopes of prejudice and habit, the true character of the air, will not a little surprise those who only know it as the vehicle of “The last rose of summer.” He enjoys, indeed, a faculty of doing this, which no one before him ever possessed; and with singular felicity he has in repeated instances developed, not merely the species of emotion the air was calculated to excite,—in which, indeed, he has been uniformly accurate,—but even, as it seems to us, the precise train of thought and feeling. We shall only specify the wildly fanciful air of Luggelaw:—

‘ No, not more welcome the fairy numbers
Of music steal on the sleeper’s ear,
When half awaking from fearful slumbers
He thinks the full choir of heaven is near,
Than came that voice,’ &c.

which, after hearing it with the words, we might almost fancy we recognise as one of those imaginary strains which we have lost by the sudden disruption of a morning dream.

Gifted with this extraordinary faculty, as well as with the highest powers of lyric poetry, it was scarcely possible that Mr. Moore should employ them to greater advantage than in giving immortality to airs, the merit of which was established by their having become extensively popular, but which from the inanity of the words attached to them—“*Voces inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ,*”—it was impossible to employ for the purposes of vocality.

With what success he accomplished his task in the eight numbers which have been devoted to the melodies of Ireland, our readers have long been able to judge. Notwithstanding the temptation,—which, as far as regards the rest of the world, has been too frequently yielded to,—the temptation to illustrate subjects of confined local interest, this collection contains in proportion to its size a far greater number of songs adapted to general hearers and general singers, than any other of equal dimensions; we should indeed have termed it a selection, and a

selection begun, continued, and ended in the most judicious manner. In Thompson's voluminous collection of the Scotch airs, so many of the songs are addressed to subjects purely local, so many, — even in the judgment of an Edinburgh reviewer (No. 77. p. 73.) — are devoted to Corydons, Amyntas, shepherds with crooks, and Arcadian plains; so many, again, of the melodies themselves are intractable to an ordinary voice; that instead of constituting five volumes, the whole which are applicable to common occasions might be packed into one; and of these, with the exception of one or two songs by Miss Baillie and Mr. Smyth, the greater part are the production of Burns. But in the eight numbers of the Irish Melodies, the whole that we would exclude, local, intractable, or uninteresting, would not amount to more than a single number; while, excepting Burns's "Scots wha ha' wi' Wallace bled," and "Where's he for honest poverty that hangs his head," there is nothing of its class to equal the remainder.

The success of the songs subsequently written for the melodies of various nations has, if possible, — even up to the last number, — been more decisive and striking. Mr. Moore is inexhaustible in the art of giving a new complexion to the same idea as often as he wishes to repeat it to a new melody; and the only complaint we have to make in regard to this latter publication, is the large proportion of poetry of a desponding and disheartening cast. It is true that he has numbered some years since the commencement of his career; — it is painful to think —

*" Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes,
Eripuere jocos, Venerem, —"*

We ourselves feel but too sensibly, that we are

" Too old for youth, too young at thirty-five
To herd with boys, or hoard with good threescore.
Love lingers still, altho' 'twere late to wive;
And as for other love, the illusion's o'er:
And money, that most pure imagination,
Gleams only thro' the dawn of its creation:"

But while a single topic of hope or animation remained, we should consider it as a serious duty to abstain from exciting or encouraging sentiments of a desponding cast. Life is so beset with real evils, — with pain in every shape, — that the man who exerts his powers to aggravate our misery, is, so far, an enemy to his species. This is the offence with which we gravely charge Mr. Moore and the whole tribe of sonnetteers and sentimentalists. Instead of pointing our hopes to the future, they are

eternally damping our few enjoyments with unavailing regrets for the past, and conjuring up every image which shall constantly remind us of the brevity of life, and the transient nature of human enjoyment: setting suns, fading colours, dying leaves, moaning winds, broken vows, departed friends, lost pleasures, and voices from the tomb, —these form the sentimentalist's apparatus of torture, and his gratification seems proportioned to the misery he is enabled to inflict. This misery, —depression of spirits, discouragement, despair, —is the obvious evil attendant on such exertions of poetical power. Who can point out any counter-vailing good? The canting hypocrisy and shortsighted delicacy, so prevalent in this age of vice societies and constitutional associations, has raised an outcry against the amatory excitement which some of Mr. Moore's earlier productions may occasion in individuals of a warm temperament; and this outcry has in its result deprived the poet of a large portion of his hard-earned literary property. It seems to us that these moral terrorists are altogether mistaken in the view they take of the matter; and that the woman who is early accustomed to speak of and contemplate the fire of passion as a matter of course, is much less likely to be endangered than she whose chastity is guarded by seclusion and ignorance, and on whom the first attentions of the first man produce an almost irresistible impression. To attempt to stifle the disposition that all who bear the human shape entertain towards entering on a topic the most deeply and extensively interesting of any, is as unavailing as an endeavour to suppress the calls of hunger; and the way to counteract the ill effects with which the unguarded gratification of this appetite may be attended is not to repress every glowing or exaggerated picture of the subject, but by pointing out the attendant good and evil, to enable the tyro to walk alone and meet without risk any casual encounter.

Be this as it may, we entertain no doubt that more mischief has been occasioned by two such songs as "Take hence the bowl though beaming" (National Airs, No. 4.), and "Oh, banquet not in those shining bowers, where youth resorts" (Irish Mel. No. 8.), than by any twenty of the warmest amatory ditties that the most formidable Don Juan ever chaunted to an assemblage of boarding-school girls.

That Mr. Moore is still able to entertain us in a very different manner, is evident from the lively and elegant stanzas adapted to an animated Roman melody in the last number of the National Airs — "'Tis when the cup is sparkling before us;" and that his vigour is undiminished when he chooses to direct it against the

enemies of social improvement, is amply testified by the song, "Oh! the sight entrancing," in the last number of the Irish Melodies —

' Oh ! the sight entrancing, when the morning's beam is glancing
 O'er files array'd with helm and blade,
 And plumes in the gay wind dancing !
 Yet, 'tis not helm nor feather, — for ask yon tyrant, whether
 His plumed bands could bring such hands
 And hearts as ours together ?
 Give pomps to those who need 'em, — 'tis plain man, arm'd for
 freedom,
 Undaunted braves the gaudiest slaves
 That e'er let despot lead 'em.
 The sword may pierce the beaver, — stone walls with time may sever ;
 'Tis heart alone, worth steel and stone,
 That keeps men free for ever !
 Oh ! the sight entrancing, when the morning's beam is glancing
 O'er files array'd with helm and blade,
 And in freedom's cause advancing !'

There is a fervent intensity in these lines scarcely inferior to Burns's inimitable " Scots wha ha' wi' Wallace bled."

If Mr. Moore can only write as he feels, — and there is so much of the true man in him that we suspect this to be the case, — if he has ceased to feel amatory or convivial, here he has a topic for other feelings, the deepest, the most extensive, the most durable. The world is just now starting into manhood and intellect, and even in its amusements searches for profit and instruction; the feebly elegant *littérateurs* of former days, whose utmost merit was to amuse an idle moment, are sinking deservedly into comparative neglect, and the pursuit of a higher object is now essential even to poetical success. No man is more capable than Mr. Moore to direct the poetical and musical feelings of mankind to the highest of all objects, and no man has been more favoured by opportunity for this purpose; — now, when his judgment is matured, his imagination as vigorous as ever, and the hey-day of youthful distractions is over, — now, through the whole world, are the contending forces arrayed each against the other; tyrants, bigots, and the whole host who are interested in, or deluded into a respect for, barbarous institutions and misgovernment, on the one hand, — oppressed and plundered millions on the other. He that feels for the millions must be no narrow or national Tyrtæus; — but let Mr. Moore write twenty such songs as that which we have just quoted, and every language shall take up his strain: from the plains of Buenos Ayres to the lakes of Canada, from the valleys of the

Tyrol to the glens of Scotland, one universal chorus shall swell upon his ear; while the animation of hope, and the brightening prospects of future man shall cheer the decline of life, and crown with exhilaration the latest hour of his existence.

Before taking our leave of Mr. Moore's publications, we feel ourselves called on to say, that with the exceptions pointed out in the foregoing part of this article, the execution of the musical department reflects the highest credit on Sir John Stevenson and Bishop. It has been objected that the symphonies are too chromatic, and, as well as the harmonies by Haydn and others in Thompson's collection, too far-fetched and elaborate for the accompaniment of simple tunes. Now, variety is the soul of enjoyment; and it seems to us that these symphonies, while they partake of the character of the airs to which they are attached sufficiently to exclude any sensation of incongruity, afford a pleasing contrast by their highly ornamented and artificial structure: as to the varied harmonies attached to the principal notes of an air, if the accompaniment be, as it ought always to be, kept in due subjection to the voice, we do not see how the application of them can offend the most uncultivated ears; while to the instructed musician, who was before, perhaps, sated with the air, they give it a degree of novelty, which is equivalent to new creation. In Thompson's collection there are many striking examples of the fine effects of this process; and we would particularly instance Haydn's masterly arrangement of the simple tune called the "White Cockade."

Having thus indicated the nature of recent accessions to the stock of vocal music, where are we to look for a farther supply? We fear, the collection of Dibdin's sea songs has added little that is applicable for the general purposes of music. That Mr. Dibdin was a man of genius, that he occasionally wrote with elegance and pathos, and possessed an extraordinary faculty of addressing himself with effect to the ignorant and unreflecting, we are far from being disposed to deny; but the title of British Tyltaeus, which has been bestowed on him by one of our learned contemporaries, as well as by his admiring editor, seems to us, we own, a little exaggerated. Of his sea songs, a large proportion are written in the coarsest and most ungrammatical language; and to an educated audience must be unendurable, however pleasing they may have been to the class of persons to which they are especially addressed. We doubt, however, whether they would now be pleasing to any but the most uneducated and unreflecting, even of that class; and we have no hesitation in expressing our abhorrence of the sentiments and feelings they

inculcate. Overweening national vanity, hatred and contempt of fellow-men, for no better reason than the circumstance of their having been born at some distance from ourselves, — blind and bigotted devotion to rulers, whatever the conduct or character of those rulers may be, — these form for ever the burthen of the song; and in these are contained the elements of every species of political depravation.

At a time when it suited the interests of the aristocracy of this country, headed by Mr. Pitt, the quondam champion of reform, to divert the public attention from political regeneration, by plunging us into a war with the friendly inhabitants of a neighbouring kingdom, under pretence of a right to interfere with the mode in which they chose to manage their own concerns, — when every stratagem was resorted to which could inflame the passions and mislead the judgment of the people of Great Britain, — when interested terrorists had succeeded by trope and metaphor, by assertion and sentimentalism, in producing a degree of delusion which led people to esteem the most reckless and extravagant of statesmen a “heaven-born minister,” — it is not to be wondered that these songs should have been highly in vogue among the ignorant and uneducated. But those days are past; and now that we *have* paid and *are* paying a thousand millions sterling for our folly and injustice, we begin to discover that it is best for the interests and happiness of all nations to cultivate good-will each towards the other, instead of stirring up mutual hatred by expressions of childish and ignorant contempt, or by insolent pretensions to superior prowess. We begin to discover that rulers are men; and as such, instead of being deified by indiscriminate praise, must be narrowly watched and checked, to prevent them from sacrificing our interests to their own; and it may fairly be doubted whether, now-a-days, honest Jack Tar, after being torn from his wife, children, and property, or his peaceful mercantile avocations, and forced by an unrelenting pressgang a-board a man of war, — there to endure for life all the vicissitudes of climate, the dangers of battle, and the fearful subjection to officers unboundedly absolute, — whether even he would quite so readily as in former times toss off a bumper, or join in a stave to the praise of “Excellent Constitution,” or of his humane and considerate rulers; who, themselves in the full enjoyment of ease, security, and opulence, can legislate with such tender regard for the beings who contribute to their support.

As to “The Loyal and National Songs of England,” of which Dr. Kitchiner has now furnished so accurate and costly an edition, upon looking them over we could scarcely avoid exclaim-

ing, as his Satanic majesty is said to have done upon a similar occasion, "A pretty collection!" We fear, however, that the Doctor, or his publishers, may suffer for their loyal pains; for we cannot easily persuade ourselves that any but contractors and placemen, or musicians of the Chapel Royal, will load their shelves with such a set of old-fashioned ditties. No persons can exceed ourselves in loyalty, if by loyalty be meant a rational attachment to beneficial political institutions; and we have always heard that it is in this respect English loyalty has been so honourably distinguishable from the blind and indiscriminating devotion of the French people towards the person of their monarch, under the ancient regime. But these loyal songs breathe the very spirit of divine right and passive obedience, inculcating equally the same bigotted obedience to every reigning sovereign, whether he be a Trajan or a Nero. A little less coarse, a little less ungrammatical than the songs of Dibdin, they are precisely on a level in point of sentiment and principle; and as the judgment we have passed on the one collection in this respect, applies in all its parts to the other, we shall not weary our readers by a repetition of the same objections under a different form. We ought, however, to add, for the instruction of purchasers, that, in imitation of the publishers of the *Irish Melodies*, who have very injudiciously made their musical customers pay for gorgeously flourished title-pages and two absurd engravings in each number, the *Loyal Songs* are graced with a dedication, set forth in all the colours of the rainbow, with a congeries of curves and circles, like the case of an engine-turned watch, or the modern stamp on the back of a country bank-note.

Of Dr. Kitchiner's *Observations on Vocal Music* we are disposed to speak with approbation; and at least to thank him for his exertions to impress upon singers a conviction that the effect of music would be increased by rendering it subsidiary to poetry, and that singing loses all its peculiar power when it is carried on without due attention to the appropriate delivery of words. With this proposition the Doctor has commenced his work, as follows:—

'Melody is the soul of music, — poetry is the soul of melody. — The warbling of sounds without the distinct articulation of words, pronounced with proper accent and emphasis, does not deserve to be called singing; it is merely playing on the voice, — a concerto on the larynx, and comparatively as uninteresting as a frame without a picture.'

The rest of the book consists chiefly of the dicta of various professors, — strung together without order or arrangement, — as authorities in support of this proposition; and an extract from Sheridan of sixteen pages, on the art of reading with propriety.

Instead of adducing authorities in support of what appears to us so undeniable, we wish the Doctor had thrown off a little of this modesty, and, relying on himself, had entered on the subject scientifically.

He might have shown, first, that vocal music is usually accounted a higher branch of the art, than instrumental, because singing may add intensity to the emotions producible by the expression of definite ideas; while instrumental music can only occasion the degree of emotion producible by the raising of vague and indefinite associations of ideas.

Secondly, that the intensity of the emotions producible by the expression of definite ideas must, as far as the singer is concerned, depend upon the correct and impassioned delivery of the diction in which such ideas are clothed; and that this kind of delivery can only consist with the ordinary rules of elocution.

Thirdly, he might have shown by numerous examples to what extent singers have been deficient in this respect. And,

Fourthly, how far the fault lies with them, how far with composers.

As far as singers and composers are concerned, we think it by no means difficult to apportion the degree of blame which attaches to them respectively for the comparative inefficiency of vocal music.

Although the number of persons who can read aloud or speak with perfect correctness is small, there is scarcely any one of ordinary acquirements, who would not be immediately sensible of the gross violations of accent, emphasis, and punctuation, which a singer must repeatedly commit if he follows exactly the notation presented to him by the composer. Whatever faults a singer may fall into in this respect, — and in the former part of this article we have shown how numerous they are, — are chargeable mainly on the composer, and might be avoided by a little attention to the commonest rules of grammar. On the other hand, all the distraction occasioned by extravagant and impertinent flourishes, all the confusion or absence of ideas ensuing upon a confused and indistinct articulation, are vices peculiar to the singer, and might be avoided, if he would only bear in mind that he ought to be intelligible as well as audible. *Salvini* has well remarked, that the “singing, which, to be understood, labours under the inconvenience of the words being read, is not unlike to those pictures under which it is necessary to write, ‘This is a dog, and this is a horse.’”

Dr. Kitchiner says, “To produce effect on others, the performer must himself feel the passion he wishes to inspire his hearers with; and to sing effectively with proper and character-

istic expression, must give to each syllable and crotchet its exact relative value; but not bawl upon *from, to, of, in, and, but*, because they are placed improperly under the accented part of the bar, or under a long note."

Now, although an educated and judicious singer may himself correct these faults in the composition, substituting short notes for long, and displacing the words as occasion may require, it is evident that in the instances just pointed out, the great blame lies with the composer, who has been so ignorant or inattentive as to place an unaccented word or syllable on the accented part of a bar, or *vice versá*, or to assign important notes in a musical phrase to unimportant words in the sentence to be sung.

In the following observations of Dr. K. we entirely concur: —

' The *chef-d'œuvre* of difficulty is a plain English ballad, which is, "when unadorned adorned the most," and, indeed, will hardly admit of any ornament beyond an *apoggiatura*. — This style of song is less understood than any; and though apparently from its simplicity it is very easy, — yet, to warble a ballad with graceful expression, requires quite as much real judgment, and attentive consideration of every note and every syllable, as it does to execute the most intricate *bravura*: the former is an appeal to the heart — the latter merely plays about the ear, and seldom excites any sensation beyond.

' Who would not rather hear Miss Stephens sing an old ballad than any *bravura*? — although her beautiful voice is equally calculated to give every effect to the most florid song.

' The general admiration pretended to be given to Italian music is a despicable piece of affectation; yet vanity prevails so much over the very sense of pleasure, that the Italian Opera is more frequented by people of rank than any other public diversion, — who, to avoid the imputation of want of taste, submit to some hours' painful attendance on it every week, and talk of it in raptures which their hearts never felt.'

Upon the whole, though we regret that the Doctor has not entered methodically and extensively into the subject of vocal music, instead of giving us these detached observations, yet even in printing these, we think he has done good service, and that few singers or composers will read them without profit.

ART. VIII. *Observations on the Judges of the Court of Chancery, and the Practice and Delays complained of in that Court.* 8vo. pp. 68. Murray. 1823.

WHEN Solomon put forth his aphorism, — There is nothing new under the sun, the printing-press was not in existence. Since the invention of that mighty machine novelties are of fre-

quent appearance; and among the recent prodigies of this sort is the publication before us. It is really a novelty. Its aim is to render the practice of the Court of Chancery "the theme of general commendation;" to disprove the vile reproach that its proceedings are either too dilatory or too expensive; to expose to public view and universal admiration the blessings of a chancery suit; and to show that all the imputed discomfort of that visitation consists wholly in the "ignorant impatience" of the suitors, who are *fortunati nimium! Sua si bona norint!!*

We must confess, however, that we are very presumptuous in venturing on this subject. The author deprecates the unhallowed approach of all ignorant intruders in a solemn quotation, by way of motto, from *Jeremy Taylor*, which is written in these words:—"Pretend not to more knowledge than thou hast, but be content to seem ignorant where thou art so; lest thou beest either brought to shame, or retirest into shamelessness." It seems, however, that the author is the absolute monopolist of all the requisite intelligence and integrity. The alleged abuses of the Court of Chancery appear to form a privileged region, "within whose magic circle none dares walk, but he." Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Denman, and Mr. Brougham, are stated by him to be "confessedly ignorant" on this subject (p. 1.); and "the chief speakers in the late debates" are characterised as "not possessing any knowledge of the practice against which they spoke." (P. 3.) With reference to "Mr. Denman's intellects and attainments," he is pleased, with equal adherence to truth and urbanity, to represent it as a matter of reproach, "to possess many sentiments in common with him." (P. 33.) Those who are not optimists in their opinion of the practice of the Court of Chancery, are described as "the ignorant and theoretical politicians of the day" (p. 7.); and "ignorant declaimers." (P. 41.) The recent debates on this very important matter are insinuated to have had no other object than "to slander the Lord Chancellor" (p. 5.); and are stigmatised as "flimsy and obloquious arguments." (P. 41.) And the complaints so universally urged against the delays and expenses incident to chancery proceedings, are reprobated as "tales treasured up with a revengeful spirit to gratify men who have been professionally * disappointed, or oftentimes professionally rebuked." (P. 3.) Now when such men as those above named are denounced as ignorant of the subject, connected as it is

* In p. 5. there is a note containing a most illiberal and unjust allusion to the supposed disappointment of Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman in having lost their silk gowns by the Queen's death.

with the profession of which they are such distinguished ornaments, it is a venturesome undertaking in us to approach it. But who can set bounds to the temerity and presumption of reviewers? Notwithstanding the author, by the inhibition of his motto, has fairly warned us off the ground, we shall not hesitate to enter the intellectual presence of which he fancies himself the sole proprietor and possessor, in despite of all the engines of destruction which may be set within it, and in defiance of the damages he may claim against us as trespassers after notice.

Addison's remark, that a reader seldom peruses a book with pleasure till he knows certain personal particulars respecting the author, is familiar to every one; and our author being, as we suppose, of the same opinion, thus describes himself:—

‘ The causes mentioned in support of my propositions are such as occur to my memory at the moment of writing, and they may be depended on; *for I have been for seven or eight years an occasional attendant on our courts of justice*, and as I did not hear the cases I cite without great interest, *the particulars became deeply engraven on my memory*—a depository from which facts that interest me seldom escape. *My memory is, as to lawsuits, my ledger*; and I could with facility, and without reference to records or papers, write, *by its help*, the history of more than a thousand chancery and common-law suits, *though I have not the honour to be either a judge, a barrister, a solicitor, a lawyer's clerk, or an officer of any of the courts; nor am I in any way professionally or pecuniarily dependent upon, or connected with any of them.*’ (P. 20.)

Now as we think, with Addison, that a knowledge of these particulars “conduces very much to the right understanding of an author,” we have been at some pains to ascertain their truth. We confess that we were struck with the intensity of the zeal of this “occasional attendant on our courts of justice,” who had unprofessionally and unpecuniarily burthened his memory with the dull details of more than a thousand suits; who, for the sake of vindicating the Court of Chancery from the imputations made against its practice (the judge of that court being “altogether unknown to the writer of this pamphlet, except in his court, and in his judicial character,” p. 60.), undertook costly searches at the Register's office (p. 40.); and who felt so much anxiety on this subject, that he set on foot a train of minute enquiries at a village in Sussex, and in other places, besides making searches at Doctors' Commons, for the purpose of disproving the allegation, that a suitor had died of a broken heart, in consequence of the delays in his chancery suit. (P. 56.) The sole reason assigned for all this active and expensive zeal being, that the writer was “a man unincumbered by any profession or employ-

ment." (p. 55.) Our scepticism was still further excited by the author's declaration of his universal knowledge of legal practice.—“Familiar as I am (he says, p. 40.) with the practice of all the courts of Westminster, I was well assured,” &c. All these things, we confess, induced a suspicion in us, that the gentleman had misdescribed himself; and our enquiries eventually satisfied us, that in all his professions of independence and impartiality he has been “paltering with us in a double sense.” With what indignation and contempt will the reader learn, that, notwithstanding his assertions, that he has been only “an occasional unprofessional attendant on courts of justice,”—whose “only record of lawsuits is his memory,”—that “he is not in any manner professionally or pecuniarily dependent upon or connected with any court,”—that “he is unincumbered by any profession or employment,”—he is nevertheless *a lawyer by profession!* Now mark how he has made up his work of deceptious verisimilitude:—if he had met with the *Anguilla Equivocationis** of the Jesuits, and had grown pale with the study of it, he could not have equivocated more sinisterly. He “is not a solicitor:” true—but he *was*. He “is not a barrister:” true—but he is *about to be*. The truth is, he has quitted the rank of the former, to attain that of the latter. He is at present a sort of legal *chrysalis*: having left the creeping state of a solicitor, he is in a kind of intermediate professional existence, between that lowly estate and the condition of a full-fledged barrister, in which he expects shortly to take his flight. Or, to use a phrase which, we understand, is current among the sages of the law, when they condescend to jocularity, he is a *sucking barrister*.

We think our readers will now agree with us, that the knowledge of these personal particulars does “conduce very much to the *right understanding* of the author.” This defence of the practice of the Court of Chancery, and eulogy on its presiding judge, may probably be considered a very discreet *probationary exercise* by a professional man just about to be called to the chancery bar. It was said by an ancient prophet, “The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib;” and there are barristers to be found, as well sucking as full grown, who are not at all behind either the ox or the ass in this very vital knowledge.

It is not our intention to enter in this place into the consideration of the practice of the Court of Chancery: that important subject we reserve for another opportunity; and therefore we shall not go into a detailed examination of the pamphlet before

* See *Ignoramus*, act ii. sc. 2. *apud notas*.

us. But we cannot refrain from noticing one topic with which the author has introduced his subject. He begins with a most dolorous lamentation, that it should have been "left to **LAWYERS BY PROFESSION,**" to attack the abuses of the Court of Chancery.

Now, in the first place, we apprehend he is mistaken in supposing that this unpardonable offence was left to be committed by lawyers. The delays and expenses of suits in chancery have been proverbial for years; and "attacks" upon them are to be found every where. But why should he be wroth with the lawyers for exposing the abuses of their profession? Such conduct is at least honest and disinterested. Is it that he considers that they who live by abuses ought not to complain of their existence? Or, does he think the craftsman ought not to impeach the craft? This is indeed a species of self-destruction which the profession was formerly celebrated for avoiding. *Hudibras* commends their discretion in this particular: —

"Lawyers are too wise a nation
T' expose their trade to disputation;
Or make the busy rabble judges
Of all their secret piques and grudges,
In which, whoever gets the day,
The whole profession's sure to pay."

But, to be serious.— We have had no other object in noticing this time-serving pamphlet, than that of exposing its profligate hypocrisy; and even this we should have left undone, if the author had not made his own interested proceedings the medium of scattering most unjust aspersions and imputations against honourable and public-spirited individuals. For evident purposes of self-interest this professional aspirant, with the most arrogant and exclusive assumption of independence and impartiality, deals forth unlimited imputations of ignorance and of malevolence against all persons who oppose themselves to the abuses which notoriously exist in the Court of Chancery, and the existence of which we shall take the earliest opportunity of proving beyond dispute. The zeal, however, of this gentleman consumes its object: his positions are so preposterous that they are insusceptible of credit. He hesitates not to deny, that "human ingenuity can suggest any plan by which the costs and expenses of chancery suits can be materially diminished" (p. 15.); he justifies the everlasting delay of proceedings by the tritical observation, that "it is better never to decide, than to decide rashly" (p. 49.), and even goes so far as to denominate that delay "*a blessing to the suitors and the country*"! (P. 26.) In short, his optimism is so superlative, with respect to the Court of Chancery, that we are under no apprehension of his making many converts

to his doctrine. In matters relating to the Court of Chancery he is as ultra an optimist as Dr. Pangloss in Voltaire's *Candide* was with regard to mundane affairs generally, who insisted, that "they who assert that every thing is right do not express themselves correctly; they ought to say that every thing is best."

ART. IX. *On the Administration of Criminal Justice in England, and the Spirit of the English Government.* By M. Cottu. Translated from the French. London. R. Stevens. 1822. pp. 312.

THE distinguishing feature in the administration of justice in England, is the institution of trial by jury; and whatever this institution may have been in its origin, it is clear that the quality for which it is now held in esteem, if not the sole purpose for which it is supposed to exist, is that of operating as a check upon the power of the judges; a check, which may have place in a twofold way: 1st, in the jury's coming to a decision different from that which the judge might desire them to pronounce; 2dly, in the necessity which their presence imposes upon the judge, — the necessity of summing up the case, of showing himself acquainted with all its details, and of assigning reasons for the opinion he may have formed on its merits. If such a check be not the quality for which the institution of trial by jury is so much esteemed and upholden, it is obvious that the power of immediate and final decision might at once be left unincumbered in the hands of the judge.

Now, in order to the jury's operating as a check upon the judge, in case he should be disposed to do wrong, three things are essential: —

First, That the jury should not be appointed by the judge, or any person deriving authority from him, or any person from whom he derives his authority.

Secondly, That the jury should derive their appointment from some application of the principle of chance, corrected by an impartial exercise of human prudence.

Thirdly, That the situation of juror should be *impermanant*.

To assign reasons in support of the first of these requisites, might, to ordinary understandings, appear superfluous, had not a learned judge seemed to think, that in order to obtain persons duly qualified, *somebody* must nominate*, and had he not adduced reasons why it should be deemed satisfactory that this nomination should be made by *the known and general officer of the court*.† The personification here should be carefully remarked; for the expression "*the court*" turns aside attention from the fact,

* The King v. Edmonds, 4 Barn. & Ald. 484.

† Id. 481.

that this known and general officer is appointed by the judge or judges of the said court whose aberrations the jury is designed to counteract. But so long as human nature remains what it is, it may be presumed that a person appointed by the judge will entertain the same views and feelings, and be affected by the same interests and biasses as the judge himself; and that he will, therefore, perhaps unconsciously, aim at producing such results as he may deem agreeable to his patron: the previous connection between the parties, the selection made by the judge, gratitude for the benefit conferred, — all tend to justify such a presumption; and the judge being similarly circumstanced with respect to the powers by whom *he* was appointed (to say nothing of the effect producible on *his* mind by the prospect of promotion for himself, or branches of his family), a nomination of jurymen by the appointee or appointer of the judge is in effect no other than a nomination of them by himself. Scepticism, perhaps, may be excused for doubting whether the man in power will, very impartially, select such persons as are likely to offer a check to his own authority.

As to the second requisite for rendering a jury what it ought to be; although the same learned person appeared to think that *somebody* must nominate, it seems obvious, that for the purpose of securing an impartial nomination, the operation must be performed by *nobody*; i. e. by chance: whoever *somebody* may be, by whomsoever selected, he *may* be practised on by either of the parties concerned. No such practice can exist where the jurymen are appointed under a system of chance; and the possible introduction under such a system of improper or incompetent persons, may easily be corrected by superadding an impartial exercise of prudence by the parties concerned. Thus, suppose a book containing a complete list of all the persons qualified to serve as jurors for a given county; — a book, for instance, of 50 pages, with 10 names in each page. Suppose, for the purpose of a given trial, 48 names taken by chance out of this book (as, by the parties alternately inserting a pen at random into the leaves, and taking the name nearest to the pen); out of these 48 names, let each party have, as at present, the privilege of striking off 12. Suppose, that out of the list of qualified persons, there should be introduced by chance among the 48, three or four persons whom either party might deem incompetent or improper; — this is an evil which that party might immediately correct, under the privilege afforded to both, of excluding 12 from the 48. The exercise of this privilege being mutual, is, in the highest degree impartial; and it will hardly be pretended, that out of the 48,

there are likely upon any occasion to be more than 24 really objectionable persons.

Then, as to the third requisite; if the situation of juror be, as at present, attended with pecuniary remuneration, and be rendered permanent, the juror has a direct interest to insure his obsequiousness towards any person who may have it at once in his power to place or to omit to place him in such situation.

From repeated attendance too, a sort of connection in the way of sympathy, which has been called a *friendship of inequality*, is likely to spring up between the judge and the juror, enabling the judge to acquire that sort of influence over the mind of the juror which is altogether inconsistent with the nature of a check.

Without going at large into the excellences or defects of the institution of trial by jury, but assuming that so long as judges are appointed and promoted by the government, such an institution is necessary as a check to the natural bias of their interests and inclination, and that the requisites just enumerated are essential to the formation of such a check, let us now see what is the existing practice in the appointment and remuneration of juries.

With a few exceptions, provided by statute, all persons who have freehold or copyhold property to the amount of 10*l.* a-year, or leaseholds determinable on lives to the amount of 20*l.* a-year, are qualified to serve as jurors in England.*

In London, householders who have property to the amount of 100*l.* are qualified; and in other cities, boroughs, and towns, which have separate jurisdictions, householders who have property to the amount of 40*l.* †

Lists of the persons qualified are obtained as follows. The Midsummer courts of quarter sessions issue warrants to the high constables of each hundred, ward, &c. requiring such constables to issue precepts to the several tithingmen, petty constables, &c. within their respective constablewicks, to prepare a list of persons within their respective precincts qualified to serve as jurors. ‡

The tithingmen having prepared such lists, with the place of abode and addition of every person named therein, and having fixed them on the door of the church during two Sundays, verify them on oath at a petty sessions the week after Michaelmas; the lists are then delivered to the high constables, who return them to the October quarter sessions; the clerks of the peace there enter

* 13 Ed. 1. c. 38. 4 & 5 W. & M. c. 25. s. 15. 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 18.

† 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 19. 23 H. 8. c. 13. 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 20.

‡ 3 & 4 Ann. c. 18. s. 5. 3 G. 2. c. 25.

these lists on record, and deliver duplicates of them to the sheriff of the county.*

Qualified persons omitted, and unqualified persons inserted in the lists, may appeal to the quarter sessions; and unqualified persons may be challenged for want of qualification.†

Out of these lists the sheriff returns not less than 48, nor more than 72 names, for the service of each assize: no person is to be returned who, in Middlesex, has served within two terms or vacations next preceding, — in other counties, within two years; except in Yorkshire, where the interval between two returns of the same person must be four years; — in Rutland only one: the sheriff is bound to keep a register of such jurors as have served, and, upon application, to give certificates of service.‡

The names returned by the sheriff to the assizes are directed to be written upon distinct pieces of parchment or paper, of equal size, and delivered to the judge's marshal; the marshal is directed to roll them up, each in the same manner, in a box provided for the purpose; and when any cause comes on to be tried, some indifferent person is to draw out 12 of the parchments or papers, and if any juror whose name is drawn does not appear or is challenged, the drawing is to be continued until 12 are obtained.§

Jurors thus appointed are called common jurors; and the remuneration for their services is, in London, a shilling for each cause they try; in the country, eight-pence.

There are two modes by which the check proposed in the institution of jury-trial may be done away: first, by a selection of persons for jurors whose opinions and interests are the same as those of the judge; secondly, by making it the interest of the juror, whatever his own opinions may be, to act upon the declared or supposed opinion of the judge. Now it is scarcely possible that either of these modes should be applied where a jury is constituted in the way we have just described. With respect to the first mode, the office of sheriff continuing only for a year, it is by no means certain that the sheriff for the time being would feel disposed to pack the gross list of 48 which he returns to the assizes; but should a sheriff be occasionally so disposed, the necessity he is under of returning jurors by rotation, and not oftener than once in two years, must render it a matter of un-

* 7 & 8 W. 3. c. 32. s. 4. 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 2.

† 3 & 4 W. & M. c. 25. s. 15.

‡ 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 8. Ib. s. 4. 4 G. 2. c. 7. 7 G. 2. c. 7. s. 2.
3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 5.

§ 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 11. & 12.

certainty whether he could find for his gross list 48 men, or a majority of that number, suited to his purpose.

With respect to the second mode, the emolument attached to service being so small, and the service being so transient, it is impossible a man should have such an interest in the situation of juror as should induce him, from the fear of losing it, to give an unconscientious verdict.

Juries thus constituted, being therefore but an intractable machine, it was contrived to attach to the office of juror an emolument so considerable and so permanent as to insure the juror's devotion to any party whose displeasure might deprive him of a competent livelihood.

The machine thus rendered tractable and called a special jury, appears to be of recent origin. So late as in the year 1623, no mention is made of special juries in the books of practice. But in the 23d of Charles II. the court of king's bench *ruled*, (that is, usurpingly legislated) "That upon affidavit that the cause to be tried at the bar is of *very great* consequence, the court will, if they see cause, make a rule for the *officer of the court to name 48 freeholders.*"

At that time, then, special juries could only be had in trials at bar, and on consent of both parties. The rule 8 W. 3., whereby it was ordered, that "upon reference by the court to their officer to return any jury, or to name 48 *sufficient persons* to try any issue at bar, if the attorney on one side shall make default to attend at the time appointed, the officer shall name the jury," must apply to cases where the attorney made default after consent; for in Easter term 10 Geo. 1. it was found upon search that no special jury had been granted for 30 years then last past, without consent. (*Wilks v. Eames*, Andr. 52.)

The usurpation which at this time was confined to trials at bar, must have been extended to other cases in the reigns of Queen Anne and George I., and the emolument attached to the situation of special juror must have become considerable and permanent; for in the third year of George II. the statute was passed which prohibits jurymen from serving oftener than once in two years*, stating, as the cause of its enactment, "the evil practice used in *the corrupting jurors*;" and in the 24th year of George II. the statute, which (after reciting that "complaints are frequently made of the great and extravagant fees paid to jurymen") limits the fee of a special jurymen to a guinea a cause.

Here then, notwithstanding two statutory recognitions of the

* By 4 G. 2. c. 7. the rotation in Middlesex is ordered to be not more frequent than once within two terms or vacations.

mischief of attaching permanent profit to the situation of juror, the legislature confirms the usurpation of the court of king's bench: — Why? unless it foresaw that the enactment with respect to the rotation of jurors would be eluded *, and that jurors permanently paid would be of all instruments the most efficient for favouring the purposes of despotism.

At all events, such has actually been the case.

So recently as the year 1807, Sir Richard Phillips, then one of the sheriffs of London, addressed a letter † to Sir A. M'Donald, the lord chief baron of the court of exchequer, in which he complained that special juries were become virtually permanent in consequence of the same persons being repeatedly nominated by the officer of the court; that this was contrary to the acknowledged principle of the constitution of juries, contrary to the express provision of the act of parliament 4 G. 2. c. 7. s. 2.; and that a partial selection of jurors was the habitual result of interference on the part of the solicitor for the crown. The lord chief baron, in an answer which he addressed to Sir Richard, does not deny any of the allegations; — he admits that special juries have become permanent; he admits that this is contrary to the act of parliament: but, the state of things complained of he justifies on the ground that inconvenience would arise from summoning jurors who lived at a distance; that the instructing jury after jury would expose parties to the hazard of points being ill understood; and that in 24 years' experience, he, the chief baron, had never seen any inconvenience arise from the manner of striking special juries, and had known few verdicts from which he should have dissented.

In 1817, a committee appointed by the common council of the city of London to enquire into this matter, reported, "That special juries were nominated from a book containing a list of names inserted at the discretion or caprice of the secondary, who had placed such names on the book as he pleased, and struck off such as he pleased; that he professed to be regulated in this practice by the recommendation of other special jurymen, of some attorneys, and of the sheriff, which he considered himself at liberty to adopt or reject as he thought proper; that although in the city of London there are an immense number of persons who are eligible to serve on special juries, the book contained only 485 names from which all the juries are selected; that out

* In 1793 the court of king's bench held that the act does not apply to special juries, where the crown is a party. *R. v. Perry*, 5 T. R. 458. And also in 1731, Hil. 5 G. 2. *Rex v. Franklin*, *ib.*

† See Phillips on the Office of Sheriff.

of these 485 names of persons, there are no less than 226 who are not householders within the city of London, and are, of course, ineligible to serve; that out of the 259 householders in the list, the number of those who are merchants, in the modern acceptance of the term, is 88; those usually styled tradesmen, and not merchants, 171; that the alleged practice of a special jury being composed exclusively of merchants (*i. e.* in London), is as unfounded in fact as it is utterly unsupported by any principle of law; that during the sittings after the three terms immediately preceding the report, there were jurors summoned for the trial of 114 causes; and that out of the book which contained the 485 names 274 only were summoned, out of whom one was summoned 55 times, one 53, one 50, one 46, one 45, one 43, two 42, two 38 times, &c.; that the book being left in the hands of the officers of the court, for weeks together, they may have been enabled to make a selection destructive of the purity of trial by jury; and that application has been made to the secondary by the solicitor to the treasury to know the political sentiments of a jury appointed to try a cause between the crown and an individual for a libel."

With respect to the city of London, this report occasioned some reform as to the number of names and the quality of the persons from among whom the special jury is nominated (a reform of little avail while the nomination remains in the hands in which it is at present vested); but in Westminster, and other places, the matter remains as it was. In the case of *The King v. Wardle*, for an alleged libel in the *Manchester Observer*, it was affirmed, and not denied, that the special jury list for the extensive county of Lancaster (the population of which amounts to 1,074,000), contained fewer than 100 names; and in the case against *Major Cartwright* and others, that in the county of Warwick (the population of which is 280,000) the special jury list had no more than 54 names in it, besides those of the grand jury who found the bills. From these 54 were to be taken 48 for this and all the special jury causes to be tried in the county. Yet the master of the crown office called this a good and proper list; and on motion in court for a rule to check this practice, the rule was refused, and the court declared that the list was a good and proper list.

Here then is ample proof, and an admission by one of the judges, that the situation of special juror has become virtually permanent; and being so, it cannot be other than a situation of considerable emolument, while the fee for attendance is a guinea in each cause;—a degree of emolument of *vital* importance to a great proportion of those who are accustomed to serve; for how-

ever it may be pretended, as it was by Lord Ellenborough (Rex v. Wooler, 1 B. & A. 193. 265.), that the object of the rule for a special jury is to attain persons who, "from their better education and superior intelligence, are calculated to decide upon questions of difficulty," and as it is pretended by the officer of the court, that merchants only are selected in London, and "esquires" in the country,—the contrary appears to be the case, according to the report just quoted; and it is notorious, that the service is habitually performed by a set of needy persons not having so much as the requisite statutory qualification, but, from their constant attendance, stigmatised by the name of *guinea-men*. The reporter from the committee told the common council, that "of the favoured few to whom the master of the crown office had thought proper to grant patents of rank and intellect, the most part had no property whatever in London; that many of those who were summoned were known to have been *unfortunate in trade*: it was notorious, that many persons derived a certain profit from serving upon special juries; and if any of them were to decide against the crown, it was easy to judge what would be the consequence."

A person who has repeatedly served on common juries in Westminster makes the following statement as a sample, and a sample only* :—

"I knew a special jurymen who was a *common soldier*, who, during a parliamentary investigation, was discharged from his regiment at the instance of an army agent, and then provided for in a certain way;—this man, after a time, told me he was endeavouring to collect as much money as would enable him to purchase a freehold, as he had the promise of being made a special jurymen: he purchased the freehold, became a special jurymen, and I saw him one day receive nine guineas in the course of about three hours.

"Another had been *coachman* to a law lord; his master laid out his savings for him in the purchase of a small freehold, and he was made a regular guinea-man.

"Another was a very poor man with a large family, whose wife kept a green shop.

"I have repeatedly seen and sat by the side of a special juror, who was so deaf as not always to be able to hear his name called, and I have seen one of his fellows give him a push with his elbow to induce him to answer to his name."

So much for the better education and superior intelligence of this *inestimable body*, as Lord Ellenborough termed it.

* See a pamphlet "on the Law of Libel." 1823. P. 48.

The situation of special juror, being, as we have shown, attended with considerable emolument, and perhaps the means of livelihood to a large proportion of those who serve,—the attainment of such a situation having been rendered an object of desire, the loss of it an object of apprehension,—in whose hands is patronage so valuable lodged? who has the appointment, who the disappointment of so many aspirants? who, in short, composes the body which is supposed to be a check upon the judge?—An officer of the court in which the judge presides! an officer, appointed by the chief judge of that court, or by the judge's predecessor!

In the court of king's bench, this officer is commonly called the master; and according to recent decisions of that court, (R. v. Wooler, 1 B. & A. 193., and R. v. Edmonds, 4 B. & A. 484.), has a *right to select* (in what does *selecting* differ from *packing*?) *such persons as he may think fit*. In R. v. Edmonds, it is laid down, that it would be contrary to all precedent and example, if the officer should take the names by some mode of chance. It required, however, the courage of Lord Ellenborough to avow and put in force this exercise of arbitrary power.

In the year 1777, upon the trial of Horne Tooke, a remonstrance being made by that gentleman against a proposal of the solicitor to the treasury, that the master should select two names out of each page of the sheriff's book, the master consented to take the first 48 names of special jurors that should present themselves*; whereupon, whenever a name presented itself in any way suspected by the prosecutor, the sheriff's officer affirmed that the man was dead, or had retired, or was a bankrupt: one man, who was asserted to have been dead seven months, Mr. Tooke knew to be alive, he having that day been appointed to an office in the city. This man's name being suffered by the master to form one of the list of 48, was instantly struck out by the solicitor to the treasury, among the 12 he was entitled to reduce.

Subsequently to this, and up to a recent period, that is, within the time during which the present master has enjoyed the office, something like an appearance of impartiality has been observed on these occasions, the 48 names having been obtained by the master striking his pen at random into the leaves of the sheriff's book, and taking the esquire or merchant whose name happened to be nearest to the point of the pen. Under the authority and express decision of the court of king's bench, this course,

* See Holt's Vindication of the Conduct and Principles of the Printer of the Newark Herald.

however, has now been abandoned; and the master, *without assigning any reason, selects or rejects whatever names he may think proper.*

The following is a statement, by one who is understood to have been an eye-witness of what passed upon the last contested nomination of jurors,—the jurors appointed to try Mr. John Hunt, for the publication of the Liberal.

“The master, being seated at a table, round which the parties in the cause stand, opens the freeholders’ book. He turns over the pages, reads aloud any name he may fix upon, which is taken down by the parties attending: he usually takes one or two names in a page; but sometimes passes over many pages without taking any. He is asked by the defendant why he thus selects, and upon what principle he makes the nomination; and he explains, that in the first place he only takes such as are designated esquires in the book, and of those names, the required number quite at random, choosing any one his eye may light upon, *unless he knows some reason why that one is unfit*, and then he passes him over, reserving the objection, however, entirely in his own breast. The defendant objects to this mode, as opening a door to partiality. Without meaning to convey the slightest imputation on Mr. Lushington (the present master) he protests against the principle of a practice which puts it in the power of a master most completely to pack a jury. The defendant further suggests that there are various other modes of striking a jury which would be liable to no suspicion of wrong: he proposes, for instance, that the book shall be opened at random, and that the first, second, or third esquire, (as it might be beforehand agreed on) in each page so casually opened, shall be nominated until the whole 48 be obtained. To this plan, however, the master demurs: he declares his strict impartiality, and even professes an earnest desire to adopt that course which shall prevent any possibility of suspicion; but he refuses to establish a *rule* on the taking of the names, and adheres to his own plan of what he alleges to be an *impartial selection*. The general suspicion and reprobation this plan must and does excite with the public being urged by the defendant, Mr. Lushington admits, ‘*that if a master were corrupt, he would have the power, under this practice, of packing juries.*’

“A conversation ensues, in which the master says *he wishes that all the eligible names were collected in a heap, and he had to pick out 48 at hazard, in the manner of a ballot.* He admits that all persons named in the book are eligible, and that he might, if he pleased, take freeholders who are not esquires; but then the practice of the office is to take only esquires, and he refuses to

deviate from it. He asserts that the mode of nomination is left entirely to his discretion, and also that he has on former occasions nominated in another way; as, for instance, he has thrust a pen into the leaves of the book, opened it at the page hit on, and taken the esquire nearest to the point of the pen. Nothing can be fairer, says the defendant; will you do so in the present instance? No, replies Mr. Lushington; I left off that mode on account of the *trouble*. — Would he then fix on any other plan which should preclude the chance of partiality? No; he objects (and this after all, was the chief point) to any plan which would make it peremptory on him to take persons whom he might think improper men to serve on the jury. He insists that his mode (being, as he protests, quite impartially acted upon) is the best, because it leaves him the power to pass over certain persons; for instance, he says, if I see a man holding a place under government, or notoriously connected with government, I pass him over: and on the other hand, if I see a man whose opinions are *notoriously improper*, I pass *him over*."

Now, the possibility of getting upon the jury one or two persons whose opinions might in the estimation of the master be improper, that is, who might be strong partisans on either side, is a thing unavoidable under any impartial plan, which can be no other than some application of a system of chance; but the law, as it stands, has contemplated and provided for this inconvenience, by allowing each party to strike out 12 of the 48 first appointed; so that the interference of the master to prevent such inconvenience is as unnecessary as it is open to abuse. Without alleging the existence of any such necessity, however, the court of king's bench determines that the master shall retain this power of *selecting*, unless corrupt motives or corrupt conduct can be imputed to, and proved on him. When complaint on this subject is made in the legislature, up rises some friend of the master, and with real or pretended wrath asserts that no one has ever dared to cast imputation on the purity of the master's motives.

Now all this is completely, probably purposely, beside the question: no one has imputed corrupt motives or corrupt conduct to the master; first, because it would be next to impossible to adduce judicial proof of such motives or such conduct; and secondly, because such proof, and the consequent punishment or removal of the master, would be utterly useless; for, the thing imputed to the master and not denied, the thing complained of and not redressed, is, not that the master *does* actually pack a jury, but that he has the *power* of doing so, and of doing so without the possibility of detection. To this power, the parties who may be affected by it decidedly object; and for the con-

ferring this power upon him, nothing that will bear the name of a reason has ever been adduced; while it has been repeatedly shown, that for any good purpose such power is wholly unnecessary.

Nothing can equal the facility and security with which this power may be exercised, or rather profited by without being exercised, but the abject and trembling dependence of the permanent juror who is the object of selection; — *he* must consider as the arbiter of his fate, as the person who may determine whether or no he shall continue in the enjoyment of an easy and ample subsistence, not only the master by whom he is at first selected, but all those powerful persons behind the curtain whom he may suspect to take an interest in the verdict: to the will of every one of these, as far as it can be guessed at, and is reconcilable with that of the rest, will it be necessary for him to shape his verdict. Although in his conception that verdict may be a matter of indifference to five out of six of these high-seated spectres, if it be matter of anxiety to the remaining sixth, the independence of the guinea-man is as effectually destroyed by the apprehension of this single one, as it could have been by all six. With none of the persons supposed to be offended, can he possibly come to any explanation; with no certainty can he so much as collect their names: his punishment (omission to insert his name among those of the permanent jurors) he cannot call a punishment, cannot complain of it as a hardship, or even know the precise time at which it is inflicted. In the exercise of his power of amotion or omission the master observes a discreet silence; he names no name, he assigns no reason: his acts, if omission to select can be called an act, are as incapable of proof as his motives; and whatever those acts may be, he is, to all intents, safe in irresponsibility.

With those who assert that the operation of an interest such as we have described, will produce no bias on the juror's mind, will have no influence in producing his verdict so long as he is bound by the solemn obligation of an oath, — we can have no reasoning in common; we start from different premises, we entertain opposite views touching human nature, and can never arrive at the same conclusions. Without entering into any disquisition on the utility or effect of judicial oaths, we shall content ourselves with observing, that they who maintain that such oaths are a sufficient protection against the operation of sinister interest on the minds of a jury tribunal, might with equal justice carry the position further, and altogether dispense with the incumbrance of a jury, by holding the judge's

oath to be a sufficient guarantee for his deciding in all cases with impartiality and integrity.

It now remains for us to observe, that almost the only class of cases in which the government and the judges have an interest in a partial administration of justice, are alleged offences of the press. The publicity of their proceedings and the character of the times, render it next to impossible that judges should receive a bribe, or have any interest in misdecision upon ordinary cases between man and man: but neither the judge, nor any other man in power, can patiently endure a check upon his authority; and the censure of the press is the only existing check, while parliament is composed of persons irresponsible to the people. This check the judges have done, and are doing every thing in their power to destroy; and have declared, that all censure of the man in authority is a punishable offence. Lord Ellenborough has expressly laid it down, that any thing which may tend to bring such a man into disesteem, or even to hurt his feelings, is a libel; and as censure, in proportion as it is merited, cannot fail to hurt his feelings, however measuredly or calmly that censure may be pronounced, it is obvious that, in point of law, no such censure can safely be exercised. Nevertheless, in spite of legal prohibition, such censure continues to be pronounced:—as it is the last, so it is the most efficient corrective of those tendencies of power which are mischievous to the community at large, and is at present almost the only assignable cause of the comparative absence of misgovernment enjoyed by the people of England.

Cases affecting the exercise of this censure, in other words, state prosecutions for libel, are, therefore, of all others the most important; and these cases are uniformly tried by special juries.

With respect then to the most important class of cases debated in our courts of justice, how does the matter stand as to the chance for impartiality in the tribunal?

Certain men in power, composing the whole or part of the governing body, exasperated by censure, which is offensive in proportion as it is deserved, institute a prosecution with a view to punish the author of an alleged libel.

The judge to whom they refer the question, is a person created a judge by themselves; and though not removable by them, frequently receives promotion at their hands, and at their hands has the prospect, if he pleases them, of obtaining a provision for his family or dependants. Whether the defendant consents or no,

the prosecutors may insist, and do always insist, on trying their cause before a special jury. The judge created by the prosecutors, or one of his brother judges, appoints an officer of the court called a master:—the master *selects* the persons from among whom the special jury are to be taken; the special jury have a strong pecuniary interest in retaining the situation of special jurymen—many of them derive from it their whole subsistence; and the master, without the smallest responsibility, without the possibility of so much as a question being asked, has the power of appointing, or ceasing to appoint, to this situation whomsoever he pleases.

In the course of this statement, confining ourselves to facts, we have carefully avoided the language of asperity, and having concluded it, we shall abstain from all invective. The only immediate effect we desire to produce on the reader is, to set him enquiring whether or no the statement is true; and if, as we feel the fullest confidence, the statement cannot, in the main, be denied, we leave him to his own feelings and comments, perfectly satisfied they will supersede on our part the necessity of any condemnation of the system we have just developed. Nothing but ignorance of the facts here presented can have led the people of England so long to believe, that in jury trial they possess an impartial and unbiassed tribunal, and a check upon the power of the judges, or of the several individuals by whom the government is conducted; nothing but their ignorance can have induced them to acquiesce so long in a semblance of justice, which could scarcely delude the most illiterate and barbarous nation.

We have entered into this subject the more at length, because we understand that in the next session Mr. Peel is about to introduce a bill to consolidate and amend the laws relating to jurors. We presume he will insert a clause to secure the impartial appointment of those who are to serve: already have the practices here described been denounced in parliament. It is impossible that the people can remain long or generally ignorant of them; and it is equally impossible, that when they are extensively known, the existence of them should be beneficial to a government, however conducted:—an alleged libeller may be convicted and punished, a public censorer may be silenced; but indignation, at the means by which the victory has been attained, will more than counterbalance the advantage proposed by success.

Up to the present moment, however, there is great reason to believe, that a large proportion of the community is ignorant of the mode in which jury trial is administered: they are ignorant, that, except in the city of London, where some little reform has taken place, the conviction and punishment of a person who has

censured the conduct of men in power, is the uniform result of his trial. So long as they remain ignorant of this, so long as they believe the jury to constitute a fair and impartial tribunal, it is impossible to conceive an engine that shall so effectually serve the purposes of misgovernment. A single judge, on whom the whole responsibility should rest, and who might be under the necessity of assigning reasons for his decision, might sometimes fear to convict; but when the verdict is in the hands of the jury, the judge is divested of all responsibility, while the opinion pronounced by him is a sufficient authority to shield the jury from reproach.

A government purely despotic might seize and punish the supposed offender by means more summary, — it might even carry on all the farce of a mock tribunal; but suspicion and hatred would attend all its proceedings, and the sense of oppression and injustice would ultimately excite resistance.

Such is the course of what is called justice in France, and such is the result apprehended. M. Cottu, having ascertained that “they order these things much better in England,” and having described the principles there prevailing, goes on to say, that if the French government is averse to adopt them, “it is because its reason is blinded by the fear of losing one of *the instruments* which it thinks *the most useful* for the preservation of its authority. Let it cast away all apprehension; it will be neither less powerful nor respected, for freely renouncing every kind of influence over the administration of criminal justice.” (P. 300.)

M. Cottu was dispatched by the French Government to ascertain the state of the administration of criminal justice in England, and a fitter instrument for their purpose they could scarcely have selected.

He appears to be one of those ingenious gentlemen, who, born in the middle class of society, and gifted with talents and acquirements a little beyond those which usually fall to the lot of the hereditarily opulent, find it exceedingly convenient, at the expense of a certain amount of obsequiousness, to share in the good dinners and flattery of the aristocracy, and who esteem this mode of attaining the advantages of wealth preferable to the pursuit of them by assiduous and continued toil: he is, therefore, an avowed and steady friend to every institution which is likely to create or support a privileged class, at the expence of the rest of the community. Finding such institutions in this country at a pitch of perfection he had never before seen or dreamt of, he saves himself the trouble of thinking; and takes upon trust, from sundry members of this same privileged class, nearly all the opinions which he chooses to present to his readers. On setting out from

France, he is first consigned to the Marquis of Lansdowne; the Marquis consigns him to Mr. Scarlett; and Mr. Scarlett to Mr. Scarlett, junior, and the gentlemen of the bar travelling the northern circuit. (See Preface; pp. 5, 6, 7.) With such oracles for his guides, it would have been presumptuous for him to exercise a judgment of his own; and he frankly says, —

‘ The present work is less the offspring of my own reflections, than a collection of opinions received from persons the best informed on the subjects here treated. When my work was completed, I submitted it to Mr. Grey *, a young barrister of the greatest promise, and afterwards to Mr. Scarlett, who kindly snatched a moment from his numerous avocations to point out such errors as had escaped me, and even to furnish me with some notes on the spirit of the English constitution.’ (Pref. viii.)

It may easily be guessed what sort of opinions M. Cottu would collect and echo from such society. A legislature, irresponsible and self-appointed, under a system of election procedure, in which the open mode of giving votes renders it impossible for the few who possess the elective franchise to exercise it independently without the risk of loss; — a court of justice, the judges in which sit there by inheritance, without regard to mental qualification; — the laws of primogeniture; — an unpaid and irresponsible magistrature; — special juries; — rotten boroughs, &c. &c.; — whatever tends to exalt an aristocracy, and oppress and degrade a people; — find in M. Cottu an avowed and earnest advocate.

His work, however, is exceedingly curious and instructive; not so much in what M. Cottu proposes to teach, as in what he has unwittingly betrayed. As M. Cottu associated chiefly with that assemblage of individuals who are denominated the Whig party, and as he was furnished with *notes on the constitution* by one of its prominent members, it may fairly be inferred, that he speaks the prevailing sentiments of that same assemblage: — from the unsuspecting and incautious foreigner we obtain a manifesto, disclosing views and sentiments such as those who have attentively watched the conduct of this party have always ascribed to it, but such, as in all their nakedness, it has never dared to avow. That the Whig aristocracy has essentially the same interests and inclinations as the Tories or party in power; — that whenever it has indulged in the expression of sentiments or the proposal of measures advantageous to the interests of the whole community, its sole object has been by deluding that community to obtain the power enjoyed by the Tories; — all this we are driven to infer, from the circumstance, that of the measures prejudicial to the in-

* Now Sir Charles Grey, and appointed a judge at Madras.

terests of the people at large, a vast proportion has originated in the Whigs, while in the temporary possession of the reins of government: but on the great topic of political regeneration, — the giving to the subject many the real, and not the mock, or as it is termed, the *virtual* election of their representatives, — their sentiments, as far as they have been *let out* by M. Cottu, differ in nothing from those propounded by Mr. Canning, or any other supporter of despotism disguised under popular forms. Hear what he says, —

‘ These very rotten boroughs, the object of so much jealousy and declamation, are perhaps a branch of its institution to which the parliament of England owes its greatest splendour, and liberty her most intrepid advocates. Divided between families, of which some are on the ministerial side, others in opposition, they are the means of furnishing parliament with members equally opposed in their views; some engaged to support power, others to restrain it within proper bounds. They are besides the nursery of all great parliamentary talents; because their owners, desirous, for the sake of their party or credit, to produce men capable of boldly maintaining their own political opinion, usually return young barristers, or literary men the most distinguished.’ (P. 159.)

As if the people at large, who seldom fail to discover and employ the best mechanic, lawyer, or physician, were not equally competent to discover and elect the best politician; — as if the noble and ignoble proprietors of boroughs did not select the creature devoted to their purposes much more frequently than the man capable of doing public service! “ The encouragement of the public,” says an able writer on reform *, “ is uniformly awarded to those qualities which best adapt any functionary to the service which the public interest requires of him. The favour of any small number is, by a similar rule, distributed according as consanguinity or friendship, or any other interest common to a small number, may dictate.”

M. Cottu tells us, that the main object of English country gentlemen is to become of importance in their respective counties; that with this view they attend musical festivals, races, assize-balls, and county-meetings; that a family newly come to settle in a county “ at first bounded in its views, is satisfied with civilities and invitations; becoming by degrees more difficult, it seeks for local titles and dignities; at length, encouraged by such success, it aspires, if not to the high honour of a seat in parliament, at least to that of *exercising a great influence over the elections.*” (P. 6.)

* Statement of the Question of Reform. (Baldwin, 1821.)

What the nature of this great influence is, he tells us with admirable frankness.

‘ The owners of great manufacturing or trading establishments possess in their counties great importance. They are respected for the number of votes which they have at disposal; *I say disposal: for in this there is no sort of disgrace; and when a man who is dependent on another votes differently from his employer, he is sure of losing his situation.* Such conduct, which in France would be considered *the extremity of injustice*, experiences in England not *the slightest hesitation.* You must have, or at least follow, the political opinion of him who supplies you with the means of gaining your livelihood.’ (P. 157.)

With equal *naiveté*, and with equal absence of reprobation, our author describes the effects of this system of terrorism. For a long while, says he,

‘ When I heard mention in France of the enormous sums expended by the English to procure a seat in parliament, I was at a loss to imagine what great advantage they could derive from it, and in what receive an equivalent. I was unable to understand this problem, but at that time I was unacquainted with the nation’s manners.

‘ A seat in parliament has a further especial attraction, in addition to its being the most certain mark of a member’s actual influence in his county; it paves the way to still greater influence, more particularly when the member elected *is in the interest of ministers.* He becomes then the dispenser of every vacant office in the county. There is scarcely one but what is bestowed on his recommendation, — *ecclesiastical benefices, public employments, sinecures, collectorships of excise duties, favours of every kind; nothing is refused.* There are in this way several great families which, from an hereditary attachment to government, seem to have made a tacit contract with it, covenanting to use their whole interest to return to parliament one of their own members or friends; with this understanding, that, in consideration of the sacrifices made by them, they shall have almost the entire disposal of every situation in the county. Thus, when Lord Lonsdale, for instance, expends from 30 to 40,000*l.* to procure the return of his son, or some of his friends, it is less the honour of the representation which is bought at such an exorbitant price, than *the sovereignty of Westmoreland.*’ (Pp. 151—153.)

To any such plan as that of voting by ballot, which would at once root out the system of election terrorism, and save the people the expense of repaying Lord Lonsdale for his purchase of the “sovereignty of Westmoreland;” to any system which should give the voter a genuine vote, and render the government really representative; — our author would doubtless be averse. He tells us fairly,

‘ The aristocracy, as it may be seen, is the real governing power.

It rules in the counties, where it occupies all administrative situations; it rules the whole kingdom by the parliamentary power, which is almost exclusively its office.' (Pp. 160, 161.)

By the aristocracy is meant a privileged class, who, by forming a legislature of themselves, their sons, their brothers, and dependants, possess the power of imposing taxes to any amount on the rest of the community, and spending the amount of such taxes in providing for one another by overpaid, useless, and sinecure places. This aristocracy, M. Cottu and his instructors esteem the greatest blessing a country can enjoy, and the only security for good government.

' I am going to make an assertion which perhaps may seem paradoxical, but which will appear to be just to every impartial and reflecting mind, — that no moderate government, and still more, no real liberty, can exist without an aristocracy.' (P. 235.)

In a variety of passages we are given to understand that the rich have a paramount interest in the institution and security of property, and that the poor are constantly arrayed against order and government. (See pp. 162. 238.) "*Des excès du peuple;*" "*les fureurs populaires*" (p. 241.): these and such like phrases are ever in the mouths of those who would pillage the many for the benefit of the few. Can the advocates of misrule be ignorant that these pretences are equally false in fact and in theory? There are few persons in any civilised community who are absolutely destitute of property; and to the man who has 20*l.* a-year, security of property is an object of importance as great as to him who has 20,000*l.*: the same superiority of physical strength which would be disposed to grasp at the 20,000*l.*, would be equally disposed against and equally formidable to the 20*l.* But how does the case stand with those who are absolutely destitute of goods and chattels? "Take away all public protection of property," says an author whom we have before quoted, "and the rich man immediately finds himself at the head of an association whose interest leads them to respect proprietary rules among themselves, and to violate them with regard to every one else. There is no person except himself, whom all the members would concur in reverencing as their chief. But the poor man, when the public safeguards of property are withdrawn, cannot make it the interest of any body to maintain its laws towards him. He is perfectly isolated and defenceless, and stands exposed to oppression from the powerful associations in his neighbourhood. Let no one imagine that because he is poor, he is therefore an object not worth aiming at. His labour is the most valuable of properties, and he is incalculably the most profitable of all domestic instruments. Conformably to these principles, in every country where

there is no law of property, the rich man is a despot and the poor man a slave. In England, 500 or 600 years ago, the property of the feudal baron was secure and terrible, while the poor villain had no protection even for life." It is clear, then, that the poor have no interest in the subversion of property: have they any propensity to array themselves against order and government? A little observation of human nature must convince us that the love of ease, which, with regard to the domestic affairs of each individual, is so powerful a motive to inaction, operates with ten-fold force, where the interests of the many are concerned. Men are not easily moved by the apprehension of remote consequences, when the evil complained of does not immediately come home to themselves; and even when it does, dread of the powers that be, dread of a possible change for the worse, prejudice, superstition, and ignorance, all tend to generate a spirit of apathy and acquiescence. The people are not easily moved by single instances of tyranny; and, in point of fact, insurrections against authority have never taken place till oppression has become general, severe, and long-continued.

Nevertheless, under pretences such as we have indicated, M. Cottu is continually exhorting the French government to establish a privileged aristocracy, which shall enjoy honours, wealth, and power, at the expense of the rest of the community. (See pp. 252, 253.) An aristocracy a little less privileged, less odious, and less despicable than that which occasioned the Revolution — for such an aristocracy he tells us fairly the people would not endure, though he owns the same body have never ceased to manifest the same pretensions (see p. 247.) as those which occasioned their ruin, — but an aristocracy just as tyrannical and mischievous as there is any probability the people *would* endure. The prohibition of entails, the abolition of the laws of primogeniture, are his constant topics of complaint; the existence of them in England, the constant object of his envy. (See pp. 242, 243.)

It is consoling, however, to learn from an adverse witness (for on this point, such must M. Cottu be esteemed), that the French people are still fully aware of the mischief of such institutions.

' Ideas of equality are now too universally disseminated to permit the imposition of any other kind of superiority than what appears established for the general interest: and the institution of a nobility especially cannot hope to overcome the repugnance to which it is peculiarly subjected, except so far as it shall be regarded as a magistracy necessary for the maintenance of public order, and as the means of rewarding services to the state, or of perpetuating the recollection of them.' (P. 246.)

· But notwithstanding all his aspirations after aristocracy, our author tells us that in England there exists between this aristocracy and the people a perpetual struggle, and that it is to the existence and continuance of this struggle, that we are indebted for the comparative exemption from misgovernment we still enjoy.

‘ The government of England is a perpetual and armed struggle, as it were, between all classes of society, acting and re-acting incessantly one against the other; in which the lower classes strive to deprive the higher ones of the privileges they possess, and which the latter in their turn defend to the utmost of their power. From this constant attrition springs public liberty; just as the agitation of the waters produces their transparency.’ (P. 147.)

Then follows a great deal of fine writing about tempests and waters, in lieu of a reason why this perpetual struggle should be essential to good government; and the passage is concluded with this assertion —

‘ Public tranquillity is then founded upon equality in the means of attack and defence possessed by the different parties.’ (P. 147.)

How it is that public tranquillity is founded on an attack and defence, conducted with equal means by conflicting parties, is no where explained; neither are we told how privileges conferred on a few, can possibly promote the interests of the many: the author, on the contrary, seems rather to admit that these privileges are productive of mischief to the people, inasmuch as he no where reprobates the people for attacking them.

If he imagine, as many unreflecting persons do, that a government cannot stand unless supported by a combination of the opulent, and that the opulent will never combine for such a purpose unless they are bribed by privileges conceded to them at the expense of the rest of the community, — privileges in the shape of disposing of the public money for their own advantage, — privileges in the shape of factitious and unmerited honours; — if he imagines this, we would say, look to the United States of North America: there may you see a government, not only subsisting but flourishing, — not only established but containing in itself the elements of durability beyond any other that has ever existed; and this, without the concession to a single individual of one of these obnoxious privileges. The government of that country is, in truth, the only one that has ever had for its object the united interest of a whole people; but we may rest assured, that wherever those interests are consulted and promoted, and good institutions are once fairly in action, the satisfied majority would experience no great difficulty in defeating the attempts of

a dissatisfied minority, should such attempts, indeed, be ever made.

It is absurd, therefore, to contend, as M. Cottu does, that in order to generate the degree of public spirit necessary to resist the encroachments of those in power, it is essential there should be a continuing conflict in the attack and defence of privileges, and that this conflict is the cause of the public spirit prevailing in England.

The conflict is the effect, not the cause, of the public spirit: the public spirit is caused by the comparative degree of publicity with which matters affecting the people at large are, and always have been, conducted in England; in other words, because, except in the American United States, England is the only country in which the subject many have ever been enabled to know what the ruling few were doing. Independently of this publicity, the political institutions of England are such as would enable an oligarchy to establish its despotism to any imaginable extent. The discussions raised by this publicity engender in the oligarchy a degree of fear for the safety of its own existence; but publicity alone, unaided by democratic institutions, affords a very inadequate protection to the great mass of the nation. Reprobation, the usual result, the oligarchy has borne, and does bear in sufficient quantity; and in the system of legalized pillage and insolence, only stops short of such measures as are likely to occasion instant and general rebellion. Witness the suspension of the habeas corpus act; the passing of the six acts against free discussion; the laws against aliens; the murders of women and children at Manchester; the trial of the late queen; the neglect of our commercial interests; the countenance and assistance given to the Holy Alliance; the contempt expressed for county meetings, with a long list of *etceteras*. Upon all these occasions, and a thousand others, what is called public opinion has been loudly and unequivocally expressed; upon all these occasions it has openly and resolutely been defied. And yet, says M. Cottu,

‘ Even the parliament, although far from offering a perfect system of representation, and appearing devoted more especially to the interest of the aristocracy, is constrained to follow in the track of public opinion; with which all may be performed, and without it nothing.’ (P. 198.)

Having thus indicated the nature of our author’s political sentiments, to the development of which a considerable proportion of his book is devoted, we shall now, as succinctly as possible, examine the view he takes of various points in the administration of justice in England.

An unpaid magistracy is, according to M. Cottu (see p. 254.), an institution greatly to be desired. To us it has always appeared, that next to the having no justice at all, the worst thing that can befall a people is, to have it administered by an unpaid magistracy.

Such a magistracy is virtually irresponsible. The country is *so much obliged* to them for their supposed gratuitous services, that the magistrate must be equally borne out whether he discharges his duties amiss, or neglects them altogether. With regard to neglect, it is the universal practice of the country gentleman to discharge, or not to discharge, these duties, just as suits his convenience: a great proportion of those who are in the commission never act at their own residences; and of the numbers who present themselves on the first day of the quarter sessions to hear the news and enjoy the importance of regulating the expenditure of the county, so small a body remains on the third or fourth day, that it is with difficulty a legal tribunal can be formed. As to misfeasance; complain of partiality, corruption, or oppression in a magistrate, the uniform language of the courts is, that the most favourable construction must be put on the actions of such men; that the tranquillity and good order of the country is mainly owing to the functions of the magistracy being discharged by men of property and honour; and that such men would refuse to discharge these functions if the courts should be severe to mark in them what is amiss. M. Cottu affirms, that in the liability to action at the suit of individuals, in the liability to have their conduct reviewed, not by judges, but by juries, they incur effective responsibility. This, however, is one of the shadows of security with which the people of England have suffered themselves so long to be deluded.

As to actions at law, the class of men most liable to the oppressions of a country magistrate are those whose whole income does not exceed 25*l.* a-year: to conduct a suit against a magistrate may cost the plaintiff, if successful, 500*l.*, if unsuccessful, 1000*l.* It is a mockery, therefore, to say, that the right of action is any security to a man of this class. Nevertheless, suppose the action brought, and the case fairly exhibited to a jury; with sentiments such as we have above asserted to prevail in our courts, it is morally certain, that in his charge to the jury, the judge will exert every nerve in favour of the defendant. Suppose, however, that an ignorant jury, instead of implicitly deferring to his lordship (as such a jury will do in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred), should, as by miracle, find a verdict for the plaintiff, *he* must be profoundly ignorant of our jurisprudence who does not know that, upon motions for new trial, or in arrest of judgment, there are ten

thousand technical subtleties which put it in the power of the judges to terminate which way they please a great proportion of the cases brought before them. A case is hardly to be found in which a party has ever succeeded in seeking redress against a magistrate; though it might naturally be supposed that even under institutions less imperfect than our own, the acts of a numerous body of men would, in the course of years, furnish some instances of error or injustice.

It is, however, erroneous to suppose that the services of these magistrates are gratuitous because they are not paid in money. In the shape of dignity and power they receive for their services a compensation, which by many, especially of the opulent and idle, would be deemed fully adequate. If instead of being appointed by the lord-lieutenant virtually for life, they were to be periodically chosen by the people, the apprehension of failing to be re-elected would operate as a salutary incentive to good conduct, and their interest would be consistent with their duty. In producing this union between interest and duty, consists the great art of legislation: as this is the last art which men acquire, and as our wise ancestors, the framers of our institutions, had acquired scarcely any arts at all, it might be readily supposed, and upon investigation such will turn out to be the fact, that almost without exception, the interests of our public functionaries, from the highest to the lowest, are diametrically opposed to their duties. The judge, whose duty it is to expedite the conduct of suits receiving an income of 5 or 6000*l.* a-year from fees paid on writs of error, has an irresistible interest in defending and promoting the law's delay. The duty of the jurymen it is, to decide impartially between man and man: what his interests are, we have pretty plainly shown in the beginning of this article; and yet, so misinformed has M. Cottu been on these subjects, that he gravely says,

‘ Here, then, lies the grand secret of the perfection of the English government. Almost all public situations, of judges, sheriffs, jurors, and justices of peace, are so constituted, as to incite in their possessors no interest but that of obtaining the regard and affection of society.’ (P. 47.)

On the mode of appointing special jurors, which he details at length (p. 128.), M. Cottu makes no observation: he tells us, however, that at present they are frequently *packed* in France; and he *does* exhort the government to adopt some process of chance in the nomination.

‘ As to the drawing of the jury for trial, subject at present to so many abuses, from *the little scruple* of some presidents of assizes in arranging the names of the jurymen in the urn, that *the*

best informed and most experienced may always come up first, it might be arranged so as to prevent such contrivances.' (P. 108.)

M. Cottu is a lawyer, and of a lawyer's notions of simplicity he gives us a tolerable exemplification, when he says (p. 121.) that he considers our English civil procedure — "in general sufficiently simple," — a procedure under which, by every species of unnecessary complication, a man who has been injured to the amount of 50s. must pay from 50 to 500*l.* for the mere chance of obtaining redress.

It is impossible for us, in an article like the present, to follow our author through all the interesting and extensive topics which his work embraces; we have touched those only which seemed of paramount importance, and with one more we must conclude.

The indifference which is usually manifested in England touching the prosecution of offenders, and the indisposition to secure their conviction, greatly perplex M. Cottu. He does not know whether he must ascribe this to the natural humanity of our tempers, or to the fear of seeing an increase in the already overwhelming numbers of our criminals: he is so little skilled in the theory of criminal legislation, that he never dreams of looking for the obvious cause of the object of his wonder in the monstrous and barbarous disproportion between offence and punishment, and in the expense and trouble attendant on prosecution in consequence of the defective organisation of our judicial establishment. Where death, or a chance of death, or even of six or seven years' hard labour in the hulks, is to ensue on the loss of a small sum by theft, embezzlement, or forgery, sufferers are slow to prosecute, jurors to convict, and judges to sentence. This indisposition in all parties to give occasion to punishment, multiplies the chances of escape to such a degree, as to hold out the strongest temptation to crime, and sufficiently to account for the enormous crowd of offenders with which our gaols are filled. Nicely to apportion the degrees of punishment to the degrees of crime, can only be the work of an enlightened legislator profoundly skilled in the application of the principle of utility: indiscriminately to visit with death offences the most various in degree, is a work that may be accomplished by the most ignorant barbarian; and to such hands, unfortunately, a great proportion of our jurisprudence has owed its existence.

From the foregoing extracts our readers will, we trust, be enabled to form a pretty accurate judgment of the nature of M. Cottu's commentaries, and of his political dispositions. His work, like that of Blackstone and of all other writers

who in good set language eulogise existing institutions, has attracted a large class of readers: the extensive circulation it has attained, especially on the Continent, rendered it expedient that something like a true account of it should be given by an Englishman; and as we have met with no such account, we thought it not too late to attempt the task on the appearance of a translation, which, though bald, is in general sufficiently faithful to convey the meaning of the original.

ART. X. *On the Means of arresting the Progress of National Calamity.*
By the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. London. 1817.

The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency stated and examined. By W. Huskisson, Esq. M. P. New Edition. Murray. London. 1819.

ERRORS on subjects where the public interest is concerned are seldom stopped in their first stage, but they are not unfrequently arrested in the second. And if they are still not checked, there appears to be a *Vis Medicatrix* in the political body, which continually throws them out in more violent forms, till an end is in some manner put to the disorder of the public opinion. One of these efforts of nature may be considered as having taken place in the case of the prevailing doctrines on the subject of national profusion. The authority of Burke might long have induced men to believe, that there was something like a balance between expenditure and its effects; — that a country under taxation was really like the earth which receives back the moisture extracted from it, and not like a reservoir from which some feet are drawn annually by the sun and some inches returned by the rain. But his successors have resolved upon maintaining, not only that the reservoir receives again what is extracted, but that it does so when the substantial moisture is drawn out, and only fictitious showers and paper representations of humidity are added in its place; — nay more, that the distress of the owners during some remarkable periods of difficulty, has arisen from the supineness of the overseers, who neglected to draw sufficiently largely for their own consumption and replenish the reservoir with the paper representative.

Among the most eminent of the supporters of these opinions and of their opponents, are the writers cited at the head of this article. The principles contended for by the Right Honourable author of the work which is placed first, may be summed up in the axiom exhibited in his title-page, — that ‘ either the means

of circulation must be increased, or the burthens and payments to which it is liable must be diminished;’ from which it is concluded to follow, that the way to enable a people to support burthens and payments is to increase the quantity of the circulating medium. His ministerial opponent maintains, that ‘the currency of a country may be depreciated by excess,’ which is the great point at issue; — though this admission is not followed by any calculations of the consequences. But as each has given the description of his belief rather than of the means by which it was attained, there appears to be no way of arriving at any conclusion but by going back to the simplest state of the phenomena in question, and so endeavouring to investigate the nature of the instrument of exchange; the effect of alterations in its volume, and particularly whether any stimulus to production is created by its augmentation; — when the augmentation is made in paper, who gains, how much, and who pays for the gain; — with the effects, either in the way of calamity or the contrary, entailed on different classes of the community.

In the earliest stage of society after the division of labour had been begun, exchanges might possibly be confined to cases in which each of the parties desired to consume the object which he was to receive. But it would soon be found out that any thing which possessed a general and undoubted value in the eyes of those who wanted to consume it, was a good and desirable payment if offered at a proper rate; — on the ground, that though the receiver did not want to consume it himself, the persons could never be far off who would be willing to obtain possession of it by giving something which he did want to consume in return. And the substances accepted in consequence of this discovery, may be denominated the instrument of exchange; for by means of them individuals in the end exchange their commodities for what they wish actually to consume or to enjoy.

When the communication among the different parts of the community was sufficiently improved for the formation of markets and the equalisation of prices which is the consequence, if any object, as for instance a bushel of corn, was offered to a retailer of the same commodity for a quantity of the furs, salt, gold-dust or other substances which he was in the habit of receiving for corn which he sold, the utmost which he would consent to give would be, not the quantity for which he would sell a bushel of corn in the market, but this quantity diminished by the portion which would ensure his necessary profit, supposing him to sell the bushel for the first. And if the bushel of corn was offered to purchase something else, as for instance cloth, it is evident that, first, if the dealer in cloth did not want to eat or consume

corn, the quantity of furs, salt, gold-dust or other substances in use as the instrument of exchange, to which he would accept it as equivalent, would be that which he could recover for it from a retailer of corn, diminished by the amount of any trouble, expense or risk which would attend its reception and conveyance to the retailer; or in other words, he would accept it for what he could realise by sending it to a retailer who bought it to sell again. It is true that if he chose to set up the trade of a dealer in corn in addition to his own, he might at some time obtain the full market price. But he must deduct the amount of his expenses, trouble and delay; and his deduction for these, instead of being less than the deduction of the regular corn-dealer, must always be considerably greater. So that he would gain nothing by the proceeding, even though the trouble, expense, and risk attending the transmission of the corn to a retailer, which are escaped by it, would be of considerable amount; and *à fortiori* if they were comparatively small. And, secondly, even though the dealer in cloth was in want of corn for his own consumption and on the point of sending for it to the market where he will pay the full market price, he would not accept the bushel of corn from any of his customers for more than has been stated. He knows that his being in want of corn for consumption is not within the knowledge of his antagonist, and that he has only to keep his own secret and the corn will come into his hands at the same rate as if he had no such want. A hawker, indeed, would go away in search of a higher rate; because his object is to find out persons who want to consume at the market price, and secure their custom by bringing the corn to their doors. But a customer who offers corn as the instrument of exchange does it to escape trouble, and expects only to get what it is worth to every man alike. And a customer is distinguished from a hawker at first hearing, by his saying 'I want,' instead of 'Do you want?' And what is true of corn will be true of other substances, furs, salt and gold-dust among the rest. Summarily therefore, the value for which an object of any kind would be accepted as the instrument of exchange, would be the value which could be realised by sending it to a retailer who bought it to sell again, deducting all the expenses of the transit.*

* Hence it would be a mistake to think, that if a bushel of corn would buy an ell of cloth, an ell of cloth would buy a bushel of corn. It would buy less, in the ratio that what could be realised for an ell of cloth in any kind of substances by sending it to a retailer of cloth, multiplied by what could be realised for a bushel of corn by sending it to a retailer of corn, bore to the market price of an ell of cloth in the same kind of substances, multiplied by the market price of a

The motive by which individuals would be induced to part with their substances at this reduced value would be, the desire of obtaining particular kinds of commodities in return, without the trouble and delay of exposing the substances in the market and waiting till a purchaser presented himself who offered the desired commodities in payment. And if there was no inducement for any person ever to withdraw any of the substances which had been once introduced into employment as the instrument of exchange, they would soon amount to such a quantity as would prevent the necessity for any new ones unless to supply the decay of the old. For in any given state of the community, there must be some amount at which the substances in circulation would be sufficient to effect all the transfers required among the remainder. And for any period in which no alteration took place in the aggregate wealth and business of the community, this quantity may be considered as constant; on the same principle that the food used daily may under similar circumstances be considered as constant, or because one man's exceeding will make up for another's falling short. And it would increase when the aggregate wealth and business were augmented, and decrease when they were diminished. But instead of there being no inducement for any of the substances to be withdrawn, there would be a continual inducement for every individual to withdraw whatever was applicable to his own consumption; for he could procure it no where else so cheap. And his consuming it would not lay him under a necessity for putting an equal quantity of new substances into circulation to replace; because his occasion for the instrument of exchange would be removed at the same time. For example, the man who should have received corn as the instrument of exchange, could eat no other corn so cheap; and what he so ate, he would not have occasion for the instrument of exchange to buy. Hence the substances in circulation would be subjected to a continual drain, through the receivers applying them to their own consumption; and the consequence would be a continual demand for new. And the share of this demand which fell on any individual would be proportioned to the quantity of the instrument of exchange which he was in the habit of employing, and not to the quantity which he withdrew. And from all this withdrawing and substitution there would in the aggregate be neither gain nor loss; for what was gained by those who consumed substances out of the instrument of ex-

bushel of corn. Or if the proportion of the market price to what could be realised from a retailer was the same in both, then in the ratio of the square of what could be realised for either the cloth or the corn from a retailer, to the square of its market price.

change at a reduced rate, would be balanced by the losses of those who had to introduce new ones at the same rate.

The characteristic property of the invention of coins is, that the fineness and weight are authenticated by the external appearance; and consequently it would be for the common interest that their fabrication should be confined to the governing power. And the government could send into circulation in any given period, as for instance monthly, as many new coins as could be provided and manufactured for the whole of its income during that period or even a greater quantity; as long as they would be received for what would pay for the costs, or it chose to be itself at the expense of the deficiency.

In the early periods of the issues, *the rate at which coins would be received in the market would rise.* For if the coins were composed, for example, of a drachm weight of gold each, — by gold, to prevent repetition, being always meant either pure gold or gold of a uniform degree of fineness, — and if one of the coins was placed by the side of a drachm of rude gold, or, for greater distinctness, of gold-dust, — the coin would be the most desirable payment, because it would require no weighing or assaying. And if any other substance, as corn or cloth, was placed by the side of the others, in such quantity as when presented in the market would purchase the same as the gold-dust, the coin would be a more desirable payment than this substance also, to any person who wished to apply what he received to the use of the instrument of exchange, on account of the difference of transport when he should come to use it himself. Hence as long as there was any competition for payment in coins, there would be no man who would not give something in the way of premium to get possession of the coin instead of any of the other objects. For instance, if the saving from its possession might be estimated at one per centum, there would be no man who would not give a half or a quarter per centum to secure the remainder; or, which is the same thing, who would not increase the wares which he would sell for the coin by a two-hundredth or four-hundredth part. But let it be supposed that there was no man who would not increase them by a thousandth; — and if it had been preferred to fix on any other fraction, the nature of the result would not be altered. Hence a thousand of the coins would be received every where for at least as many commodities as a thousand and one drachms of gold-dust or the corresponding quantity of any other substances. But when a thousand coins were known to pass at this rate, if they were placed by the side of a thousand and one drachms of gold-dust or the corresponding quantity of any other substances, it would be as true as ever that

as long as there was any competition for payment in coins, there would be no man who would not increase his wares by a thousandth to obtain them. And consequently a thousand of the coins would come to be received every where for at least as many commodities as a thousand and two drachms of gold-dust and a fraction, or the corresponding quantity of other substances. And in the same manner they would come to be received for as many as a thousand and three, and a thousand and four. And similar consequences would be repeated over and over, with as much rapidity as men could come to the knowledge of the value which coins were at the existing moment bearing in the market. In short, the phenomenon would amount to this, — that whatever was the height to which the negotiable value of coins should be known to have risen in the market at large, it would be the interest of all sellers to offer to receive them at a rate somewhat higher, rather than be paid in substances which, though they would command the same at the next place of purchase when they arrived there, would be attended with some previous expense or inconvenience; and this would cause the negotiable value of coins to rise. And it would continue to rise, till either it had risen to such a height as to make the existing supply of coins complete or sufficient to conduct all the exchanges of the community, and thereby put an end to further competition, — or till the anxiety of men to secure coins by an increase upon the market rate, was counterbalanced by the fear that the rate might from some cause be shaken before the coins were out of their hands.

But for the first of these events to take place, it is clear that the second must not. And the further the rate was raised above the value of the metal, the more its durability would become liable to suspicion, and the greater would be men's dread of the consequences of a downfall. The rising of the rate, therefore, would go on as long as men were willing to risk their property on the durability of the existing rate, and no longer. Individuals would compare the loss which they would suffer if the downfall of the rate should happen within the period for which they expected to retain the coins, with the advantage which they would derive if it should not; and according as the loss multiplied by the fraction which expresses the apprehended probability of its occurrence, was less or greater than the gain multiplied by the fraction which expresses the probability of escape, they might be expected to undertake the risk or to decline it. And there would be no situation in which the rate would not rise by some amount or other; — because, however great might be the apprehended probability of a downfall, there must always be some rise so small,

that the loss if it happened to its greatest possible extent, combined with the probability of its happening, would be less than the advantage held out combined with the probability of escape. Hence there would be a height to which the market rate of coins would rise in the early periods of the issues, and a height to which it would not rise; and the height to which it would rise would depend on the degree of security established in the community, and could only be determined in any particular case by experiment. And at this rate the market rate of coins would go on if the issues were increased; with the exception of such alterations as might be caused by changes in the public security, or in the public opinion upon that subject. And if the issues were persisted in, a period would arrive when the number of coins in circulation, passing at this elevated rate, would make the supply complete; and when the supply of coins was thus made sufficient for them to be employed in all exchanges, they would be employed so accordingly, without impediment from the elevation of the rate.

If when this period arrived the number should be further increased, *the market rate of coins would fall*, to such a point as would render the final number no more than was required to make the supply complete. For before the number was enough to render the supply complete, every increase of the number would be followed by the dropping of a corresponding quantity of the substances previously employed to assist in composing the instrument of exchange. If, for example, these substances had been corn, a portion of corn whose power of purchasing was equal to that of the new coins introduced, would cease to be employed as the instrument of exchange, and would be either eaten by the holders or sent into the market for the purpose of being finally eaten; for it is certain that men would not continue to employ it at an inferior valuation as the instrument of exchange after it had ceased to be wanted in that capacity, when by consuming it or selling it for consumption they might make it available for its full market value. Hence an increase of the number of coins would, under these circumstances, be attended with no increase of the total volume of the instrument of exchange. But when the number of coins had become enough to make the supply complete, — since all the other substances previously in circulation would have been dropped already, any farther increase would cause some persons to have in their possession a greater numerical quantity of the instrument of exchange than would have been the case if the coins had not been increased. For the elevation of the rate would prevent the additional coins from being applied to the uses of ordinary gold. And since the

owners can employ them in no other manner, they must bring them into the market with the intention of purchasing a novel quantity of some commodities or other at the existing prices, or a quantity which they would not have thought of purchasing if it had not been for the increase of the coins. And by the appearance of these novel intentions in the market, an extraordinary demand would be created for all or nearly all kinds of commodities, and particularly for the necessaries of life. For though the additional coins might be poured into a small number of channels at first, they would quickly be subdivided into an almost infinite number of channels; and a great proportion of them would ultimately be employed as the wages of mechanical labour, which are principally expended on the necessaries of life. And when an extraordinary demand thus arose for any particular kind of commodities, the dealers would attempt to raise the substantial price. For the raising of the substantial price upon an increase in the demand, is not a purely arbitrary act arising out of a desire to take advantage of other men's necessities; but, to a certain extent at least, it is what the sellers must either effect, or make the buyers a present of a portion of the commodities at their own expense. In the first place, an increased quantity of commodities cannot be extracted from the natural sources from which every thing must be ultimately derived, without the exertion, not only of a greater quantity of labour, but of a greater comparative quantity. Again, if individuals are to increase their labour, they have a just claim not only to an increase of reward at the old rate, but to an increase in the rate for a given quantity. A man who is working twelve hours a day already, will not, unless in cases of extreme want, be induced to work fourteen by the mere prospect of being compensated for the additional hours at the same hourly rate as before, and other men have no right to expect it of him; but he may be induced to do it by an advance in the rate per hour. And thirdly, since the sellers are exposed to all losses which arise from unexpected diminutions in the demand, they must either protect themselves by raising their substantial prices on occasion of an increase, or bear those losses without redress. From some or all of these reasons, therefore, the dealers in general, and particularly the dealers in the necessaries of life, would be obliged to attempt to raise their substantial prices; and this could only be done by attempting to raise their money prices. And they would not only attempt to raise them, but they would effect it. For the reason why dealers cannot always raise their money prices as they might be disposed to do, is because they cannot depend on the cooperation of each other.

But where the necessity is real and general, none will undersell the other; and consequently the prices will be raised. An exception may appear to be presented in the cases of some kinds of dealers, who from particular causes cannot raise their prices to meet small variations in the demand, or in the value of money; as in advanced stages of society is exemplified in the fees of lawyers and physicians, the prices to theatres, and other instances. But these dealers, if they do not raise their prices at one time do it at another, or else reduce the quality of what they give; for they can no more go without their just recompense to an indefinite extent than any other set of dealers. The advances in the money prices of different commodities would not necessarily be all in the same proportion; and there might even be some kinds of which the money prices would not be raised at all except as they were affected by the prices of other kinds. But if there was a rise in the money prices of all or nearly all kinds of commodities, and particularly in those of the necessaries of life, every man would discover that the coins were of less substantial value to him than before. Their substantial value would not be deteriorated to all men exactly alike; but it would be deteriorated to all. Let it be supposed then, that to those to whom the deterioration was least, it amounted to a thousandth; — and if it had been preferred to fix on any other fraction, the nature of the result would not be altered. But under these circumstances all dealers would find that instead of receiving the substantial increase of reward to which they had a just claim, their expected recompense had been diminished in at least the proportion of nine hundred and ninety-nine to a thousand. And their first proceeding would be to attempt raising their money prices again in at least the opposite proportion; and, as before, they would not only attempt it, but they would effect it. For they would be conscious that they were only seeking for their just recompense; and consequently none would undersell another or flinch from his demand. But by this second rise of money prices the substantial value of coins would be deteriorated to all men by at least a thousandth again. And consequently the dealers would raise their money prices as before, in at least the proportion of a thousand to nine hundred and ninety-nine. And similar consequences would be repeated over and over, with as much rapidity as the dealers could learn the existing market rate of coins, and raise their money prices with a view to counteract the effects of its declension. And what is described above, would be the consequence of the impulse given by one appearance of the increased number of coins in the market. But as long as the market rate was not reduced to the point which rendered the

number in circulation no more than was required to make the supply complete, the presence of the excessive number of coins in the market would cause a succession of new impulses, whose effects must be added to those of the first. And the final result would be, that by the efforts of the dealers to overtake their substantial payment, the market rate of coins would be reduced till the progress of the reduction was met by the opposite tendency for the rate to rise. But when the reduction had arrived at this point, it could proceed no further, and the dealers would be obliged to give up the pursuit after their substantial prices. For by giving it up they in fact give up next to nothing; because what they were in pursuit of was the smallest quantity which was sufficient to make itself felt. But if they were to reduce the rate any lower, their interest in raising it again would be of perpetual recurrence, and must amount in the end to more than they submit to once for all by giving up the pursuit. — And if after this the number of coins should be diminished, their negotiable value would rise, on the same principle as before. Also, if instead of any alteration in the number of coins, an alteration of a contrary nature should take place in the aggregate wealth and business of the community, the effects produced would be the same. The negotiable value of the coins, therefore, would possess an expanding and contracting property, by which it would accommodate itself to the number and the demand.

If the issues of new coins were persisted in, a period would arrive when a coin would purchase the same quantity of commodities that might be purchased with the metal contained in it, or with what would be given for it by a goldsmith. And if the issues were continued further, it would purchase less; and coins would be returned to the uses of ordinary gold, till the number was reduced to that which being circulated at the value of the metal would make the supply complete. For till this was accomplished, there would be a premium upon removal. But if the application of coins to the uses of rude metal was artificially impeded, then what could be purchased with a coin would be reduced below what could be procured for the metal contained in it by any person who chose to deface it in defiance of the obstacle.

If, during these operations, any alterations took place in the aggregate wealth and business of the community, the requisite corrections must be made. But the savings arising from the employment of the improved instrument of exchange will, themselves, constitute additions to the aggregate wealth; and consequently a correction will be required. And the effect would be, to defer the time when the issues would render the

supply of coins complete; or to make a greater number of coins required to produce this result. But though the time would be deferred, it would not be put off without limit. For it must be an extraordinarily wretched and unsettled country indeed, where the market rate of coins would not rise sufficiently to afford the government a fair profit on coining, and even to pay the expense of increasing its issues by borrowing. But wherever it rose sufficiently for this, the issues would be sure to overtake any demand for coins which could arise out of their own employment.

After the supply of coins had been rendered complete at the most elevated market rate, *no* increase of demand, production or wealth in the aggregate, would ensue from an increase of their number; but on the contrary, a diminution. For since the additional coins are continually swallowed up by a proportionate rise of money prices, the aggregate power of the community to purchase and to consume cannot be finally augmented; it being clearly indifferent as to this point, whether the business of the community is transacted with a certain number of coins at a given value, or with double the number at half the value. The only question is whether an increase of something does not take place during the period that the value is shifting. But the increase of demand for commodities which is the cause of the change in the value of coins, exists only while the change is taking place, and its immediate operation is to produce its own counteraction. For example, if the effect of the additional coins was to throw a demand for a thousand bushels of wheat into the wheat market, the rise of price which would be the consequence would cause the consumers of wheat in general to economize their consumption and their demand; which must be set off against the other. And every time the impulse on the wheat market is renewed, the stimulus to economize demand in another direction will be renewed also; and the same for any other commodities. Hence, to expect a final increase of demand on such a foundation, is like expecting to raise a pyramid of water on a lake; for the foundation is always giving way. And not only will there be no increase, but, on the other hand, the amount of what was given to the government for the additional coins will be deducted from the wealth of the coin-holders at large; which must diminish their power of demanding.

An increase of production, employment and wealth, might be created in some particular branches of trade, in consequence of the direction given by the government to the additional coins; but it would be balanced by an equal diminution in some other branches. For if the purchases of the government with the

new coins had been so divided among all imaginable commodities, that the numbers applied to the purchase of each should have continued in the same proportion as before, the new coins would have been quietly absorbed by a corresponding depreciation, the government would have obtained a portion of all commodities for its coins, and the amount would have been lost by the coin-holders at large; and there would, on the whole, be neither increased production, employment nor wealth. And if the purchases made with the new coins were distributed in some different manner, the same sums could only excite the same quantity of production, pay for the same quantity of labour, and employ the same quantity of capital, in the aggregate, in one place as in another. If the favoured trades, therefore, had been more lively, some others must have been proportionably more dull.

What are called *Agios* appear to present experimental proof of the truth of the foregoing principles. When it happens, as it does in some countries, that bank paper will sell for more than the value expressed in it, the difference, as is well known, is the *agio*. Since this bank money has the advantage of being secure from fire, robbery, and other accidents, and of being paid away by a simple transfer, without the trouble of counting or the risk of transporting it from one place to another, it is evident that to all persons who are in the habit of employing such sums as the paper is drawn for, it will be more advantageous to be paid in this paper, at whatever may be its existing negotiable value, than in ordinary money. Hence, if this difference of advantage amounted to a thousandth or to any other fraction that can be named, the negotiable value ought to rise to the greatest height which the confidence of the public in the durability of the price would allow; unless the issues were sufficient to supply the public demand at a lower rate. And if the bank should determine, as any other trader would do in similar circumstances, to increase its issues as long as the price would pay for the trouble of issuing, the price ought to fall to the point thus determined, and there remain; with the exception, that the demand for bank money should happen to decrease, in which event the price would fall further, unless the bank should offer to buy up its paper. And accordingly, it appears that the Bank of Amsterdam ‘has of late years come to the resolution to sell at all’ ‘times bank money for currency, at five per cent. *agio*, and to’ ‘buy it again at four per cent. *agio*; in consequence of which’ ‘resolution, the *agio* can never either rise above five, or sink’ ‘below four per cent.’ But ‘before this resolution was taken,’ ‘the market price of bank money used sometimes to rise so high’

‘ as nine per cent. agio, and sometimes to sink so low as par.’* From all which it may be inferred, that five per centum was the bank’s living profit, or what left a fair remuneration for its trouble in this branch of its trade after paying the expenses; and that the issues were consequently extended till the agio was reduced to this point. And at the same time that a hundred pounds in this bank money was being negotiated for as much as a hundred and five pounds currency, the absolute and intrinsic difference between being paid with a hundred pounds bank money but passing for a hundred and five, and with a hundred and five pounds currency, might not be worth two shillings. The phenomenon has been differently accounted for, by supposing the agio to be the difference between the good standard money of the state, and the clipt, worn, and diminished currency poured into it from all the neighbouring states. To which it may be objected, first, that the variations of the agio from nine per centum to nothing are inexplicable upon this ground, unless it can be supposed that the deterioration of the coins brought from all the neighbouring states would ever with one consent become nothing; and secondly, that since the bank can command the magnitude of the agio by regulating its issues, and can afford to fix it permanently at one value, the agio cannot be the difference between the standard money of the state and the degraded currency of its neighbours, which it is clear the bank can neither command nor foretell.

In a State where the receipts and disbursements of the public had been made only in commodities, much trouble would be saved if the government was to fabricate paper billets having a certain value specified in each, as for instance a bushel of wheat, and deliver them in its payments in lieu of the commodities specified; engaging to receive them again for the same value in discharge of taxes, and at all times to return the specified commodities upon demand. And in consequence of the convenience attending the employment of the billets as the instrument of exchange, a number of them would be neither returned in discharge of taxes nor in demand of payment. And for every billet so retained in circulation, it is clear that the commodities which had been received when it was issued would be in the hands of the government, over and above the receipts of the taxes or just revenue; and that a corresponding quantity of some commodities which had been previously employed as the instrument of exchange, would be restored to their ordinary uses. The public have given commodities for paper, and in

* *Wealth of Nations*, B. 4. Ch. 3.

return paper performs for them the office of the instrument of exchange, and releases an equal quantity of commodities from that employment. The public therefore are just where they were; and the commodities which were given for the paper remain with the government. A kind of creation has taken place, by making paper perform the office of valuable commodities; and it is the government that is the gainer.

If the government should issue from time to time a greater number of the billets than were returned in discharge of the taxes in the same interval, they would proceed to occupy the circulation to the exclusion of commodities; and on account of their superior convenience, they might be expected to bear an *agio* till it was reduced by the multiplication of their number. But when the number retained in circulation had become sufficient to reduce them to their natural value, or cause each to exchange for the value of the bushel of wheat which was expressed in it, the number retained in circulation could not be further increased, whatever might be the issues. For any increase of the number would cause the exchangeable value to be diminished below that of the wheat which might be obtained upon demand; and consequently they would be carried in for payment till the superfluous number was reduced.

If when the government had thus issued the greatest number which would be retained in circulation, it should cease to pay in wheat upon demand, it does not follow that there would be a general overthrow of the whole circulation, or that every man would apply his billets to the purposes of waste paper. On the contrary, if the refusal to pay in corn was accompanied by a law making the billets legal tender in all contracts where the value had been expressed in bushels of wheat, — in which, by making legal tender, it is sufficient to understand that the law denies remedy, — men would make an attempt to continue the circulation, and what they attempted would succeed. Considerable agitation would probably occur at the moment; but when this was over, it is as well established as any other fact can be by experiment, that the public paper would continue to perform the office of the instrument of exchange. Paper issued by private bankers might do the same, if the consent of the community, expressed through the organ of a law, would make it legal tender also. By such a proceeding it would in fact be made public paper; for it could make no difference whether the paper thus adopted by the law was signed in what was called the government's bank, or in one that went by some other name. But inasmuch as neither the community nor the government sees any good reason for doing

this kindness to the private bankers, they are obliged to depend upon their power of paying on demand.

If, after this, the government should continue to issue from time to time a greater number than were returned in discharge of the taxes in the same interval, then, on every addition, an increased number must in some manner make their appearance in the market; and from this, an increase of paper prices, or, which is the same thing, a depreciation of the paper, would take place by the same steps as in the case of an addition of superfluous coins. For example, if exclusively of the number occupied in the discharge of the taxes, four thousand billets were in circulation at any particular instant where three thousand circulating at par would be sufficient,—then the billets would be depreciated by one fourth, or a billet purporting to be for a bushel of wheat would in fact exchange only for the value of three-quarters; or, which is the same thing, the paper prices of commodities would rise by one third. It would be of no consequence that a bushel of wheat was expressed in the billet. The government, which made the promise of a bushel of wheat, has refused to keep it; and other persons are bound to give, not what the government promised without intending to perform, but what the state of the market will allow. If the government should attempt to prevent the depreciation by forcibly causing the value of a bushel of wheat to be given for every billet as before, this would be equivalent to enacting that every man should have a right to take a bushel of wheat from his neighbour upon giving him three quarters of a bushel in return. And the consequence of pushing the enforcement to the limit of possibility would be, that every man's property would be at the disposal of his neighbours; or in other words that there would be no such thing as property at all. — Hence the proportion of the nominal value to which each billet would be reduced would at any time be expressed by a fraction, whose numerator was the number sufficient for the circulation when the paper was at par, diminished by the number engaged in discharging the taxes; and its denominator the number actually in circulation, diminished by the same. And if this is subtracted from unity, the fraction which remains will express the depreciation.

It may be useful to examine the consequences of such a system; — and first, if the nominal amount of the taxes remains unaltered, or they continue to be discharged by the same quantity of paper as at first. When the whole of the circulation had come to be occupied by the billets at par, if the government should go on issuing from time to time — as, for instance, daily — a number

equal to what were returned in discharge of the taxes in the same interval, no depreciation would ensue; for the number in circulation would remain unaltered. These, then, may be called the *legitimate* issues; because in any period they are authorized by the number returned by the taxes. And any issue over and above this number may be called a *superfluous* issue; and the sum of the legitimate and superfluous issue is the *actual* issue. Also, by the *nominal* value or amount of any quantity of paper must be understood the value or amount of the commodities, as for instance the bushels of wheat, which are expressed upon the paper; in opposition to the *substantial* value, or what can really be got for it in exchange.

No part of the superfluous issues could be returned by the payment of the taxes; because the legitimate issues are equal to the paper returned by the taxes, and the superfluous issues are over and above. The superfluous issues, therefore, must all go to cause depreciation. Let it be supposed then, that the issues and the nominal produce of the taxes are uniform; and that the effect of each day's superfluous issue becomes sensible at the conclusion of that day or the beginning of the next. During the first day no depreciation would be felt. But on any of the following days, the sum of the augmentations to the number in circulation would be equal to the superfluous issue of one day multiplied by the number of days during which the superfluous issues had been carried on; — from which the depreciation may be found. And what the government would substantially receive on the same day in exchange for the superfluous issue, would be expressed by the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of itself and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. And what it would substantially lose on the same day by the diminution of value of the legitimate part of the issue, or the paper received for the taxes and re-issued, would be expressed by the nominal amount of the legitimate daily issue multiplied by the same fraction. And the result to the government on any given day would be equal to the first of these quantities diminished by the second; or to the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of the actual daily issue and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. Hence, when the depreciation became such that the product of itself and of the actual daily issue was equal to the daily superfluous issue, the daily result to the government would be nothing, or the increase of gains would be at an end. And this would be, when the depreciation became equal to the daily superfluous issue, divided by the actual daily issue. But if the superfluous issues were continued after this period, the government would

begin to lose; for it would suffer more by the diminution of what it obtained for the paper received for the taxes, than it would obtain for the superfluous issue. And the losses would in no very long period amount to as much as all the previous gains; after which there would be no escaping final loss. — And conversely to have produced a given depreciation by gradual and uniform issues spread over the largest period for which the influx of gain is possible, the daily superfluous issue must have been to the actual daily issue, as the numerator of the fraction which expresses the given depreciation, to the denominator. For example, to have produced a depreciation of one seventh in this manner, the daily superfluous issue must have been one seventh of the actual issue, or one sixth of the nominal produce of the taxes. But when the depreciation had reached one seventh, there would be an end of daily gains, and daily losses would commence. And these losses would amount to the sum of the previous gains, when the depreciation reached twenty-six hundredths nearly; as may be verified by trial. *

* If A represents the number of billets, each nominally for a bushel of wheat, which are sufficient when at par for the whole circulation including the payment of the taxes, b the number occupied in discharging the taxes, s the daily superfluous issue, p the daily nominal produce of the taxes or legitimate issue, t the number of days that the superfluous issues have gone on, and z the fraction which expresses the depreciation, — then, the issues and nominal produce of the taxes being supposed uniform, z will be equal to $1 - \frac{A-b}{A-b+st}$, or to $\frac{st}{A-b+st}$. The bushels of wheat received for the superfluous issue during t will be $st-stz$; and the bushels lost on the remainder of the issue will be ptz . The result therefore during t will on the whole be $st - (s+p)tz$, or $\frac{A-b-pt}{A-b+st} \times st$. Of which the fluent, corrected so as to be nothing when t is nothing, is $\left(\frac{s+p}{s} \times (A-b) \times \text{hyp. log.} \frac{A-b+st}{A-b}\right) - pt$; which is the total gain of the government in any time t , expressed in bushels of wheat. When the depreciation is such that $(s+p)tz$ is equal to st , the daily gains will be at an end. And this will be when $z = \frac{s}{s+p}$; or when $\frac{st}{A-b+st} = \frac{s}{s+p}$, or $t = \frac{A-b}{p}$. When t is greater than this, the result during t will be negative, or there will be a daily loss. And these losses will balance

What is given to the government on any day for the superfluous issue, will on the following day be lost among all the holders of paper by the consequent increase of depreciation. But the payers of the taxes will, on the following and every successive day, gain the amount of the additional depreciation on their respective payments, in addition to all that they gained by the old; for the paper which they require to pay their taxes will be procured with so much less of substantial cost. And what the payers of taxes gain, the government will lose; because the paper will buy less by the same quantity when it is re-issued. The gain of the government therefore will be made once for all and there will be no more of it; but its losses from the consequences will recur every day and be endless. And this is what makes the government sure to lose in the end.

If a system of funding had been previously established, the gains of the government would be extended, in consequence of what would be taken from the stockholders. And if the payments to the stockholders also are supposed to be made daily and uniformly, then on any given day the result to the government from the depreciation would be equal to the result in the preceding case, increased by the product of the daily nominal payment to the stockholders and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. Or it would be expressed by the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of the difference between the actual daily issue and the daily nominal payment to the stockholders, and of the fraction expressing the depreciation. And by substituting this, the consequences may be computed as before.—Hence the gains of the government would be continued, till the depreciation became equal to the daily superfluous issue divided by the difference between the actual daily issue and the daily nominal payment to the stockholders. And if the superfluous issues were continued after this

the previous gains, when the fluent above given becomes nothing.

And this will be, when the depreciation becomes such that $\frac{z}{1-z}$

divided by the hyperbolic logarithm of $\frac{1}{1-z}$ is equal to $\frac{s+p}{p}$; from

which the depreciation may be found by the method of approximation. Conversely, for the daily gains to come to an end when the depreciation is of a given magnitude, s must have been in such proportion to p , that $\frac{s}{s+p}$ shall be equal to the given depreciation. If,

for instance, the gains come to an end when the depreciation is one seventh, s must have been $= \frac{p}{6}$. And the losses will balance the previous gains, when $z = ,25975$.

period, the government would on any day lose more by the taxes than it received both by the superfluous issue and by the gain made from the stockholders. — For example, if the daily nominal payments to the stockholders amounted to one half of the daily nominal produce of the taxes, and if, as before, the daily superfluous issue had been one seventh of the actual issue, the gains of the government, instead of coming to a conclusion when the depreciation was one seventh, would be continued till it was one fourth. But from the time that the depreciation was one seventh, the government, though it continued to gain from the stockholders, would be losing from the other consequences of the depreciation: and these losses are what at length bring the influx of gain to a conclusion. And when the depreciation had reached one fourth, there would be an end of daily gains, and daily losses would commence. And these losses would balance the previous gains, when the depreciation reached a little more than forty-two hundredths. Hence even the gains from the stockholders would not prevent final loss. This system therefore could answer no purpose; except to a government intent only on present gain and careless of the consequences. *

But where men had been brought to be in any degree tractable under taxation, it would be a poor financier that could not contrive that the substantial value of the taxes should continue undiminished. For it is for the most part practicable to lay a tax so that it shall operate *ad valorem*; and where it is not, the proof of the relative magnitude of the tax having declined is always a good foundation for demanding that the rate should be increased. And in reality such an augmentation is not an increase of the tax. There is a fraud going on, but not a fraud upon the payers of the taxes. In that capacity at least, they are only spectators. It may be assumed therefore, that in practice the substantial value of the

* If $p = q + r$, of which q is paid daily to the stockholders, the result to the government during t will be $st - (s + p)tz + qtz$, or $st - (s + r)tz$; and the consequences may be deduced from the former computations by substituting r for p . The influx of gain will cease when $z = \frac{s}{s + r}$; but loss will have been arising from the effects of the depreciation in all quarters except the gains from the stockholders, from the time that z was equal to $\frac{s}{s + p}$. If $s = \frac{p}{6}$ as before, and $q = \frac{p}{2}$, r will be equal to $3s$, and the influx of gain will be at an end when $z = \frac{1}{4}$. The losses will balance the previous gains, when $z = ,42317$.

taxes would be made to keep pace with the depreciation. But if this was the case, the influx of gain would at once be made perpetual; for there would be no deductions for loss upon the taxes. The proportion of the nominal value to which each billet would be reduced, would at any time be expressed by a fraction whose numerator was the number sufficient at par for the whole circulation, and its denominator the number actually in circulation; the number occupied in discharging the taxes being left out of both, as being the same proportional part. What would be substantially received on any day for the superfluous issue, would be equal to the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of itself and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. What would be substantially gained on the same day from the stockholders, would be equal to the nominal amount of the daily payment to the stockholders multiplied by the same fraction. And the sum of these two quantities would be the daily gain of the government. By computing the bushels of wheat received for the superfluous issue on each successive day of the period in which any given depreciation has been brought to pass, their number will be found to amount to such a proportion of the number of billets sufficient at par for the whole circulation, as is expressed by the hyperbolic logarithm of the inverse of the fraction which expresses the reduced value of each billet.* And the bushels extracted from the stockholders will be found to amount to such a proportion of the number of billets sufficient at par for the whole circulation, as is expressed by taking the product of the fraction which expresses the depreciation and of the inverse of the fraction which expresses the reduced value of each billet, — diminishing it by the hyperbolic logarithm of this inverse, — and multiplying the remainder by the nominal payment made to the stockholders in any given period, divided by the superfluous issue in the same period. And the sum of these two amounts will be the gain of the government. †

* The hyperbolic logarithms may be found from the logarithms in the common tables, by multiplying them by 2,30258529. The logarithm of a fraction is equal to the difference between the logarithms of the numerator and of the denominator; considering the difference as subtractive instead of additive and *vice versâ*, when the denominator is the greatest. By the inverse of a fraction, is meant the fraction inverted; as four thirds instead of three fourths.

† Where the nominal amount of the taxes rises with the reduction of value of the billets, if $\frac{A}{m}$ is the number engaged in discharging the taxes when the depreciation begins, $\frac{A + st}{m}$ will be the number

Because the portion of the instrument of circulation which is engaged in discharging the taxes rises in nominal amount in proportion to the reduction of the substantial value of each billet, it has been seen that it may be left out of the calculations altogether. And this leads to an observation of importance. If the instrument of circulation consisted in part of bills of exchange, the nominal amount of the bills drawn from time to time would also rise in proportion to the reduction of the substantial value of any given elementary-part, as, for instance, of the pound sterling. Hence bills of exchange, so far as they will be affected by depreciation, may be left out of the calculations altogether.

The losses of the stockholders from the reduced value of the payments made to them, would have no effect in lowering the nominal price of stock. For if an annual payment of five notes would sell for a hundred when there was no depreciation, an annual payment of five depreciated notes would sell for a hundred

engaged in the same employment after any number of days t . For if this number is called x , x will be to $\frac{A}{m}$ as $A + st - x$ to $A - \frac{A}{m}$; from which it follows that x will be to $A + st$ as $\frac{A}{m}$ to A , or x will be equal to $\frac{A + st}{m}$. The proportion of the original value to which each billet will be reduced, will be equal to $A - \frac{A}{m}$, divided by $A + st - \frac{A + st}{m}$; which is equal to $\frac{A}{A + st}$. And z will be $= 1 - \frac{A}{A + st}$, or $\frac{st}{A + st}$. The bushels of wheat received for the superfluous issue during t , will be $st - stz$, or $\frac{A \times st}{A + st}$. Of which the fluent, corrected so as to be nothing when t is nothing, is $A \times \text{hyp. log. } \frac{A + st}{A}$. The bushels gained from the stockholders during t , will be qtz or $\frac{sqtt}{A + st}$. Of which the fluent, corrected as before, is $qt - \left(\frac{qA}{s} \times \text{hyp. log. } \frac{A + st}{A} \right)$; which is equal to $\frac{qtAs}{As} - \left(\frac{qA}{s} \times \text{hyp. log. } \frac{A + st}{A} \right)$, or to $A \times \frac{q}{s} \times \left(\frac{st}{A} - \text{hyp. log. } \frac{A + st}{A} \right)$. And $\frac{st}{A}$ is equal to $\frac{A + st}{A}$ multiplied by $\frac{st}{A + st}$; or to the inverse of the reduced value of each billet, multiplied by the depreciation. If $z = \frac{1}{3}$, st will $= \frac{A}{3}$; and the first fluent will $= A \times ,28768192$; and the second fluent will $= A \times \frac{q}{s} \times ,04565141$.

depreciated ones; the security of the government and other circumstances in general being supposed unaltered.

If such a paper purported to represent coins instead of corn, and was made a legal tender in lieu of them, the progress of the issues would cause coins to disappear from circulation. For depreciation would be produced as soon as the coins and notes together were more than would be sufficient for the circulation if their value continued at par; and both would be depreciated alike. But as soon as the coins were depreciated below the metallic value, they would begin to be returned to the uses of metal. And as long as the paper in circulation was enough to keep up this degree of depreciation, all efforts to increase the number of coins by issuing new ones, would be like pouring water into a sieve.

If the transformation of coins was opposed by laws, these laws would produce no effect in finally preventing it. Nevertheless, the government might have a motive for putting a stigma on the transformation of coins. For if it could make it impossible for decent people to turn their coins into rude metal, to all decent people the power of obtaining coins for notes would be a useless privilege; and what would be useless to them if they had it, they would not murmur at being refused.

To send new coins into circulation, would be one way to reduce a depreciation; but the cost of coining would be thrown away, because the coins must disappear. The same result may be obtained without cost, by destroying the paper as it comes in, instead of re-issuing it. And if the government was *bonâ fide* to destroy the depreciation at its own expense by the contrary of the steps by which it had brought it on, it would make but a partial restoration, and be a great gainer on the balance of the account. But there is something yet behind;—for it is possible for the government to destroy the depreciation, and *not* do it at its own expense. It may do it at the expense of other persons; as, for instance, of the payers of the taxes. It will indeed be obliged to make advances of money in the first instance; but they may be repaid over and over by the consequences. And for this end it is only necessary to change the mode of laying the taxes, from imposts *ad valorem* to imposts fixed in nominal amount. The case will then be the reverse of the case first examined; and the having to pay the stockholders in a currency of increased value, will not prevent the arrival of a period when what is gained upon the taxes will overbalance all the outgoings. Hence, if through the cessation of war or other causes the government should be master of any sur-

plus revenue, it would be a most profitable speculation to employ it regularly and constantly in buying up the superfluous paper. And universally, if a government can procure the nominal value of the taxes to be raised from time to time while superfluous issues are being carried on, and to remain stationary when they are reduced — as the valve of a pump allows a passage in one direction, and prevents it in the other, — both the issuing of superfluous paper and the withdrawing will be profitable operations. But if instead of the nominal amount of the taxes remaining undiminished for an unlimited period, a surrender can only be deferred for as long as is necessary to pay the expenses of the process, the government will make a clear gain of all the credit of the proceeding, and most probably make a farther gain by the unobserved increase of the substantial value of the taxes which are left.

If billets of the nature described were issued by individuals, they could cause no depreciation as long as either commodities or coins could be obtained for them on demand. But if the government should allow its own paper, which was itself not recoverable upon demand, to be legal tender in payment of the notes of private bankers, then the existence of depreciation would have no effect in causing the notes of private bankers to be returned. For there is nothing to be gained by demanding one kind of paper in exchange for the other. It may be thought that some inducement would arise out of the increase of value which would be produced by diminishing the quantity of paper in circulation. But the way to determine the effect is to see what an individual would gain. In 1810, for example, when there are asserted to have been fifty-six millions of paper in circulation in Great Britain, the holder of five pounds of the paper of a private banker, on the supposition that by returning it he increased the value of the paper in circulation by the whole five pounds, would gain something less than the two-thousandth part of a farthing. And the holder of two hundred and forty pounds, by carrying it back might make a gain of very near a farthing sterling. That is, he might enjoy the prospect, that in his purchases with the two hundred and forty pounds, he would receive the value of a farthing more, in consequence of the change of money prices. Little seems to be required to prove, that such temptations never caused a single note to be returned. The author of the second pamphlet however has adopted a different conclusion* ; in which he appears to follow the author of the *Essay on the Principle of Population*.†

* P. 37.

† B. 3. Ch. 5.

On the foregoing grounds, the gains in particular cases may be calculated. For example, it has been asserted, that the circulation of the notes of the Bank of England amounted in 1810 to twenty-three millions sterling, and the total circulation of Great Britain, including the notes of private bankers, to fifty-six millions; to which may be added about four millions in specie.* In 1814 under the same system, the depreciation below the metallic value was something more than one fourth. Upon which data, supposing the superfluous issues to have proceeded with uniformity since 1797, the sum required for circulation, free of depreciation, might be collected to be near forty-five millions. But an allowance must be made for the increase of the sum demanded for the circulation. Let it be supposed therefore that this sum in 1797 was thirty millions; an amount at which it had been stated by some persons in 1776 †, and which can hardly be extravagant at the other period. And by employing this instead of forty-five millions, it will follow, that on the supposition that the depreciation proceeded from over issues and that the allowance for the increase in the demand for money is sufficient, there would have been received for the superfluous paper the substantial value of thirty millions multiplied by the hyperbolic logarithm of four thirds, — or eight millions six hundred and thirty thousand four hundred and fifty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings and sixpence; which would have been taken from the holders and users of the instrument of exchange during the progress of the depreciation. Of which, by dividing it according to the paper of each in circulation in 1810, three millions five hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred and fifty-two pounds, sixteen shillings and eleven-pence would have been received by the government, and five millions eighty-five thousand eight hundred and five pounds, nineteen shillings and seven-pence by the private bankers; — the whole being over and above what might have been gained in any quarter through the substitution of paper for coins. And if the payments to the stockholders are supposed to have amounted to sixteen millions annually on an average, and the superfluous paper to have been accumulating from 1797 to 1814 at the rate of ten seventeenths of a million annually so as to make the depreciation finally one fourth,—the difference between this and the paper really in existence being allowed for the increase in the sum demanded for the circulation,—the government would

* Speech of Mr. G. Johnstone in the House of Commons on the 19th of July, 1811.

† Wealth of Nations, B. 4. Ch. 1.

further have gained from the stockholders the substantial value of thirty-seven millions two hundred and fifty-one thousand five hundred and fifty pounds, eleven shillings and twopence.* Which makes the whole gain of the government forty millions seven hundred and ninety-six thousand two hundred and three pounds, eight shillings and a penny; and the whole loss of the public, including what is taken by the private bankers, forty-five millions eight hundred and eighty-two thousand and nine pounds, seven shillings and eight-pence. And all these are substantial millions, clear of depreciation; but if their value is reckoned in the degenerate millions of 1814, the numbers must be increased by one third. The four millions in specie have been treated as if they were non-existent; for it is evident that they were not in circulation. The moment one of these coins appeared in public, it must have been hunted down for the melting-pot or exportation. Those therefore that escaped must have lain hid.

The advocates of the paper system, when pressed on the subject of the depreciation, say that it proceeded from a rise in the value of gold. But if it had proceeded from this cause, it would have been the interest of the government to make the value of paper keep pace with that of gold by diminishing the quantity, for the sake of the increased value which would be given in perpetuity to the taxes through the simple contrivance of fixing them in nominal amount. And the same will apply to the supposition of a diminution in the sum demanded for circulation, whether proceeding from a diminution of the wealth and business of the community, or from what has been called 'economizing the circulating medium.'

It might be interesting to inquire into the causes of the good understanding between the ministers of past times and the private bankers, which could induce the former to give up so much of what they apparently might have brought into the coffers of the government. It can only be explained by supposing that the bankers had strong means of defence. They must evidently have been of all men the best informed on the nature of the process going forward; and to have had them in opposition in their quality of bankers, would never have been got over. Fairs and markets would have rung of the extracted

* In this case q = sixteen millions divided by the number of days in a year, and s = ten seventeenths of a million divided by the same. Hence $\frac{q}{s} = 16 \times \frac{17}{10}$. And the fluent = thirty millions $\times 16 \times \frac{17}{10} \times ,04565141$; which is = 37251550,56.

millions, as they have since rung of the omnipotence of credit and the blessings of an extended circulation; and a tribune would have been erected in every country town, which no statutes could have silenced. It is difficult to say the bankers were to blame, in taking what it was so necessary to offer them. At the same time it is consolatory to see, that forty millions could not be taken by the ministers, without allowing some other persons to take five millions more. A despotic government would clearly have taken all. The fact therefore affords a measure of the distance from despotism, and of the difficulty of taking money from the public.

An inference from the above theory is, that a public paper not payable upon demand may be maintained at a given standard, by increasing or diminishing the quantity in circulation according to the market price of gold. If the government should never create new paper, but upon proof produced before the popular branch of the legislature that a note would purchase a certain prescribed or standard quantity of gold and something more, — and if the creation was limited to what would reduce the quantity purchasable to the standard quantity, — it would be impossible for depreciation to arise; unless the demand for the instrument of exchange should ever become retrograde. And in this case, the withdrawing of a quantity of paper would remedy the evil.* The expense of doing this would be no more than would take place if the paper was payable upon demand. But there would be this advantage, that a necessity for refunding could not be brought on by alarm, but only by a real diminution in the demand for the instrument of exchange. At the same time a nation which should have the process of substituting paper to begin, would do well to keep the value in sight. Hence if such a nation had a debt, — and there appears to be little use in considering the case of a nation which has none, — it could apparently do nothing better with what was brought into the hands of the government by the substitution of paper for gold, than apply it in aid of a sinking fund. For the whole would then be employed with the same advantage to the public as other sums which are levied from them with the same specific purpose; and any paper which

* If the standard or proper price of gold is to the variation of price as G to g , the proportion of the existing currency which must be added or withdrawn to bring the price of gold to the standard

price will be $\frac{g}{G \mp g}$; the negative sign being used when the price of gold is too low or paper is to be added, and the positive in the contrary case.

it might ever become desirable to absorb, could be procured without waste by returning into the market a portion of the stock of the fund. And this is not the old mistake of making a treasure of a redeemed debt. For the debt has received an express diminution, with the included purpose of giving back a part in case of urgency. A diminution of ten pounds, even with the possibility of being obliged to give up one, is at all events a diminution of nine. And there is also the chance, that the surrender will not be required at all. — The standard price of gold must be fixed a little above the metallic price or that which is expressed by the number of coins into which a given quantity of gold is wrought. And at the same time, the private bankers must be obliged to pay in coins; and when the government is applied to for coins, it must sell them at such a rate as will pay the cost and just profit of coining. Without these precautions, there will be nothing to prevent the private bankers from driving in the paper of the government, and causing as much depreciation as they please. One of them cannot much outrun the other; but there will be nothing to hinder them from all going on together till they reach any assignable point. And in particular, the confining either a private or public bank to discounting bills at dates however short, will be no limitation. For it amounts to a permission to issue in perpetuity as much paper as men can be persuaded to borrow, under the formality of from time to time renewing the contract. — Subjection to the proposed standard would attach the value of the currency permanently to that of gold. And to demand a standard abstractedly free from variation, is like seeking for better bread than is made of wheat. Gold is by general consent the best standard for the use wanted. But if it is required to compare the value of gold at distant periods, corn, taken on the average of a sufficient number of years to obviate the diversities of seasons, affords an almost perfect measure, through the interference of the principle of population.

And here it becomes a question, how much of the instrument of exchange a nation is bound to allow the private bankers to occupy. A people by their own act or that of their government, can make a substantial saving of forty or fifty millions sterling, through the process of issuing a paper currency not payable upon demand, under a proper check upon the issue. That they have the power of doing this, arises from the fact of their being a nation, and is totally distinct from the principle on which an individual can circulate notes under a promise to pay. It is a pure perquisite of nationality, which nothing else can acquire or possess. A portion of risk too attends the gain; and this also the public takes. If ever there was a process by which the pub-

lic has an exclusive right to profit, it is this. There is nothing in it like commerce or exchange; it is a simple exercise of internal economy on a national scale, like that by which an individual replaces his silver vessels with glass. In the midst of this stands up an order of men, and represents that it will be convenient to them to take twenty or thirty millions of the public profit, and that they have a right to do it because they will be at the expense of issuing the paper. Which is precisely as if they should enter the house of an individual, and insist on carrying off his silver drinking-vessels on the ground that they would leave glass ones in their room. It would be of no use to try to persuade him that it was their trade, or that they were benevolent dealers who established agencies in every town and village out of apprehension that any man should be in want of vessels. And it would be equally useless for them to assure him, that the glass was just as good for the purpose of drinking. He would admit it; but he would aver that he, and not they, had a right to the difference. If they proceeded to positive attempts, he would proceed to lock up his plate. Which they would probably pronounce to be iniquitous, and contrary to the right which all men had to be on an equal footing in his plate closet. Upon which he would double his lock. Men are hawks when they view their interests singly, and beetles when they are to lose in crowds. There is no reason why a single pound of the public any more than of the private saving, should be carried off by any but the owners; — though it seems to be considered, like Park's caravan by the Africans, as a '*dummulafong* or thing to be eaten' by any that can lay hands on it. A government may not always be the most exact representative of the public; but it must always be some representative. For it must be a very bottomless pit, if the public is not something richer for what it saves, and poorer for what it gives away.

But perhaps there is not much danger that any government, when the necessity for conciliation was removed, should do otherwise than take all. The stewards of the public are often suspected of allowing the general wealth to drain out; but, without peculiar reasons, they can never find it economical to make it over to whole orders of men in the gross. There must be some merit, beyond the mere willingness to take it and be thankful; — the most expansive administration will be more select in its attachments. Where the contrary took place, it was to secure the taking of a greater sum, and by no means for the simple services of the private bankers, though doubtless they were always helpful. But in the absence of such a reason, a government seems as likely to allow the public forests to be scrambled for by

the landholders, as to permit what it might take for itself to be taken by the bankers.

Since the issuing of superfluous paper is likely to be carried to a greater extent than that of coins, there may be consequences which it would have been useless to notice under the head of coins, though they might have been traced there if it had been preferred. One of these is, the multiplication of bankruptcies. If the increase in the nominal prices was mistaken by the manufacturers and traders for an increase in the demand, they would endeavour to increase their rate of manufacturing and trading; and as there could in the end be no real demand for a greater quantity of goods than before, this increase of production would be checked by the expulsion of those traders who were least able to bear up against disappointment. The rate of profits in every branch would be reduced to the lowest at which men with average advantages and good conduct could maintain themselves in the degree of comfort which custom had made necessary for their station, — those of extraordinary abilities and good fortune would accumulate wealth, — and the weakest and least advantageously circumstanced, among whom might be expected to be found those who had to pay for borrowing or long credits, would be driven out of business by bankruptcy, or avoid it by a voluntary retreat. Hence what are rightly termed ‘failures in business,’ including the rare cases in which bankruptcy is avoided by retreat, appear to be the natural check to the indefinite multiplication of traders, as the consequences of diminished food are the check to the multiplication of the inferior classes of labourers. Under ordinary circumstances, the process of expulsion goes on without exciting much attention; but under the operation of a stimulating cause like the fallacious semblance of an increase in the demand, the evacuation might assume a tremendous appearance, and exhibit itself in the shape of incalculable misery to innocent and hopeful individuals. And if this is a natural process, which from the inevitable operation of men’s eagerness to better their condition must be always taking place with the weakest, it forms a striking reason for the moderation with which modern nations have agreed to treat the unfortunate in trade. — As long as the superfluous issues were persisted in, the fallacious appearance of an increase in the demand would be prolonged; but it would not accumulate, though its effects would. If the advances of the depreciation were uniform, it would be a uniform constant force. For it depends, not on the absolute magnitude of the depreciation, but on the rate at which it is increasing. And while the force existed, its effects might be looked for in a progressive elongation of the List of Bankrupts, in proportion

as by the action of the cause more and more individuals were drawn into the vortex and cast out.

The solitary case in which an increased quantity of commodities might be finally called into existence in consequence of the multiplication of superfluous paper, would be if the substantial wages of labour did not keep pace with the progress of the depreciation. For there would be a continual struggle on the part of the masters to prevent the nominal rate of wages from rising; and in most countries the laws give an unjust advantage to the masters. And if the workmen did not succeed in raising the nominal rate of wages so as to keep pace with the depreciation, — and it is almost certain that they would not succeed, — one portion of the substantial recompense of which they were thus defrauded would be employed in exciting them to an increase of production, and the remainder would pay the profits of the masters on the additional commodities produced. The portion applied in the first of these ways would be so adjusted, that the remainder should be sufficient to pay the profits. And this adjustment would be effected by the same means by which the adjustment of the supply is enforced in other circumstances. If the profit left was too great, the rate of manufacturing would be increased; and the contrary. But it is evident that all that was gained in this manner, would be extracted from the nerves and muscles of the labouring classes, by the double process of increasing their labour and diminishing their reward. And this could cause no increase of the aggregate wealth; for all that was given to one would be taken from another. Yet in the eyes of the masters it might appear to be a material improvement; and they would probably not fail to celebrate the advantages of an augmented circulation, the extension of manufactures and commerce, and particularly the increased employment given to the poor.

It will be urged in denial of the injury sustained by the labouring classes, that taxes cannot be levied on the wages of labour. Which is true, as it proves that there is no use in a government's attempting to levy taxes upon wages; but is not correct if extended to prove, that nothing can be taken from the poor. The recompense of labour will find its level as water does, — that is, as fast as it is able. But the Nile may always have been two miles higher at its source than at its mouth, and all manner of difference may have been made by it to travellers upon the stream. There is a wide difference between an effect that has taken place, and an effect that is endeavouring to take place; and between the effort being in a man's favour or against him. And when the labouring classes have been endeavouring

to overtake their wages for twenty years together, they may well be supposed to be behind. The strength of the argument against them is, that if any thing is taken from them their numbers cannot be kept up; and consequently, if their numbers are kept up, there can have been nothing taken from them. But happily for the poor this assumption is as yet incorrect. It is quite evident that the very poorest classes have still something that they might lose. All minor moralists and dispensers of admonitory pamphlets are full of demonstrations of it. The promoters of saving-banks are so many evidences to the belief, that the poor might possibly save; and if they can save, they have something that they might go without. It is undoubted that to the present hour, some of them consume their superfluous wealth in tobacco, and others waste it in spirits; and it is impossible to say that if this was transferred to the master, either their own health or that of their posterity would suffer. It is difficult to prove that white bread has any inherent advantage in increasing population, over brown; and it has at all events been demonstrated that nothing can upon this ground be reasonably objected to potatoes. It is not yet in any part of Great Britain a moot point, whether the hog lives in the house or the labourer in the pig-stye; the labourers of Great Britain have therefore all this that they may come to. And even the Irish labourer may find a lower point in the West, as long as a hog is better company than a slave-driver. Whenever it is thought desirable to answer the complaints of the poor by logic, they are reminded that in comparison with the poor in other countries they live like gentlemen; which is an avowal that they might possibly live worse. In short there is a cloud of witnesses, that, in Great Britain at least, the poor have still something that might be taken from them. They cannot keep up their numbers and live as they used to do; but they may live worse. There are strange depths in ill living; and the rich are almost sure to be mistaken, when they undertake to think the poor past the possibility of being hurt. The most substantial friend the poorer classes ever had, — though some of their sincere well-wishers persist in not finding it out, — has declared that he ‘really cannot conceive’ ‘any thing much more detestable than the idea of knowingly condemning the labourers of Great Britain to the rags and wretched’ ‘cabins of Ireland, for the purpose of selling a few more broad’ ‘cloths and calicoes.’* The first step towards preventing this detestable consummation appears to be the removal of the idea that the poor cannot be deprived of what they have. They can-

* *Essay on the Principle of Population*, b. 4. ch. 10.

not be deprived of it all ; they cannot be deprived all at once. But their habits may be gradually deteriorated by the pressure of a constant force. They may learn to do without one fragment of comfort to-day and a second to-morrow. One decency of life after another may be dropped into the gulph, till they approach within any assignable quantity to the beasts that perish. When there is a given standard for honest poverty, those who are below it will not multiply, or will multiply less. But it is evident that the obstacle is in the mind and not in the physical impossibility, and that if the mental standard is depressed, population may go on. If any thing can effect such a depression, the double screw of a depreciation appears competent to do it.

One of the worst properties of this depression of the reward of labour would be, that it would accumulate, and the interests engaged in support of it would accumulate with it. And if the system was carried to any great extent, it might form one of the most intolerable engines of oppression on the labouring classes which it is possible to conceive. Its operation would be silent, gradual, irresistible. It would give no warning, there would be no jerk, no exertion, nor any thing which could be fixed on to concentrate resistance into a particular period. The bewildering misery of an animal in the receiver of an itinerant philosopher, would be a faint image of the situation of an uninformed mechanic, — dying because working would not support existence as it used to do, — knowing neither the source of his evils nor the remedy, — cajoled, threatened, tormented, pitied, — in sight of the comforts of his neighbours, yet running against a wall harder than brass if he attempted to help himself, — disgusting to the refined by the uncouthness of his distortions, and suspiciously eyed by the timid as one who would bite if he could. The very workers of the machine might be employed in condoling with the sufferer, and perhaps scarcely themselves know the nature of the process. And a hundredth part of the gains thus squeezed from the classes who are already weakest, would suffice to keep up no mean apparatus of splendid charity. It will be asked if it would be better that the charity should be omitted. It is like an inquisitor's giving cordials to his patient; — it would be better to give no occasion for the kindness.

But there have not been wanting those who have thought that a superfluous issue of paper, with the consent of all parties concerned, was an excellent mode of taxation. It is a tax on the users of the instrument of exchange, levied in exact proportion to what they employ ; so that it may be considered as the *beau idéal* of a uniform tax upon expenditure. And it has one singular advantage ; — that it costs nothing to collect. But the

objections to it appear to be three. The first is, that uniform taxation is essentially unjust. In whatever mode taxes are collected, it is plain that not only more should be levied, but a greater proportion should be levied, on the rich than on the poor. If a man of two thousand pounds a year contributes a twentieth of his income to the exigencies of the state, it is plain that, to preserve fairness, a man of two hundred a year should contribute less than a twentieth. For as he is much nearer to the possession of the mere necessaries of life, to diminish his power of purchasing by a twentieth would make a much more dangerous inroad upon his happiness than a levy of a twentieth upon the other. The necessaries of life are those things of which the non-possession necessarily causes physical suffering, as hunger, thirst, or injury from exposure to the weather; and the nearer a man is to the simple possession of these already, the less he can afford to be reduced in any given proportion. There is an infinite difference between being driven from white bread to brown, and being driven from burgundy to port. And it would be difficult to prove that any right to inflict greater distress on the poor than on the rich, can arise out of the fact that the poor are distressed already. The object, therefore, should be, to make taxation bear on all with fairness; or if there are not data for doing this with exactness, to assign a scale which shall approach to it. And the first thing that presents itself, is that there are some stages of poverty on which it is evidently improper to lay any direct taxation. Day-labourers, for example, may safely be placed in this class. But there is another class who are in point of fact equally unable to bear any reduction of their means of support. And this is composed of the persons who, though ostensibly better paid than the day-labourer, are placed just on the other side of the great gulph, which the habits of civilized society have established between manual and mental labourers. The respect paid to mental labour, in all its forms, joined to the frequent necessity there is for such labourers mixing with the wealthier classes, has created a demand upon them for a certain elegance in their appearance and mode of living, which it is in vain for them to think of resisting without giving up all the resources which previous habits have placed within their reach. And though it may be true that the possession of this superior elegance is in itself a source of enjoyment, yet the mental labourer may be as utterly unable to support any diminution of his means of living as the other. And this appears to show, that an equitable scale of taxation must commence above the class which contains the poorest order of mental labourers. And another requisite would evidently be, that in no

imaginable case the taxation should exceed a certain per centage. It would be an absurd rule which should make the per centage on a wealth of any imaginable magnitude approach to the whole; and it might be equally improper that it should amount to a half or a fourth. The scale, if expressed by the visible arithmetic of curves, should be nothing at a certain income, and approach to some reasonable per centage as to an asymptote. The simplest scale of this kind would be one where the per centage should be nothing on the income supposed to contain the poorest class of mental labourers, and should fall on the higher incomes according to a uniform rate upon their excess above the sum which is to pay nothing.* For example, if a hundred and fifty pounds a year paid nothing, two hundred should pay at a fixed rate, as for instance five per centum, upon fifty; two hundred and fifty at the same rate of five per centum upon a hundred; and so on. On such a scale the per centage on a sum of unlimited magnitude would approach to five per centum on the whole. — The above considerations display a strong objection to taxes on the instrument of exchange, on the ground of their uniformity. And the other objections are, their acting on the labouring classes as an intolerable engine of depression, and the endless mischief arising from the vitiation of money contracts.

The leading error in the first pamphlet appears to consist in not perceiving, that after the instrument of exchange, composed either of coins or paper, has been made sufficient to conduct the exchanges of the community without the aid of commodities, its volume or numerical quantity has no connexion with what men

* The equation to the curve is $y = M \times \frac{m}{n} \times \frac{x - a}{x}$; where x is the abscissa measured from a point without the curve, a the distance from this point to the vertex of the curve, y the ordinate, M a given line, and $\frac{m}{n}$ a given fraction. If x represents the income, a the income at which taxation is to commence, $\frac{m}{n}$ the uniform rate levied on the excess of x above a , the ordinate y will vary as the per centage which the proposed scale assigns to the income represented by x . Or the proportion of the ordinate to the given line M , will always be that of the numerator to the denominator of the fraction which expresses the per centage on the income. — If a line is drawn parallel to the abscissa at a distance equal to $M \times \frac{m}{n}$ and on the same side of it as the curve, it will be an asymptote; for when x is indefinitely increased, y approaches to being equal to $M \times \frac{m}{n}$.

will be able substantially to pay or to expend. The argument appears to be, that when men have an increased quantity of the instrument of exchange, they must necessarily be anxious to employ it. 'Put money into people's pockets, and they will consume.' And a stimulus to production is concluded to be the consequence of the continual necessity of finding employment for the instrument: — without adverting to the possibility that the project may evaporate, as so many other projects for a perpetual motion have done, through some simple principle which is overlooked. Let it büt happen that there is depreciation, and the whole expectation vanishes. The mistake is in assuming that because a certain increase in the improved instrument of circulation, or every increase up to a certain point, promotes production, an increase beyond that point will do the same. An insufficient supply of coins or paper which should necessitate the employment of commodities, may be compared to a bad and insufficient highway. The wares which are circulated by means of it, will be conveyed with a degree of difficulty and delay which is a hindrance to production; and every improvement in it will have a contrary effect. But when the road has been brought to the best condition which the materials will admit, and has been made wide enough to convey all that is to be carried upon it without confusion or delay, it would be unreasonable to expect that, by making two or three parallel roads of the same kind, production should be any further increased. The same produce which might have been conveniently carried upon one road, would only be carried on two or on three. And if any man was led into increasing his business or expenditure by confounding such an increase in the means of conveyance with an increase of the wealth to be conveyed, it is evident that he would be corrected by disappointment.

ART. XI. PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

1. *Edinburgh Review*. Vol. 1, 2, &c.

IF periodical criticism is good for any thing, it cannot be less needed in the case of periodical literature, than of any other class of the productions of the press. It is indeed a subject of wonder, that periodical publications should have existed so long, and have come at last to occupy so great a portion of the time and attention of the largest class of readers, without having become subject to a regular and systematic course of criticism. We trust it will appear that we shall have rendered an important service to the progress of the human mind, in setting at least an example of this species of control; in showing how great has been the need of it before it existed, how much of evil it is calculated to prevent, and how much of positive advantage it cannot fail to secure.

Periodical literature is so wide a field, that though we shall not interdict ourselves from any part of it, we shall select for our province more particularly that portion, with respect to which the demand for the service which we thus desire to see rendered, will, to every intelligent mind, appear to be the strongest. The review of books, with the influence which it has in giving direction to the taste for reading, has long been a department of literature the effect of which has been very imperfectly appreciated. For a considerable number of years this field has been to such a degree occupied by two rival, celebrated, and successful publications, that the old have sunk into insignificance: the attempt to elevate new ones, has hitherto proved abortive; and it will hardly be incumbent on us, unless with casual exceptions, to bestow much of our attention upon the rest.

Another circumstance renders criticism peculiarly necessary in the case of the publications to which we have alluded; we mean, the *Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews*: under the guise of reviewing books, these publications have introduced the practice of publishing dissertations, not only upon the topics of the day, but upon all the most important questions of morals and legislation, in the most extensive acceptation of these terms. Whatever occasion, therefore, there can be for that species of censorship which criticism exercises over those who assume the task of supplying nourishment to the human mind, it is presented by the publications in question, and with peculiar circumstances of aggravation.

Of these circumstances, some they have in common with other periodical publications; some are peculiar to themselves. One law to which periodical literature is subject is attended with consequences, the good and evil of which have never yet been sufficiently analysed, though it is of the highest importance that they should be familiarised to the public mind. If a work is published, not periodical, and possesses real merit, it can afford to be overlooked for a time; and though it may be little noticed for the first year, or years, may count with tolerable certainty upon that degree of ultimate fame to which it is entitled. Not so with periodical literature. That must have immediate success, to secure so much as existence. A periodical production must sell immediately, at least to a certain extent, otherwise it cannot be carried on. A periodical production must be read the next day, or month, or quarter, otherwise it will not be read at all. Every motive, therefore, which prompts to the production of any thing periodical, prompts to the study of immediate effect, of unpostponed popularity, of the applause of the moment. To catch at this applause is then to be regarded as a grand characteristic of periodical literature; and the good and evil consequences which arise from it deserve to be diligently traced, and correctly estimated.

On the favourable side it may be affirmed, that as the diffusion of all the good which is derived from reading, must be in proportion to the diffusion of this which is its instrument, this peculiarity in periodical literature is an eminent advantage. By consulting the public taste with continual anxiety, the pleasures of reading are perpetually supplied to the greatest possible number. The number of those who love reading and the number of those who derive pleasure from periodical literature, are the same. To it, therefore, we are, it may be said, indebted, for the grand source of general intelligence; that is, the grand source of the greatest possible good.

The most effectual mode of doing good to mankind by reading, is, to correct their errors; to expose their prejudices; to refute opinions which are generated only by partial interests, but to which men are, for that reason, so much the more attached; to censure whatever is mean and selfish in their behaviour, and attach honour to actions solely in proportion to their tendency to increase the sum of happiness, lessen the sum of misery.

But this is a course which periodical literature cannot pursue. To please the great body of men, which is the object of the periodical writer, he must flatter their prejudices. Instead of calling in question the opinions to which they are wedded, he

must applaud them; and the more he can furnish such men with reasons for being more in love with their opinions than before, the more he is sure of commanding their approbation, and of increasing their zeal to promote the reputation of his work.

The most mischievous of all erroneous opinions are those which lead to the injury of the great number of mankind, for the benefit of the small number; which tend to make it the interest of the small number, by giving them the power, to oppress the great number in all practicable ways, and to brutalise them for the purpose of rendering the oppression more easy, and more secure. That these are the most mischievous of all opinions, is proved by merely telling what they are. That literature is useful only as it contributes to the extirpation of these detestable opinions, is so far true, that deprive it of this tendency, and it is doubtful whether it would not be more of a curse than a blessing. These, however, are the very opinions which periodical literature is under the strongest inducements to promote, and the discouragement of which it is utterly unsafe to undertake. It is obvious what is the general course it will pursue.

The opinions, on the propagation of which the success of periodical writings depends,— immediate success, that success which is essential to their existence,— are the opinions in vogue; the opinions of those whose influence is the most extensive, who can go farthest in creating or hindering a reputation. But what is the class most instrumental in setting the fashion, which exercises the greatest control over the opinions of other men? The answer is not uncertain. The people of power compose it. The favourite opinions of people in power are the opinions which favour their own power; those opinions which we have already characterised as being the grand instruments of evil in this world, the ultimate and real cause of the degradation and misery of the great mass of mankind. To these opinions periodical literature is under a sort of necessity, under an inducement which generally operates as necessity, of serving as a pandar.

It is a common observation, that notwithstanding the influence of error in the world, arising partly from ignorance, partly from the influence of interested opinions in high quarters, the opinion of the wise and distinterested, though they are small in number, always, or at least generally, prevails at last, and becomes the opinion of the world. That there is this tendency in the opinions of the wise, is certain; and it is the ground of all our hopes for the amelioration of mankind. When an opinion, founded on truth, and tending to good, is once declared, and when there is the means of making it generally

known, and of calling to it continually the attention of mankind, it is sure to make its way, and by degrees to bear down all that opposes it.

Here, however, the characteristic malady of periodical literature is most clearly seen. Instead of aiding this beneficent progress, it is opposed to it. The success of those important opinions, the progress of which involves the overthrow of the opinions which are dearest to the classes by whom power is exercised for their own benefit over the rest of the community, and dear to them for this reason, that they tend to the support of the power which they so employ, is *slow*. Periodical literature depends upon *immediate* success. It must, therefore, patronise the opinions which are now in vogue, the opinions of those who are now in power. It will obtain applause, and will receive reward, in proportion as it is successful in finding plausible reasons for the maintenance of the favourite opinions of the powerful classes, and plausible reasons for the discountenance and rejection of the opinions which tend to rescue the interests of the greater number from the subjection under which they lie to the interests of the small number. In this view, it is evident, that, so long as the interest of the smaller number is the predominating interest in any community; so long periodical literature is the natural enemy of the most important and beneficent class of opinions, and so long may the balance of its effects be expected to be decidedly in opposition to them. We say the balance of its effects, because there is no doubt that occasionally, from various motives, the more important of which we shall think it expedient to describe, the periodical press displays exertions both in opposition to the opinions which tend to confirm abusive powers in the hands of the few, and in favour of the opinions which tend to rescue from these powers the interests of the greater number.

After the mass of the people have become a reading people, a reward is held out for writings addressed peculiarly to them. The opinions of the people will, of course, be consulted in such writings; and those opinions which are peculiarly recommended to the powerful classes by the circumstance of their favouring the existence of those powers of theirs, which may be used for their personal purposes, will not be the peculiar objects of applause. But it is with the more numerous, as it is with the less numerous classes; they have some opinions which are just as well as important, and they have others which are erroneous.

It is of very little importance, in addressing the people, to continue recommending to them right opinions, which they

already possess. Labour of such a kind is labour thrown away. The really useful effort, in the case of the people, as in the case of any other class, is to contend against erroneous opinions, and introduce to them ideas which, though full of important consequences, are as yet strange, and perhaps revolting, to their minds. From this undertaking it is now sufficiently evident to our readers that the periodical press is debarred. It cannot wait for that success which depends upon the slow progress of just opinions, and the slow removal of prevalent errors. It must aim at that immediate applause which is bestowed only for immediate pleasure; for gratification administered to the mind in its present state; for encouragement of the favourite idea, flattery of the reigning prejudice.

We have seen, during some late years, in this country, since the talent of reading has become more general, periodical publications, addressed in a particular manner to the more numerous class. They are cheap publications, from the circumstances of the purchasers; and they have been worse than they otherwise might have been, from the characters of those who have been the principal instruments in their production, and who, had they been wiser and better men (for, with little exception, they have been very defective in one or other, or both, of these requisites), might have obtained as much success, with less subservience to the errors of those whom they have addressed. It is abundantly apparent, however, even on a cursory inspection of the writings to which we have thus alluded, that the principal influence to which they bend is that of the favourite opinions, right or wrong, of those to whom they look for their reward. That writings produced under this influence can hardly fail, where men are as ill instructed as they still are in this country, and where partial and sinister interests so greatly preponderate, to have a greater tendency to evil than good, we imagine cannot, after what we have stated, be regarded as matter of doubt.

The two publications which we have already pointed out as destined to be the principal objects of our attention in this department, are addressed to the aristocratical classes. From the circumstances belonging to them it will appear that they may be regarded as almost exclusively addressed to those classes. To what degree they have been subservient to the interests of those classes, in other words, hostile to the interests of the more numerous class, it would be premature in us, and perhaps hardly fair, as yet, to pronounce. That can be properly determined only by evidence adduced; and that evidence will be among the results of the examination to which we mean to subject them. It is enough in the meantime to estimate correctly the induce-

ments to this fatal subserviency under which they have been placed.

Assuming that they agree in this main and characteristic circumstance, of being addressed to the aristocratical classes, upon what principle, we may be asked, do we account for the great diversity which appears in their tone and character; a diversity so remarkable, that they are not regarded as competitors, but as enemies, as tending not to the same, but to opposite ends; as promoting irreconcilable opinions, the one upholding what the other endeavours to destroy? The elucidation of this point is of great importance, in laying the ground-work to our future labours in this department. It is in fact a point, the elucidation of which goes far into the philosophy of British history, and will therefore, if we can perform it satisfactorily, demand a rather more than ordinary portion of attention, on the part both of our readers and of ourselves.

We use the term "aristocracy" in a somewhat extended signification; and as we shall for the most part adhere to that use of it, we are under the necessity of expounding somewhat carefully the sense we thus attach to it, and of requesting our readers to bestow attention enough upon this explanation to retain it in their memory for future purposes. We do not use it in the mere sense of a titled nobility; nor in that of the families possessed of large fortunes. These are connected circumstances, but of secondary, rather than primary import. Wherever a government is not so constituted as to exist solely for the good of the community, aggregately considered, its powers are distributed into a certain number of hands, in some cases bearing a greater, in some a less proportion to the whole community; but a number always small in comparison with the population at large. This body, sharing among them the powers of government, and sharing among themselves also the profits of misrule, we denominate the aristocratical body; and by this term, or the aristocratical class, or in one word, the aristocracy, we shall be careful to distinguish them. The comparatively small number possessing political power compose the real aristocracy, by whatever circumstances, birth, or riches, or other accident, the different portions of them become possessed of it.

The aristocracy in some countries consists almost entirely of the lords of the soil. This in former times was the case in almost all the countries of Europe. And in those which have made the smallest progress in knowledge and civilisation, it is to a great degree the case at the present moment. In countries still more sunk in barbarism, as in Turkey, and in most Asiatic

countries, the military hordes compose almost the whole of the efficient aristocracy, and are not hereditary. In our own country, the aristocracy is a motley body; and it imports us to be familiarly acquainted with the ingredients of the compound. If we assent to the doctrine of the *Edinburgh Review*, — and we are willing, for the present, to take it upon their showing, — we must conclude that the powers of government are centered in the House of Commons, and are there substantially and ultimately exercised.* If this be the case, it is only necessary to enquire, of whom the House of Commons is composed, and by whom the members are sent there; because in their hands, of course, the powers of government are efficiently lodged. It will not be necessary for us to go into the minute details, or indeed into any disputed subjects. For the conclusions which concern our present purpose the broad and incontrovertible matters of fact will suffice. The owners of the great landed estates have the principal influence in sending members into the House of Commons. They possess the representation of the counties exclusively. The members for the counties (Middlesex has more of the nature of a town) are returned by a combination among the leading families, and commonly by a compromise between the two parties, the one being a Whig and the other a Tory. In respect to the boroughs it is not necessary that we should descend to a particular enumeration. Mere notoriety will suffice for our present purpose. That a large proportion of them are in the hands of the same great families, either to nominate or effectually to influence the return of the members, will not be denied; because men in their senses do not make affirmations with respect to matters of fact which every body who knows them possesses sufficient grounds to deny.

There is a certain number of the boroughs, the constitution of which is such, that the electors find it for their interest to sell their votes on each occasion to the highest bidder. It is proper, though it is somewhat of a deviation from the present purpose, to remark, that this class of the boroughs is a general subject of vituperation, to those who, from their influence as landed proprietors, determine the election in counties, and in the boroughs over which their influence extends. Unhappily their influence sets the fashion in morality as well as in dress; and their long-continued cries have made it be regarded as peculiarly infamous in the electors in boroughs to sell their votes. But why should it be more infamous in a poor elector to sell his vote in a borough, than for a rich lord of the soil to sell his vote in par-

* Vol. x. pp. 411, 412. &c.; and vol. xiv. pp. 287. 300. &c.

liament? “Why is the one traffic infamous, the other honourable?” For this reason, and this alone, that the great men influence public opinion more than the little men: the case would otherwise have been directly the reverse; the conduct of the rich lord would have been the most infamous, as in degree it is unquestionably the most highly mischievous. The case of the elector in the borough who sells his vote to the highest bidder, and that of the man who in a borough or a county gives it habitually to the lord, are essentially the same. Each, with little or no regard to the fitness of the man for whom the vote is given, follows his own interest. The elector who places his vote habitually at the disposal of his landlord, does so because his landlord could, and he fears would, do him injury, if he acted otherwise. The elector who takes money for his vote, does so for the immediate benefit which it yields. It is the part of men who are not legislators, but drivellers, to whine against people for following their interest. In legislation the only enquiry is, how to make the interest of men and their duty coincide. What we desire is, to place the right of voting for members of parliament on such a footing, that it shall not be for the interest of the voter to give his suffrage from any other motive than the verdict of his conscience, preferring the fittest man. And for that we are called Radicals, and other names intended to be opprobrious, by those whose interest it is that the right of voting should never be placed on any better than the present foundation.

To return to the mode in which the boroughs, so constituted as to make it the interest of the electors to sell their votes to the highest bidder, affect the composition of the British aristocracy;—it is evident that they open a door of admission into the governing body to monied men. Such men, in considerable numbers, do by such means, as well as by what is called the purchase of a borough, that is, of the means of intimidation over the wretched electors, originally possessed by some neighbouring lord of the soil, become members of the House of Commons; and thus the class of monied men become sharers in the possession of the powers of government, and form a portion, though a minor, and hence a subordinate, portion, of the aristocracy of England.

In the composition of the aristocracy of England, the importance of its two props deserves much and careful consideration. Its two props are, the Church, and the Law; by the Law, we mean here the professional body.

We need not lengthen our investigation by representing the influence which religion exercises over the minds of men. It will be allowed to be great. It is evident of what importance it

is to an aristocracy, that is, a small number, exercising, and for their own advantage, power over the great number, to be able to turn this influence, the influence of religion, to their own purposes. It is manifest how great a support to their power they may derive from it. Now it is obvious, that the short and effectual method of being able to turn the influence of religion to their own purposes, is to obtain an influence over the teachers of religion. It is equally easy to discover a sure expedient for their obtaining an influence over the teachers of religion. It is to form them into a corporate and dependent body, with gradation of emoluments and power, from something small, to something very great; retaining the nomination to the enjoyment of those emoluments principally in their hands, and admitting the body to a share in the power and profits of the aristocracy. In the aristocracy of England, accordingly, the church, or the organised priesthood of the state, is to be regarded as a real and efficient part. Of the mode in which it acts as a portion of the aristocracy, and receives its share of the profits of misrule, the details must be left for future opportunities.

As the security for person and property, the things most dear to men, depends upon the law, to be sure of possessing the requisite knowledge of the law, is to every individual a matter of the last importance. If the law were as simple and clear as it might be made, every man of competent understanding might have all the knowledge of it requisite for his guidance and security. But where the law has been rendered exceedingly complex and obscure, nobody understands it but those who devote themselves professionally to the study of it. The class of lawyers become, in such circumstances, a class of very great importance. Men look to their knowledge as the principal ground of their security; they acquire a habit of trusting to them in almost every important transaction of their lives. In proportion as they have much to risk, that is, in proportion as they are rich; and in proportion as they are timid, that is, averse to run risks;—they fall into a state of absolute dependance upon the lawyers. It is evident from this explanation, that as it is of great importance to the aristocracy to be able to use the influence of the teachers of religion for their own purposes, it is of great importance to them also, to be able to use the influence of the lawyers for their own purposes. To this end they are obliged to admit them to a requisite share in all the advantages of the aristocracy. It is known to every body how unintelligible a mass the English law is; how extensive a sway the tribe of lawyers exercise over the actions of their countrymen; and to how considerable a share in all the distinctions of the aristocracy, and all the profits of misrule, they are

admitted. Details we reserve for occasions as they arise. The general facts, as we have stated them, are too notorious to admit of dispute. Accordingly, the share, which the Church and the Law are treated with, in the good things of the aristocracy, insures their strenuous exertions in its support; and, at all times, whatever is noxious in aristocratical opinions and prejudices has had the great majority of both those bodies for its zealous supporters: all those doctrines which have for their object to secure the interests of the great number against the usurpations of the small number, and all the individuals who promote those doctrines, have been, at all times, to the great majority of lawyers and churchmen, the objects of the most bitter persecution.

From the developments which we have thus afforded, we think a pretty clear conception of what is meant by the aristocracy of this country, politically considered, may easily be drawn. The more efficient part of it is undoubtedly that small number of leading families, probably not two hundred in all, which return a majority of the members of the House of Commons. This oligarchy is really and truly the governing power of the country. This governing power, like other governing powers, is obliged to make sacrifices to convenience; and in order to have instruments, and secure the services of those who would be dangerous enemies, is constrained to make a partnership concern, and to deal out certain minor shares: those are the shares of the monied interest, the church, and the law. Men of talent, as a class, have been sometimes represented as a constituent part of the House of Commons, and thence of the aristocracy; but, we think, erroneously. If they come in independently, by the purchase of a seat, they come in as monied men. If they come in as the nominees of this or the other great landlord, they come in as mere attornies of the aristocracy. They are servants in an office; they are not a part of the aristocracy, any more than their butlers or stewards.

We are now drawing to a close with that development which we have deemed necessary, as enabling us to characterise two publications which are addressed to the aristocracy of this country, and which, notwithstanding their agreement in this leading circumstance, exhibit so much diversity in their more obvious appearances.

There is only one particular more into the analysis of which, as a preliminary explanation, it will be necessary for us to enter. The aristocracy of this country are naturally, in their political proceedings, divided, under the guidance of their interests, into two sections. The Quarterly Review follows the one section: the *Edinburgh Review* follows the other. The

one of these sections is commonly known under the title of the ministerial party. The other is known under that of the opposition party. What are the interests which preside over the formation of the ministerial party are sufficiently obvious; and as they are in general correctly estimated, we are under no inducement to spend many words in explaining them.

As the benefits, periodically arising from the engrossment of the powers of government in the hands of the few and the consequent employment of them for the benefit of that few, have to be divided; and as the division in this country is confided to a fixed individual, called the King, who thus acts as the head of the aristocratical and governing body to whose interest it is more conducive to give up the division to such a functionary, than to run the risk of those destructive contests, which, but for such an expedient, it would be apt to occasion; — all that part of the aristocracy, who either are satisfied with the share which they receive, or think they have a better chance of such a share by meriting the favour of the present distributors than by any other course they can pursue, range themselves under the King's immediate advisers, and lend their influence to the promotion of all their designs. This class of motives is so obvious, and the operation of them so well understood, that we may now pass to the consideration of the interests which operate to the formation of the other section of the British aristocracy.

To all candid and intelligent readers it is unnecessary to remark, that we are here tracing the interests which predominate in the several situations which it is our object to explain. It is obvious, that all enlightened legislation proceeds upon a calculation of those interests, and that it is the business of true philosophy to form that calculation exactly. It is not therefore necessary for us here to enter into the motives of a different sort, which may bear a share in ranging this or that individual in the one or the other party. One man may adhere to the ministry, because he approves of their conduct; another may join the opposition, because the conduct of the ministry appears to him to be wrong. All that is necessary here is, to caution unwary reasoners against allowing those motives which may predominate in the breast of individuals, from occupying that place in their reasonings which belongs to those motives which act upon the class as a class, and by which, as a class, they must be governed. It would be absurd to say that a comparatively small number of men formed into a class by possessing all the powers of government over the great number, and the means of using those powers for their own advantage, will not, as a class, be actuated by the

desire to render that advantage as great as possible. This being admitted, and it being clear that a man would render himself contemptible by denying it, the only care of the rational man is, to ascertain the course of action to which that desire must conduct the class; and having done so, to make it known to others. This is the course which it is now our endeavour to pursue; and our anxiety is to guard our readers against the delusion which is so often practised, of turning away the attention from the consideration of the motives which must govern the class, by holding up to attention the other motives, which always may, and very often do, actuate individuals. There is not a more fertile source of false reasoning, in matters of government, than this.

If, in the class who share among them the powers of government, there is one part who are pleased with the share which they receive of the advantages, or prefer the prospect which they have of sharing under the favour of the existing distributors; there is also, naturally, a part who are not pleased with the share which they receive, and who are willing to prefer any tolerable chance of sharing by other hands. These are they who, in this country, form themselves into what is called the opposition. The interest which actuates the conduct of this section of the aristocracy, are somewhat less obvious, from the modifications they undergo, than those which actuate the ministerial section. The immediate object of the opposition is to effect a change of the hands by which the distribution of the advantages is made — to obtain hands through which their share will be enlarged. The means which these interests prescribe to them for the attainment of this object, afford a clue to the labyrinth of their conduct. The grand expedient for driving a minister from his situation is, to deprive him of support in the House of Commons; to lessen as much as possible the number of those who vote for, increase as much as possible the number of those who vote against him. There are minor expedients, court intrigues, and others, but this is so much the leading and established course, that we may, for the present purpose, overlook the remainder. The plan, therefore, is, to excite disapprobation of the principles and conduct of those who retain the distribution, and to excite approbation of the principles and conduct of those whom they wish to hold it in their stead. In this the Opposition are under the necessity of endeavouring to reconcile courses which are rather opposed to one another.

The primary object, of course, is, to discredit the ministry, and augment the favour of their own leaders with the aristocratical class. But in order to do this the more effectually, it is expedient to

produce as much as possible of the same effects upon the public at large, including the middling and lower classes. Public opinion operates in various ways upon the aristocratical class, partly by contagion, partly by conviction, partly by intimidation: and the principal strength of that current is derived from the greatness of the mass by which it is swelled. It is the interest of the Opposition, therefore, to act, in such a manner, or rather to speak, — for speaking is their action, — so as to gain favour from both the few and the many. This they are obliged to endeavour by a perpetual system of compromise, a perpetual trimming between the two interests. To the aristocratical class they aim at making it appear, that the conduct of their leaders would be more advantageous even to that class, than the conduct of the ministry, which they paint in colours as odious to the aristocracy as they can. On the other hand, to gain the favour of the popular class, they are obliged to put forth principles which appear to be favourable to their interests, and to condemn such measures of conduct as tend to injure the many for the benefit of the few. In their speeches and writings, therefore, we commonly find them playing at *seesaw*. If a portion of the discourse has been employed in recommending the interests of the people, another must be employed in recommending the interests of the aristocracy. Having spoken a while on the one side, they must speak a while on the other. Having written a few pages on the one side, they must write as many on the other. It matters not how much the one set of principles are really at variance with the other, provided the discordance is not very visible, or not likely to be clearly seen by the party on whom it is wished that the delusion should pass.

In this game, of aristocratical, and popular, it is sufficiently evident on which side, at last, the winnings remain. There are two sufficient reasons which determine the point. In the first place, it is the aristocracy through whose decision exclusively the object of the Opposition must be attained, — that of ejecting the ministerial party, and giving possession to them. They must, therefore, be very careful not to excite any suspicion that they are in reality less favourable to the aristocratical side of the account than those whom they wish to supplant. And, therefore, whatever the zeal of which they make show in favour of the people, it must still appear to the aristocracy, that it bears upon no points of which they have any occasion to be afraid; that it leads to the diminution of none of the advantages which the monopoly of the powers of government bestows upon them. There is another, and a perfectly sufficient reason in favour of the same tendency, that the opposition themselves are a section

of the aristocracy; a section that wishes, and hopes, to be the leading section; and which, therefore, cannot be expected to aim at the diminution of advantages which are its own.

From this development of the interests and views of the two sections of the aristocracy in this country, it is clearly seen what may be expected to be the aim and tendency of the publications, particularly periodical, which look for success to the favour and applause of the one or the other. Those on the ministerial side have, as far as the interests of the aristocracy are concerned, a more simple course to pursue. They advocate them directly, and with enthusiasm, affected, or real. The aristocracy are spoken of as the country. Whenever the interests of the country are named, it is the interests of the aristocracy that are meant. The aristocracy are all in all. Compared with them, every thing is of trifling importance. With respect to the interests of the ministerial section, the business of the writers on that side is, to beat down the pretensions both of the opposition section of the aristocracy, and of the people. The people are represented as altogether vile, and any desires which they may exhibit to see the powers of government so disposed of, that they may have some security that these powers shall not be employed for the benefit of the aristocracy at their expense, as inconceivably wicked; as contrary, above all things, to religion; also contrary to law, and to order. The opposition section of the aristocracy are arraigned on two accounts; first, as attaching blame to the ministers for factious purposes, namely, to put their leaders in, and the ministers out, without being able to show, that the conduct of the ministers is not as good for the country, that is, the aristocracy, as that of the opposition leaders would be; and secondly, a still more dreadful odium is endeavoured to be cast upon them, by representing the professions which they are obliged to make in favour of the people as acts of support to these hideous pretensions of the people about securities for good government, which tend to the overthrow of the church and the state.

The course which is necessary to be pursued, by such periodical publications as adopt the vocation of promoting the cause of the opposition section of the aristocracy, will be easily understood, after what has been already said, without many words for its elucidation. The seesaw of the party must be recommended; and the more of skill and pains is bestowed upon this object, the more of approbation may be expected. It is called the middle course. Every art is used to gain it reputation, under the title of moderation, and by the application of bad names to the two sets of opinions, between which the party oscillates, and which it is in reality putting forward by turns. The set of opinions, purely on

the side of aristocratical power, are called despotical. Those which support the demand of effectual securities in favour of the people are declared anarchical, and are commonly stigmatised by some nickname in the slang of the day; jacobinical, for instance, at one time; radical, at another. They have a method worth observing, by which they prove that the party holds a middle course; by which term *middle* they always desire to be understood *wise*. When the people blame the party as aristocratical, and produce actual declarations of opinion on the part of its leaders which go the full length of the aristocratical pretensions, the writers ask how you can misinterpret their words so far, when they can produce you other declarations of opinion which go to as great an extent in favour of the popular demands. This proceeding they reverse, when charged as democratical, on the part of the aristocracy. They do not allow that two contradictory opinions on one and the same point, destroy one another, and should be regarded as no opinion at all. They hold that two contradictory opinions are good for nothing, each of them by itself; but that, both together, they form another nice opinion, exactly in the middle way between both.

It is essential, in writing upon this plan, to deal as much as possible in vague language, and cultivate the skilful use of it. Words which appear to mean much, and may by those to whom they are addressed be interpreted to mean much, but which may also, when it suits the convenience of those who have used them, be shown to mean little or nothing, are of singular importance to those whose business it is to play the game of compromise, to trim between irreconcilable interests, to seesaw between contradictory opinions.

Language of this description is peculiarly needed in making declarations which are meant to gain favour with the people. A party which is itself a section of the aristocracy, which desires to please the aristocracy, and by means of pleasing them to become the distributors of the good things which the possession of the powers of the government bestows upon the aristocracy, risk nothing by speaking explicitly in favour of their privileges. What is requisite is to have vague terms at command, when it is necessary to speak in opposition to these privileges. Aristocratical domination, in the abstract, may be spoken of as something exceedingly hateful, or pregnant with the worst of consequences. The people may be exhorted to be on their guard against it. They may even be told that the ministers have no other object than to introduce it; and that this alone is a sufficient reason for hating them, and for using every exertion to turn them out. In the meantime, great care must be used not

to remove any part of the veil which conceals from the view of the people, the real amount of aristocratical power in this country. When any specific measure is proposed, which would really operate to the diminution of that power, — choosing the members of parliament by ballot, for instance, — it must be loudly decried, and every thing must be done to attach to it, if possible, the apprehension of evil consequences. On the other hand, if a measure is proposed which has the appearance of being calculated to diminish the power of the aristocracy, but which in reality has no such tendency, perhaps the very reverse, such as the disfranchisement of the boroughs called rotten, giving the representation to the counties, then the epithets of praise must be collected. The man who brings forward such a measure as this, must be hailed as the first of men; the man who should accomplish it, must be described as the most happy.

One important part of the business of writers on the side of the opposition section of the aristocracy, one of the qualities by which they can most effectually recommend themselves, is, being ingenious in the invention of schemes of this description; schemes which may have the appearance to the people of being calculated to add to their securities, but which would, even if accomplished, leave the power of the aristocracy untouched. Of this class of plans one example is seen in that which we have already mentioned, diminishing the number of borough members to augment that of county members. Another example is seen in the doctrine about representation by classes; by which it is attempted to persuade the people, that they have securities enough, provided every class is represented in the House of Commons; that is to say, the landed interest represented, the mercantile interest represented, the army, the navy, the law, the people represented; though it should appear that the people have no real, efficient control over one man in this composition; that they have not the choice of so much as six, out of six hundred; and that even a bare majority, chosen and influenced by the aristocracy, would determine in the long run, and on the real balance of the account, the nature of the government.

Having thus seen what are the motives which operate upon the two sets of periodical writers who address themselves to the two sections of the aristocracy, we have anticipated much of the general matter which will be applicable in criticising, in detail, the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly Reviews*. We have already stated, that the *Edinburgh Review* is addressed to the aristocracy on the side of the opposition section; the *Quarterly Review* is addressed to it on the side of the ministerial section. We shall see in our progress how truly they have obeyed the

springs which we have represented as operating generally upon the conduct of publications produced in similar circumstances.

It will be understood that we have been speaking of the political part of these two publications; including, in the political pale, the two props of the aristocratical polity, the political religion of the country, and the law, in both senses of the term. As to the literature of the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews, in the more confined sense of the term,—the poetry, and other works of imagination and entertainment, the mathematics, chemistry, and so on, — these publications have lain under no peculiar bias from situation; and the goodness or badness of their articles on these subjects must be ascribed to the accidental qualities, moral or intellectual, of the writers. As far as their criticisms on these subjects may appear worthy of notice, they will be reviewed in other departments of this section of our work.

One word of a personal nature seems to be required. We have described the interests which operate to withdraw periodical writers from the line of utility, and we have represented it as nearly impossible for them to keep true to it. What! Are we, it may be asked, superior to seducements to which all other men succumb? If periodical writing is by its nature so imbued with evil, why is it that we propose to add to the supply of a noxious commodity? Do we promise to keep out the poison which all other men yield to the temptation of putting in? If we made such a pretension, our countrymen would do right in laughing it to scorn; and we hope they would not fail to adopt so proper a course. We have no claim to be trusted, any more than any one among our contemporaries: but we have a claim to be tried. Men have diversities of taste; and it is not impossible that a man should exist who really has a taste for the establishment of the securities for good government, and would derive more pleasure from the success of this pursuit, than of any other pursuit in which he could engage, wealth or power not excepted. All that we desire is, that it may not be reckoned impossible that we may belong to a class of this description.

There is another motive, as selfish as that which we ascribe to any body, by which we may be actuated. We may be sanguine enough, or silly enough, or clear-sighted enough, to believe, that intellectual and moral qualities have made a great progress among the people of this country; and that the class who will really approve endeavours, in favour of good government, and of the happiness and intelligence of men, are a class sufficiently numerous to reward our endeavours. No matter what our motives may be, the public will soon see whether our actions continue true to the ends which we profess; and that is all by which their interests can be affected; all, therefore, about which they need to care.

Of the two works which are to form the principal objects of our attention in this department, the *Edinburgh*, and *Quarterly Reviews*, we shall begin with the *Edinburgh Review*, both as it was the first in its commencement, and as it is by far the first in importance.

It originated at Edinburgh in the social studies of a small number of men, then mostly young, whose pursuits were literary, and who had already excited great expectation of future eminence. The reputation of the parties attracted attention; and the superiority of the performance to the mean articles which then filled the pages of the existing reviews, the novelty of mixing disquisitions of the reviewer with the notice of books, the tone of severity naturally piquant, and the wit and irony by which it was frequently enlivened, go far in accounting for the extensive circulation which it speedily acquired.

When it first appeared, and for some time afterwards, it was not decidedly attached to the opposition section of the aristocracy. At that time indeed the opposition party had only begun to effect a resurrection from that inhumation which it suffered from the aristocratical terrors engendered by the French revolution. It showed, however, from the beginning, that disposition to compromise which suited exactly the purposes of an opposition section, as soon as it renewed its strength. At first the seesaw was performed between those opinions which were necessary for obtaining the favour of the aristocracy, and those opinions which had obtained the sanction of philosophy, and which, without renouncing the character of philosophers, men could not abjure. To obtain, if possible, the good opinion of both aristocrats and philosophers, the doctrines of both were put forth. High examples, in this country, had already been set, and most successfully, of this species of authorcraft. With as servile doctrines as ever had been propagated under the guise of law, Sir William Blackstone, in his *Commentaries*, had mixed a portion of the liberal opinions which philosophy had not only sanctioned, but to which at that time, preceding the French revolution, it had given reputation and fashion. The other instructive example to which we allude, is that of Paley, in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*; where, with many liberal doctrines, to which the progress of the human mind had given birth, there is a predominating mixture of opinions, the object and tendency of which is to keep the human mind for ever shackled and debased. And to this mixture, there is no doubt that a great portion of the splendid success of these celebrated works is to be ascribed.

In proof of this observation with respect to the *Edinburgh*

Review, we may appeal to the first article in the first number. It is a Review of *Mounier, de l'Influence des Philosophes*. For the aristocrats, a great part of it is in the Antijacobin tone; concurring with the fashionable opinion, that of the Revolution and all its imputed evils, the cause is in a great measure to be ascribed to the philosophers. For the philosophical part of the public, again, a portion of it is employed in representing philosophy as perhaps the foremost among the causes of good. We quote but one passage:—

‘ That there were defects and abuses, and some of these very gross too, in the old system of government in France, we presume will scarcely be denied. That it was lawful to wish for their removal will probably be as readily admitted; and that the peaceful influence of philosophy, while confined to this object, was laudably and properly exerted, seems to follow as a necessary conclusion. It would not be easy, therefore, to blame those writers who have confined themselves to a dispassionate and candid statement of the advantages of a better institution; and it must seem hard to involve in the guilt of Robespierre and the Jacobins, those persons in France who aimed at nothing more than the abolition of absurd privilèges, and the limitation of arbitrary power. Montesquieu, Turgot, and Raynal, were probably, in some degree, dissatisfied with the government of their country, and would have rejoiced in the prospect of a reform; but it can only be the delirium of party prejudice that would suspect them of wishing for the downfall of royalty, and for the proscriptions and equality of a reign of terror. It would be treating their accusers too much like men in their senses, to justify such men any farther on the score of intention: yet it is possible that they may have been instrumental in the Revolution, and that their writings may have begun that motion, that terminated in ungovernable violence. We will not go over the commonplace arguments that may be stated to convict them of imprudence. Every step that is taken towards the destruction of prejudice, is attended with the danger of an opposite excess: but it is no less clearly our duty to advance against prejudices; and they deserve the highest praise who unite the greatest steadiness with the greatest precaution. At the time when the writings we are speaking of were published, there was not a man in Europe who could discern in them the seeds of future danger. So far from denouncing them as the harbingers of regicide and confusion, the public received them as hostages and guides to security. It was long thought that their effects were inadequate to their merits: nothing but the event could have instructed us that it was too powerful for our tranquillity. To such men, the reproach of improvidence can be made only because their foresight was not prophetic; and those alone are entitled to call them imprudent, who could have predicted the tempest in the calm, and foretold those consequences by which the whole world has since been astonished.

‘ If it be true, therefore, that writers of this description have facilitated and promoted the Revolution, it is a truth which should detract

but little either from their merit or their reputation. Their designs were pure and honourable; and the natural tendency and promise of their labours was exalted and fair. They failed, by a fatality which they were not bound to foresee; and a concurrence of events, against which it was impossible for them to provide, turned that to mischief which was planned out by wisdom for good. We do not tax the builder with imprudence, because the fortress which he erected for our protection is thrown down by an earthquake on our heads.

There is another set of writers, however, for whom it will not be so easy to find an apology, who, instead of sober reasoning and practical observation, have intruded upon the public with every species of extravagance and absurdity. The presumptuous theories and audacious maxims of Rousseau, Mably, Condorcet, &c. had a necessary tendency to do harm. They unsettled all the foundations of political duty, and taught the citizens of every existing community that they were enslaved and had the power of being free. M. Mounier has too much moderation himself, to approve of the doctrines of these reformers; but he assures us, that instead of promoting the revolution, it was the revolution that raised him into celebrity; that they rose into reputation, after it became necessary to quote them as apologists or authorities; but that, before that time, their speculations were looked upon as brilliant absurdities, that no more deserved a serious confutation, than the Polity of Plato, or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More.—With all our respect for M. Mounier, we have some difficulty in believing this assertion. Rousseau, in particular, was universally read and admired, long before he was exalted into the Revolutionary Pantheon; and his political sagacity must have had some serious admirers, when he was himself invited to legislate for an existing community. Whatever influence he had, however, was unquestionably pernicious; and though some apology may be found for him in the enthusiasm of his disordered imagination, he is chargeable with the highest presumption, and the most blameable imprudence. Of some of the other writers who have inculcated the same doctrines, we must speak rather in charity than in justice, if we say nothing more severe.

We must leave this passage, though it is plausibly worded, to speak for itself. That Raynal should be enumerated among the sober-minded writers, Condorcet among the inflammatory, must surprise any one who has read them. Though two classes of writers are here spoken of, one with praise, the other with blame, it is really not easy to say to which of them, in point of consequence, the greatest quantity of evil is ascribed.

Observe, however, the real doctrine. It is laudable to put forth such writings as those of Montesquieu, Turgot, and Raynal: this is for the philosophers. It is wicked to put forth such writings as those of Rousseau, Mably, and Condorcet: this is for the aristocrats.—Observe also the implied consequence of what is here said, the restraint upon

freedom of discussion which is covertly recommended. To put forth enlarged theories respecting government, pointing out what is really necessary to afford securities to the people, and how much, under every existing government, those securities are wanting, ought to be prohibited. "Presumptuous theories and audacious maxims have a necessary tendency to do harm." But who is to judge what theories are presumptuous, what maxims audacious? All must be permitted, or none; or government, that is, the party interested against the people, must judge. Upon what principle the classification of the writers is made, it would be absurd to attempt to divine. Any classification answered the purpose of seesaw. It was enough to have one cluster to praise, another to blame.

There is another remarkable specimen of the seesaw, in the same number.

' In a subsequent part of his pamphlet, Mr. Godwin sets the doctrine of the particular and general affections in so clear and masterly a light, and in a manner so very superior to any thing we find in Dr. Parr's sermon on the same subject, that we have great pleasure in laying the passage before our readers.

' "For, after all, though I admit that the assiduities we employ for our children ought to be, and must be, the result of private and domestic affections, yet it is not these affections that determine them to be virtuous. They must, as has been already said, be brought to a standard, and tried by a criterion of virtue.

' "This criterion has been above described, and it is not perhaps of the utmost importance whether we call it utility, or justice, or, more periphrastically, the production of the greatest general good, the greatest public sum of pleasurable sensation. Call it by what name you please, it will still be true, that this is the law by which our actions must be tried. I must be attentive to the welfare of my child; because he is one in the great congregation of the family of the whole earth. I must be attentive to the welfare of my child; because I can, in many portions of the never-ceasing current of human life, be conferring pleasure and benefit on him, when I cannot be directly employed in conferring benefit on others. I best understand his character and his wants; I possess a greater power of modelling his disposition and influencing his fortune; and, as was observed in *Political Justice* (p. 132.), he is the individual, in the great distribution of the class needing superintendance and supply among the class capable of affording them, whom it falls to my lot to protect and cherish. I do not require that, when a man is employed in benefiting his child, he should constantly recollect the abstract principle of utility; but I do maintain, that his actions in prosecuting that benefit are no further virtuous than in proportion as they square with that principle."

This is going a great way for philosophy. What follows is a devout offering at the shrine of aristocratical bigotry and insolence.

‘ Aware of the very superior manner in which Mr. Godwin’s complaint is now accustomed to be treated, we had great hopes, upon reading so far, that a radical cure had been effected : but we had no sooner entered upon his remarks on population, than this pleasing delusion was dispelled, and we were convinced it was a case for life. The great expedients which this philosopher has in store to counteract the bad effects of excessive population (so ably pointed out by Mr. Malthus), are, abortion and child-murder. In gratitude for these noble remedies of social disorder, may we take the liberty of suggesting to Mr. Godwin, the infinite importance of shaving and blistering the crown of his head, of keeping the *primæ viæ* open, and of strictly pursuing an antiphlogistic regimen. By these means we have sometimes seen the understandings of great philosophers wonderfully and rapidly improved.’

‘ There is one doctrine, to which we shall have frequent occasion to advert, because it is a favourite with the *Edinburgh Review*. It is a doctrine expected to please both aristocracy and people ; and ample use is accordingly made of it. The doctrine is, that irregular and tumultuary ebullitions of the people in favour of liberty, are of singular importance.

It is not from such irrational effervescence, that the aristocracy have any thing to fear. It is not a mobbing populace that can act with perseverance and consistency sufficient to overcome the defences which guard the undue powers of an aristocracy. If, then, the people can be gulled, by these false demonstrations of liberty, into a belief that they possess good government, the security of the aristocracy is increased ; and the doctrine which leads to support this delusion, is a doctrine entirely to their taste.

On the other hand, by pompous talking about the public spirit of the people, about independence of mind, and so forth, displayed and generated in the turbulence of an election, it is expected that the vanity of the people will be piqued ; and that they will be persuaded to believe they are something, by that which effectually proves they are nothing. The passage where we find this doctrine first set forth in the *Edinburgh Review*, is an early one. It is in the first volume (p. 384.), in the article on *Dernieres Vuës de Politique et de Finance par M. Neckar*.

‘ The only foundation of political liberty is the spirit of the people ; and the only circumstance which makes a lively impression upon their senses, and powerfully reminds them of their importance, their power, and their rights, is the periodical choice of their representatives. How easily that spirit may be totally extinguished, and of the degree of abject fear and slavery to which the human race may be reduced for ages, every man of reflection is sufficiently aware ; and he knows that the preservation of that feeling is, of all other objects of political science, the most delicate and the most difficult. It appears to us, that a people who did not choose their representatives, but only those

who chose their representatives, would very soon become indifferent to their elections altogether. To deprive them of their power of nominating their own candidate would be still worse. The eagerness of the people to vote is kept alive by their occasional expulsion of a candidate who has rendered himself objectionable, or the adoption of one who knows how to render himself agreeable to them. They are proud of being solicited *personally* by a man of family or wealth. The uproar even, and the confusion and the clamour of a popular election in England, have their use: they give a stamp to the names *Liberty*, *Constitution*, and *People*: they infuse sentiments which nothing but violent passions, and gross objects of sense *could* infuse; and which would never exist, perhaps, if the sober constituents were to sneak, one by one, into a notary's office to deliver their votes for a representative, or were to form the first link in that long chain of causes and effects, which, in this compound kind of elections, ends with choosing a member of Parliament.'

The first article in the second volume is a specimen of the sacrifices which are made to the taste of the aristocracy. It is almost wholly antijacobin. It is a review of the work entitled *Etat de l'Europe*, by that instrument of the Holy Alliance, Gentz. It is an elaborate display, and a general adoption, of his views, respecting the admirable governments and the prosperous condition, of the several countries of Europe, before the French Revolution; and respecting the weakness in the design, and the misery in the effects, of that great convulsion. "There was nothing in the internal situation of the European kingdoms that required such a stormy reformation, as the Revolution threatened to accomplish; and this revolution, so far from being the last link in a long chain of disasters and abuses, was, in fact, a most grievous and unexpected interruption to their career of prosperity, and can in no degree be justified by the pretended disorder and desperation of their affairs." Even in this article the other scale is not entirely forgotten. Something is thrown into it by a pointed condemnation of that popular object of attack, the partition of Poland.

A most singular species of morality is preached in the Edinburgh Review, at times: as, for instance, in the article on Belsham's *Philosophy of the Mind*, in the first volume.

'Mr. Belsham has one short argument, that whatever is true cannot be hurtful. It is the motto of his title-page, and is afterwards repeated, with equal emphasis, at every time of need. "If the doctrine be true," he contends, "the diffusion of it can do no harm. It is an established and undeniable principle, that truth must be favourable to virtue." (P. 312.) To us, however, this principle, instead of being undeniable, has always appeared the most questionable of postulates. In the declamation of Plato, or the poetry of Akenside, we admit it with little scruple, because we do not read

Plato or Akenside for the truths they may chance to contain; but we always feel more than scepticism, when we are assailed by it in a treatise of pure philosophy: nor can we account for an almost universal assent it has received, from any other circumstance, than the profession and habits of the first teachers of morals in our schools, and of the greater number of their successors. It was a maxim of religion, before it became a maxim of philosophy; though, even as a religious maxim, it formed a very inconsistent part of the optimism in which it was combined. The Deity wills happiness; he loves truth: truth therefore must be productive of good. Such is the reasoning of the optimist. But he forgets, that, in his system, error too must have been *beneficial*, because error *has been*; and that the employment of falsehood for the production of good, cannot be more unworthy of the Divine Being, than the acknowledged employment of rapine and murder for the same purpose. There is, therefore, nothing in the abstract consideration of truth and Deity, which justifies the adoption of such a maxim; and as little is it justified by our practical experience. In the small events of that familiar and hourly intercourse which forms almost the whole of human life, how much is happiness increased by the general adoption of a system of concerted and limited deceit! for it is either in that actual falsehood, which must, as falsehood, be productive of evil, or in the suppression of that truth, which, as truth, must have been productive of good, that the chief happiness of civilized *manners* consists; and he from whose doctrine it flows, that we are to be in no case hypocrites, would, in mere manners, reduce us to a degree of barbarism beyond that of the rudest savage, who, in the simple hospitalities of his hut, or the ceremonial of the public assemblies of his tribe, has still some courtesies, which he fulfils with all the exactness of polite dissimulation. In the greater events of life, how often might the advantage of erroneous belief be felt! If, for example, it were a superstition of every mind, that the murderer, immediately on the perpetration of his guilt, must himself expire by sympathy, a new motive would be added to the side of virtue; and the only circumstance to be regretted would be, not that the falsehood would produce effect, since that effect could be only serviceable, but that perhaps the good effect would not be of long duration, as it would be destroyed for ever by the rashness of the first daring experimenter. The visitation of the murderer by the nightly ghost, which exists in the superstition of so many countries, and which forms a great part of that complex and unanalysed horror with which the crime continues to be considered after the belief of the superstition itself has ceased, has probably been of more service to mankind than the truths of all the sermons that have been preached on the corresponding prohibition in the Decalogue. It is unfortunate that with this beneficial awe unnecessary horrors have been connected; for the *place* continues to be haunted, as well as the *person*; and the dread of our infancy is thus directed, rather to the supernatural appearance, than to the crime. But if superstition could exist, and be modified, at the will of an enlightened legislator, so as to be deprived of its terrors to the

innocent, and turned wholly against the guilty, we know no principle of our nature on which it would be so much for the interest of mankind to operate. It would be a species of prohibitive religion, more impressive, at the moment of beginning crime, than religion itself; because its penalties would be more conceivable and immediate. Innumerable cases may be imagined, in which other errors of belief would be of moral advantage; and we may therefore assume, as *established and undeniable*, that there is nothing in the nature of truth which makes it *necessarily* good; that, in the greater number of instances, truth is beneficial; but that, of the whole number of truths and falsehoods, a certain number are productive of good, and others of evil. To which number any particular truth or falsehood belongs, must be shown, in the usual way, by reasonings of direct experience or analogy; and hence, *in a question of utility*, the demonstration of mere logical truth cannot justly be adduced as superseding the necessity of other inquiries. Even though the contrary of that postulate which Mr. Belsham has assumed could not have been shown from *other* cases, it would not *therefore* have been applicable, without proof, to the great questions which he discusses; for these questions comprehend all the truths that are of most importance in human life, which are thus the very truths from which the justness of the assumed principle is most fully to be demonstrated or denied.'

We shall hereafter have various occasions to examine this doctrine, and to show the applications of which it is found to be susceptible, in defiance of all the jesuitry of party. We may leave it safely, at present, when we cannot afford so many words as would be necessary for its exposure, to the reflections of our readers. The public mind has now certainly got beyond this standard of ethics. On the other side, the actions consecrated as virtues by the prevailing cant, whether they have or have not any connection with the sources of human happiness, are spoken of with a reverence truly edifying: as in the article in this same volume on M. Neckar's *Reflections sur la Divorce*, where the ancients are considered very immoral for not including all the conditions, included by us, in the marriage contract; as also in the article on Madame de Stael's *Delphine*, in the second volume, where we may remark, by the way, the singular contrast between the mode in which the same lady is there treated, and in an article in a subsequent volume, in which we shall hereafter see she is held up as nearly the first of all human beings. At the latter period, however, she was in England, and in fashion too, especially with the opposition part of the fashionable world. In 1803, about ten years preceding the laudation, the language was as follows: —

' This dismal trash, which has nearly dislocated the jaws of every critic among us with gaping, has so alarmed Bonaparte, that he has seized the whole impression, sent Madame de Stael out of Paris, and,

for aught we know, sleeps in a nightcap of steel, and dagger-proof blankets. To us it appears rather an attack against the Ten Commandments, than the government of Bonaparte, and calculated not so much to enforce the rights of the Bourbons, as the benefits of adultery, murder, and a great number of other vices, which have been somehow or other strangely neglected in this country, and too much so (according to the apparent opinion of Madame de Stael) even in France.

‘ It happens, however, fortunately enough, that her book is as dull as it could have been if her intentions had been good ; for wit, dexterity, and the pleasant energies of the mind, seldom rank themselves on the side of virtue and social order ; while vice is spiritual, eloquent, and alert, ever choice in expression, happy in allusion, and judicious in arrangement.

‘ To conclude.— Our general opinion of this book is, that it is calculated to shed a mild lustre over adultery ; by gentle and convenient gradation, to destroy the modesty and the caution of women ; to facilitate the acquisition of easy vices, and encumber the difficulty of virtue. What a wretched qualification of this censure to add, that the badness of the principles is alone corrected by the badness of the style, and that this celebrated lady would have been very guilty, if she had not been very dull !’

The second volume is, we think, distinguished, by its contributions to the aristocratical politics and morality. Among the more remarkable specimens, the article on Belsham’s *Memoirs of George III.* have attracted our attention. We quote the two first paragraphs, to show the indignation with which the writing of party pamphlets under the guise of history is deemed worthy. We presume it will not be reckoned much more laudable to write party pamphlets under the guise of reviews.

‘ The preceding volumes of this history had created in our minds so little expectation of merit in those which are now presented to the world, that we cannot with propriety say that we have been disappointed. There is a fraud in the very title-page of this work ; for if the reader expects to find in the “ *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.*” any thing like an history of that period, he will soon find himself dolefully mistaken. By the illiberality, party spirit, and intemperate ardour for the propagation of his political opinions, which Mr. Belsham displays, he has forfeited the title of historian, for the more appropriate, though less respectable, name of zealot, or pamphleteer. The bitter and licentious spirit in which he had indulged his pen throughout his former volumes, has now risen to a height more intolerable to the reader and disgraceful to the writer. It appears that Mr. Belsham’s habits of writing, like all other evil habits, increase in virulence, in proportion as they proceed ; and unless the wholesome discipline of criticism be administered, the press may, at some future day, groan under a still more highly accumulated mass of personal abuse and intolerant zeal.

‘ By stripping these volumes, however, of their title to the rank of history, to which they have assuredly no more claim than a book made up of political registers and party pamphlets can pretend to, we have greatly abridged to ourselves the unpleasant task of censure; and by thus bringing their merits and defects to the decision of an inferior standard, we have allowed greater latitude to the author’s eccentric excursions, and greater indulgence to his violations of decency and propriety. It may be proper, however, to hint, that the former are always observable, when a low factious citizen comes under the cognizance of the law; and the latter, whenever a prime minister, a Tory, or an alarmist, is honoured by a mention in his annals.’

Observe with attention the notion relative to freedom of discussion inculcated in the following use of the term “libellous.”

‘ After detailing the principal articles of the petition for reform of Parliament, presented by the “Society of the Friends of the People,” this libellous oracle thus delivers itself:—

‘ “Whoever reads this celebrated petition, and still retains the opinion, that the Parliamentary representation of this kingdom needs no reform, may be regarded as in a state of mind far beyond the reach of facts or of argument.” ’

When it is remembered what that petition was — a petition to be allowed to prove at the bar of the House, a fact which is in reality too notorious to be denied, that a decided majority of the House of Commons is chosen by somewhat less than two hundred great families; and when the state of mind, which in the teeth of such a fact can deny the need of reform, is described as inaccessible to the evidence of facts or argument; — to hold forth such a description as libellous, that is, according to the law of England, punishable, worthy of fine and imprisonment, is to propagate a doctrine, the character of which we wish not to pronounce.

We request attention to the acts which in the following passage are presented to the reader under the title of “exertions” of government.

‘ We admire, too, the lofty and contemptuous style in which Mr. Belsham treats the exertions of government at that period.

‘ “Notwithstanding the great predominance of the spirit of loyalty, and the numberless addresses of duty and allegiance transmitted from all parts of the united kingdom, and the perfect security of the government, a mean and merciless spirit of revenge displayed itself in the prosecution and punishment of very many petty offenders, accused of the vague and indefinable crime of sedition — amongst whom were several printers and booksellers; so that it became extremely dangerous to publish any tract or pamphlet reflecting in any manner upon the measures of government: and the liberty of the press was silently and virtually annihilated.” ’

We should have been happy to find something in this volume,

which we could have placed in the popular, to balance the mighty weight in the opposite scale; but after turning over the pages with some attention, we have found nothing that would answer the purpose. This, be it remembered, was a period in which the aristocratical tide was running very high. When the war was just renewed with France, when the courage of volunteering, and the fear of a French invasion, were the passions of the day, aristocratical opinions alone were a marketable commodity.

It is curious to observe on what occasions the *Edinburgh Review* sometimes chooses to introduce a favourite portion of the aristocratical creed: the occasion, for example, of Bishop Watson's proposal for paying the national debt, where is inculcated the importance of keeping a large fund of the matter of corruption at the disposal of the crown.

'Besides, we confess that, sincere as our attachment is to the ancient privileges of the people, we cannot contemplate, without some alarm, so sudden a shock as the power of the crown must necessarily receive by the change. We can call the projected reduction of patronage by no other name than a violent change in the balance of the constitution; and this consideration alone should have no small weight with us, in these times, when the unhappy experience of our neighbours has so strongly recommended to practical statesmen that predilection, which every wholesome theory had long before encouraged, for the most gradual alterations in political systems.'

At this time much respect was professed for the old government of the Bourbons. Mr. Stephens, the author of "A History of the late War," is blamed for calling it tyranny and despotism. Such language is stigmatised as "revolutionary verbiage." In the article on the correspondence of Louis XVI., he is represented as having been always a friend to reform. It is affirmed, that designs against his crown had been avowed from the beginning of the Revolution; and his Christian charity is celebrated in the same sort of strain, commonly denominated cant, as would have become the class of fops described in the article in the first volume on *Rennel's Sermons*.

'A class of fops not usually designated by that epithet — men clothed in profound black, with large canes, and strange amorphous hats — of big speech, and imperative presence — talkers about Plato — great affecters of senility — despisers of women, and all the graces of life — fierce foes to common sense — abusive of the living, and approving no one who has not been dead for at least a century. Such fops, as vain, and as shallow as their fraternity in Bond-street, differ from these only as Gorgonius differed from Rusillus.'

We pass over the fourth and fifth volumes, which are in much the same spirit with the second and third, except that there seems

a disposition to avoid grappling with any important and tender subject. Political economy, indeed, obtains a due share of attention; and the abolition of the slave trade begins to be recommended, — two subjects upon which the *Edinburgh Review* has rendered important service. And upon these subjects, as well as upon that of Catholic emancipation, which has been laboriously handled, a remark is required.

These are precisely the description of subjects which suit a publication, pursuing the career which has been pursued by the *Edinburgh Review*. The hold possessed by the aristocracy upon the powers of government, was not likely to be weakened, by any opinions propagated on the subjects of political economy, and the slave trade; not even on that of Catholic emancipation; for though the anile and priest-ridden portion would certainly make a clamour, and feel apprehension for the consecrated prop, the more manly portion, having some respect for the reputation of good sense, would have little respect for matronly fears, and would neither cry down nor discard a publication which attacked them. These were subjects, therefore, on which a reputation with the liberal, the enlightened, and the disinterested part of the public, might be courted, without risking much with the aristocratical and the prejudiced.

It is curious that at this time the *Edinburgh Review* forced even political economy occasionally into prostitution to the aristocratical system. An instance is afforded, which we must briefly notice, even in one of the volumes which we said we should overlook.

At the period in question, the favourite object with the aristocracy was the pursuit of war, even with an expenditure which laughed to scorn every other specimen of national prodigality which the world had ever beheld. Towards a new argument in favour of this unparalleled waste, thousands were situated nearly like the Eastern sovereign in respect to a new pleasure; they were ready to give mines for it.

It will not be denied that a bold attempt was made to furnish such an argument in the following memorable passage: —

‘ But the evils of increasing capital, like the evils of increasing population, are felt long before the case has become extreme; and a nation, it may be observed, is much more likely (at least in the present state of commercial policy) to suffer from increasing wealth than from increasing numbers of people. Are there no checks provided by the constitution of human nature, and the construction of civil society, for the one, as well as for the other of these evils? Mr. Malthus has pointed out the manner in which the principle of population is counteracted; and we apprehend that causes nearly analogous will be found to check the progressive increase of capital. Luxurious

living, and other kinds of unnecessary expenditure — above all, political expenses, and chiefly the expenses of war — appear to us to furnish those necessary checks to the indefinite augmentation of wealth, which there was reason *a priori* to suppose would be somewhere provided by the wise regulations of nature.’

It is not the incorrect political economy which we here mean to expose. Other occasions will present themselves for that purpose. What we wish should obtain attention is, the spirit which is manifested by the declaration, that “a nation, situated as ours, is much more likely to suffer from increasing wealth, than from increasing numbers of people:” and that in such circumstances, the expenses of war are a blessing!

We shall have many occasions to point out where the Edinburgh Review has lavished the language of condemnation upon the extravagance of ministers. Can we contemplate a more perfect specimen of seesaw, than this?

In the sixth volume, and in the year 1805, (we think it material to notice the time) a counterpoise begins to be placed in the popular scale, which had long remained so unequally supplied.

In reviewing Talleyrand *Sur les Colonies*, &c., they introduce a paragraph in favour of that which the few, by whom the powers of government are usurped, have so much occasion to dread; the prevalence of enlightened principles, persecuted, under the name of theory, by the said few, the patrons of practice, and eulogisers of “things as they are.”

‘The papers now before us, are evidently dictated by this train of reflection; but they have assumed a more general form, and contain a variety of discussions upon the principles of colonization. Independent of the epigrammatic force and eloquence of their style, and of their more substantial merits as sound and ingenious speculations upon a subject of equal difficulty and importance, they cannot fail to interest us in their practical applications. They were the result of actual observation in countries where the author had access to the best information, or was actually engaged in affairs. They were drawn up with a view to influence the conduct of France, under a government in which he soon after bore an active part. Subsequent events prove, that they were not without effect in shaping the measures of that ambitious power. These tracts, it should be observed, however, appear in a form purely speculative; their reasonings are general and philosophical; formed indeed upon facts, but guided by large, scientific views; by an appeal to principles at every step; and by the kind of argument that inferior statesmen deride as theoretical, while their adversaries are conquering the world by the combinations to which it leads. The views of political economy by which our author seems to have been guided, are liberal and enlightened. He knows thoroughly the best doctrines of the science, and is fully impressed with their truth. It will be difficult indeed for our readers to believe that

the writer of some of the passages which we mean to extract, is a leading personage in the present fiscal administration of France. And, however much the recollection may lead us to lament so striking an instance of talents and knowledge enslaved by sordid principles, it is comfortable to think, that there are, among the rulers of that country, some whose lights are superior to their conduct, and that the justness of their original views may one day triumph over the gross ignorance and petty ambition of their more powerful co-adjutors.'

The article on "Bailly's Memoirs" is in a tone much more in opposition to the antijacobin spirit, than any thing which occurs before. The following passage seesaws pretty remarkably with some already produced. Having spoken of the occasion which had been taken from the French Revolution to "involve in discredit the principles of political philosophy, to give strength to prejudices, and to sanction abuses," it goes on: —

'The same circumstances which have thus led us to confound what is salutary with what is pernicious in our establishments, have also perverted our judgments as to the characters of those who were connected with these memorable occurrences. The tide of popular favour, which ran at one time with a dangerous and headlong violence to the side of innovation and political experiment, has now set, perhaps too strongly, in an opposite direction; and the same misguiding passions that placed factious and selfish men on a level with patriots and heroes, has now ranked the blameless and the enlightened in the herd of murderers and madmen.

'There are two classes of men, in particular, to whom it appears to us that the Revolution has thus done injustice, and who have been made to share in some measure the infamy of its most detestable agents, in consequence of venial errors, and in spite of extraordinary merits. There are none indeed who made a figure in its more advanced stages, that may not be left without any great breach of charity, to the vengeance of public opinion: and both the descriptions of persons to whom we have alluded only existed, accordingly, at the period of its commencement. These were the philosophers or speculative men, who inculcated a love of liberty and a desire of reform by their writings and conversation; and the virtuous and moderate, who attempted to *act* upon these principles, at the outset of the Revolution, and countenanced or suggested those measures by which the ancient frame of the government was eventually dissolved. To confound either of these classes of men with the monsters by whom they were succeeded, it would be necessary to forget that they were in reality their most strenuous opponents, and their earliest victims. If they were instrumental in conjuring up the tempest, we may at least presume that their co-operation was granted in ignorance, since they were the first to fall before it; and can scarcely be supposed to have either foreseen or intended those consequences, in which their own ruin was so inevitably involved. That they are chargeable with imprudence and with presumption, may be affirmed, perhaps, without fear of contra-

diction; though, with regard to many of them, it would be no easy task, perhaps, to point out by what conduct they could have avoided such an imputation; and this charge, it is manifest, ought at any rate to be kept carefully separate from that of guilt or atrocity. Benevolent intentions, though alloyed by vanity, and misguided by ignorance, can never become the objects of the highest moral reprobation; and enthusiasm itself, though it does the work of the demons, ought still to be distinguished from treachery or malice. The knightly adventurer, who broke the chains of the galley-slaves, purely that they might enjoy their deliverance from bondage, will always be regarded with other feelings than the robber who freed them to recruit the ranks of his banditti.'

This article is in itself as instructive an example as can be found, of the craft and mystery of compromise; of trimming, and seesaw. If one sentence is in favour of truth and freedom, another is in favour of prejudice and servility. To balance such passages as the former, we have others, in the following strain:—

'We are very much inclined to do justice to the virtuous and enlightened men who abounded in the constituent assembly of France. We believe that the motives of many of them were pure, and their patriotism unaffected: their talents are still more indisputable; but we cannot acquit them of blameable presumption and inexcusable imprudence. There are *three* points, it appears to us, in particular, in which they were bound to have foreseen the consequences of their proceedings.

'In the *first* place, the spirit of exasperation, defiance, and intimidation, with which from the beginning they carried on their opposition to the schemes of the court, the clergy, and the nobility, appears to us to have been as impolitic with a view to their ultimate success, as it was suspicious perhaps as to their immediate motives. The parade which they made of their popularity; the support which they submitted to receive from the menaces and acclamations of the mob; the joy which they testified at the desertion of the royal armies; and the anomalous military force, of which they patronised the formation in the city of Paris, were so many preparations for actual hostility, and led almost inevitably to that appeal to force, by which all prospect of establishing an equitable government was finally cut off. Sanguine as the patriots of that assembly undoubtedly were, they might still have been able to remember the most obvious and important lesson in the whole volume of history, that the nation which has recourse to arms for the settlement of its internal affairs necessarily falls under the iron yoke of a military government in the end, and that nothing but the most evident necessity can justify the lovers of freedom in forcing it from the hands of their governors. In France, there certainly was no such necessity.'

The following passage is a laboured panegyric upon the actual composition of the English House of Commons: with the declaration of a general principle worthy of all admiration:

No representative legislature, it appears to us, can ever be respectable or secure, unless it contain within itself a great proportion of those who form the natural aristocracy of the country, and are able, as individuals, to influence the conduct and opinions of the greater part of its inhabitants. Unless the power, and weight, and authority of the assembly, in short, be really made up of the power, and weight, and authority of the individuals who compose it, the factitious dignity they may derive from their situation can never be of long endurance; and the dangerous power with which they may be invested, will become the subject of scrambling and contention among the factions of the metropolis, and be employed for any purpose but the general good of the community.

In England, the House of Commons is made up of the individuals who, by birth, by fortune, or by talents, possess singly the greatest influence over the rest of the people. The most certain and the most permanent influence, is that of rank and of riches; and these are the qualifications, accordingly, which return the greatest number of members. Men submit to be governed by the united will of those, to whose will, as individuals, the greater part of them have been previously accustomed to submit themselves; and an act of parliament is revered and obeyed, not because the people are impressed with a constitutional veneration for an institution called a Parliament, but because it has been passed by the authority of those who are recognised as their natural superiors, and by whose influence, as individuals, the same measures might have been enforced over the greater part of the kingdom. Scarcely any new power is acquired, therefore, by the combination of those persons into a legislature: they carry each their share of influence and authority into the senate along with them; and it is by adding the items of it together, that the influence and authority of the senate itself is made up. From such a senate, therefore, it is obvious that their power can never be wrested, and that it would not even attach to those who might succeed in supplanting them in the legislature, by violence or intrigue, or by any other means than those by which they themselves had originally secured their nomination. In such a state of representation, in short, the influence of the representatives is not borrowed from their office, but the influence of the office is supported by that which is personal to its members; and Parliament is only regarded as the great depository of all the authority which formerly existed, in a scattered state, among its members. This authority, therefore, belonging to the men, and not to their places, can neither be lost by them, if they are forced from their places, nor found by those who may supplant them. The Long Parliament, after it was purged by the Independents, and the assemblies that met under that name, during the Protectorate of Cromwell, held the place, and enjoyed all the form of power that had belonged to their predecessors; but as they no longer contained those individuals who were able to sway and influence the opinion of the body of the people, they were without respect or authority, and speedily came to be the objects of public derision and contempt.

‘ As the power and authority of a legislature thus constituted is perfectly secure and inalienable on the one hand, so, on the other, the moderation of its proceedings is guaranteed by a consciousness of the basis upon which this authority is founded. Every individual being aware of the extent to which his own influence is likely to reach among his constituents and dependants, is anxious that the mandates of the body shall never pass beyond that limit within which obedience may be easily secured. He will not hazard the loss of his own power, therefore, by any attempt to enlarge that of the legislature; and feeling, at every step, the weight and resistance of the people, the whole assembly proceeds with a due regard to their opinions and prejudices, and can never do any thing very injurious or very distasteful to the majority. From the very nature of the authority with which they are invested, they are in fact consubstantiated with the people for whom they are to legislate. They do not sit loose upon them, like riders on inferior animals; nor speculate nor project experiments upon their welfare, like operators upon a foreign substance. They are the natural organs of a great living body; and are not only warned, by their own feelings, of any injury which they may be tempted to inflict on it, but would become incapable of performing their functions, if they were to proceed far in debilitating the general system.

‘ Such, it appears to us, though delivered perhaps in too abstract and elementary a form, is the just conception of a free representative legislature.’

There is a return to the malignant language of antijacobinism, in the review of the “Continuation of Belsham’s History of Great Britain,” in the same sixth volume.

‘ The events which took place in the Neapolitan territory, after the French armies had been driven from Italy by the victorious Suvaroff, are narrated with considerable spirit; but in a manner which betrays the author’s decided predilection for the Revolutionists, and his detestation of all by whom the interests of the Royal party were espoused. His narrative is faithfully taken from the “Sketches” of the excellent Helen Maria Williams; of course he becomes quite impassioned, and by far too noisy, for the propriety of history. That the Neapolitans were incapable of enjoying a free government, he is, however, obliged to admit: it follows, therefore, that the project of a republican constitution was as absurd as it was wicked; and that the only remedy against greater evils, was the re-establishment of the government which had been unwarrantably pulled down. But although we are not disposed to weep with Mr. Belsham over the prostrate democracy of Naples, we are not therefore inclined either to justify or palliate the excesses of those by whom it was overthrown. It must, however, be recollected, that the Royal government, in a justificatory memorial which it afterwards published, strongly disavows the charge of proscription; but our author neither adverts to this or any other document,—having gone no farther, apparently, in search of authorities, than to the said Sketches of Miss Williams.

‘ From these excursive details our historian then returns to objects more immediately connected with British annals ; but it is only for a little while that he stops to shed the lights of history upon our dark and disordered political system ; for he soon starts away to expatiate upon topics which seem to have greater charms for him. Meantime, he adverts to the expedition to Holland in 1799 ; the account of which is done up from the disaffected newspapers of that time, in Mr. Belsham’s own happy manner. It seems, indeed, not to be so much the intention of our historian to give a just account of the objects of that expedition, and the real causes of its failure, as to sneer at the military talents, and ridicule the despatches of the British commander-in-chief.’

Think of “ disaffected newspapers,” and “ the military talents of the British commander-in-chief” ! It seems as if a page of a ministerial daily paper, had slipped into our hands.

From the sixth to the ninth volume, there is nearly a blank with regard to the great branch of politics, the securities for good government. In the ninth volume, there is an article which goes over a great part of the field of government, and which, beside the usual characteristic of being on both sides of the question, is one of the most remarkable specimens of the use of words without ideas, and of forms of expression covering ignorance with the semblance of knowledge, that we could at present point out, fashionable, and popular, and of course prevalent, as this mode of composition is. We present the following passage in proof of our remark : —

‘ It has sometimes struck us, that the bias which is found in some theoretical writers upon legislation in favour of established systems, and in others towards changes, may partly be accounted for by the character of the country and government for which their labours were designed. In the ancient republics, the sovereignty was generally exercised by the whole body of the people, liable to the natural turbulence and instability of all democracies, and, in those of Greece, to a certain constitutional levity in the national character. The beautiful fabrics of civil polity might be swept away by the surge of a moment, whenever the factious, who loved sedition, or the ambitious, who aimed at tyranny, should rouse the madness of the multitude. Against these perils of innovation it was difficult to devise a barrier compatible with the supremacy of the public will. The legislators of antiquity were not, however, deficient in their endeavours to secure the stability of their institutions. The proposer of a new law among the Locrians, we are told by Demosthenes, *wore a rope about his neck* ; if it failed of adoption, his life was an instant sacrifice to the sanctity of the established constitution. Less violent, yet powerful, checks were imposed by the laws of Athens and Rome. The people, jealous as they were in the extreme of their legislative rights, submitted to a previous negative in the *Nomothetæ* of the one, and in the senate of the other. At Rome, indeed, this corrective of

innovation was, in a great degree, done away by the plebiscita, which passed by a vote of the tribes, without the authority of the senate, and acquired, at a pretty early period, the complete force of what were more strictly called laws. But there was yet another tie by which the prudence of ancient legislators bound together the systems they had framed. This was superstition. They called in a force to which the physical power of the multitude must yield, and appealed to an authority by which its acknowledged sovereignty might be lawfully controlled. For them the voice of the gods was raised in oracles; for them the mysterious symbols of fate were displayed in auguries; to them the divinities of woods and fountains taught more than fallible wisdom could have discovered. The worship, the ceremonies, and processions of antiquity, were mingled with the laws of civil regimen, and cast over them a veil of reverence and regard that made innovation sacrilege. None but the patrician families could tend the sacred chickens of the augural college. The privilege may not seem invaluable. But if it was declared that these chickens refused to eat, an assembly of the people was that instant dissolved, their clamours silenced, their leaders appalled, and not a wreck left behind of the clouds that hung over the public tranquillity. And this distinction was the last to fall before the gradual progress of the plebeian claims.

‘ In absolute monarchies, on the contrary, the genius of the constitution, and commonly the prejudices of the people, resist with a sort of inert force every species of innovation. Theoretical writers are therefore led to throw their weight into the opposite scale, and to counteract that ‘ froward retention of custom’ which baffles all their schemes of public improvement. The abuses likewise of such governments are commonly much more flagrant, and the grievances more substantial, than in those of a republican form; and while these naturally rouse the indignation of enlightened and patriotic men, the dangers of that turbulent fermentation, which is apt to attend political change, seem generally far less, where the prince, and not the people, administers the remedy. During part of the last century kings aspired to be philosophers, or listened at least to those who bore the name; some looked for power, and some for reputation, in the destruction of ancient usages. The fancy of the theorist was inflamed; his projects became more extensive and less gradual, when he had but to persuade a single man of their possibility and excellence. It may be noted, that although innovations are rare in absolute monarchies, yet when they do take place, they are likely to be almost as sweeping and as sudden as in democracies themselves. For these forms of government, as Mr. Burke has well remarked from Aristotle, have striking points of resemblance in their arbitrary nature and their disregard of private rights. The promulgation of a legislative code by a single edict, changing at once, upon however specious principles, the ancient customs of a nation, associated with all their notions of right, especially as to property;—prejudices which it is so dangerous to disturb; interwoven with the plans of so many individuals for their domestic happiness; familiar, by long habit, to the popular under-

standing, and accommodated, in all those petty occasions which cannot be foreseen, to the exigencies of social life;— is a piece of infatuation and tyranny which none, one would think, but a prince in the barren ignorance of the purple, or a ‘bookish theorique’ in the presumptuousness of speculation, could approve. Yet Filangieri admires the celebrated project of Catharine, her philosophical code of Russian laws, and the absurd mockery of delegation from the dispersed and ignorant boors of her vast empire. ‘She left to her kingdom the choice of its delegates, and consequently of its legislators. Under such circumstances, not a single peasant could doubt of the value of the new code, or could hesitate a moment on the preference between it and the ancient system.’ The total neglect into which we understand this code to have fallen, is an answer to such an absurdity. We are far from charging Filangieri with that infatuated abhorrence of existing institutions which distinguished the early times of the French revolution. In certain passages he appears aware that reformations cannot be hastily taken up or suddenly executed. But the general bias of his schemes is, to make all provision against the sluggish spirit which adheres to every thing that is old, and very little against the turbulent spirit which grasps at every thing that is new. His institutions are laid out for a free government; but he lived under arbitrary power, and naturally thought most of the evils which he saw around him. From this error, and from one very common with speculative men, that of attributing more wisdom, and virtue, and influence, to the imaginary magistrate, than a real individual will ever possess, we find positions advanced, from which we shrink as wild and dangerous, and projects brought forward which appear visionary and absurd. Let the following be a specimen.

‘ “ The first step to be taken is to create in the public a wish for the proposed reformation. A change in the constitution of a country is not the work of a moment; and to prepare the way for it, the inclinations of the people should be gradually led towards it. They should be made fully sensible of the inefficacy of their established laws, and be convinced their hardships and oppressions are owing to them. The ablest writers should be employed to state the errors and inconveniences of the old system, and the propriety as well as the necessity of abolishing it, and adopting a more advantageous one. When these efforts are successful, and the public wish is united with the force of government, one of the greatest obstacles is surmounted, and there is no reason for any further apprehensions from a passionate and ungovernable attachment of the multitude to their ancient usages. ***** When this first step is taken, another naturally follows. Having prejudiced the public opinion against its ancient laws, it should be inspired with a confidence in the proposed ones; and the arguments intended to produce this necessary predilection, ought to be plain and striking, and, in some degree, flowing from the public sentiments,” &c. (Vol. I. 57.)

We invite our readers to try, as a useful exercise, what ideas they can extract from this passage: or what explicit principle of

approbation or disapprobation for any species of institution. The seesaw here is so rapid, that, as in the swift succession of the prismatic colours, the mixture becomes confusion. The ancient republics are "beautiful fabrics of civil polity," but nevertheless such wretched fabrics, that "they might be swept away by the surge of a moment, whenever the factious who loved sedition, or the ambitious who aimed at tyranny, should rouse the madness of the multitude." There is a class of writers who love change, and a class who hate it, seemingly for its own sake. We are sorry the writer did not inform us where they are to be found. From habit, and from the love of ease, all men are averse to change, where the prospect of some considerable good is not presented to them. Under a long-continued system of misrule, those who profit by it are averse to change from self-interest, those who suffer by it from bad education. Men of no description are anxious for a change, but from the hope of advantage. Is the prospect of advantage not a legitimate principle of action? Why does the *Edinburgh Review* endeavour by vague imputations to throw discredit upon that which is the source of every benefit to man? Every improvement is change. Why, instead of language which deserves no better name than that of aristocratical slang, did it not give us some principle by which to distinguish the advantages which are yet to be pursued, and which ought to engage all our ardour, from those which are more imaginary than real, and which may not be worth what must be risked in the pursuit of them?

We quote the following passage for the sake of contrasting it with an opinion, the support of which is exceedingly laboured in the next volume.

'The predominant character of the British system of government, though it is essentially republican, is certainly rather adverse than favourable to innovation. It partakes, indeed, rather of the nature of an aristocracy, on a very large and liberal basis, than of any other polity; and the genius of an aristocratic commonwealth is of all others the most hostile to any change. Though the direct share of the monarch in legislation has become nominal, that of the House of Peers is very real and effective; and, on looking narrowly into the spirit which has generally actuated that assembly, we shall perceive, that new projects in legislation have encountered a very marked discouragement within its walls.'

Hear now what is said, at p. 413. of vol. x. —

'The balance of the constitution now exists, in a great degree, in the House of Commons; and that assembly possesses nearly the whole legislative authority.'

The following is the same idea more expanded —

‘ The advantages of this arrangement are, as we have already intimated, — that the collision and shock of the three rival principles, is either prevented or prodigiously softened by this early mixture of their elements, — that by converting those sudden and successive checks into one regulating and graduated pressure, their operation becomes infinitely more smooth and manageable, and no longer proceeds by jerks and bounds that might endanger the safety of the machine, — while its movements, instead of being fractured and impeded by the irregular impulses of opposite forces, slide quietly to the mark, in the diagonal produced by their original combination.’

‘ We have stated already, that the prospect of these advantages probably operated, in part, to produce the arrangement which ensured them ; but it was dictated, no doubt, by more urgent considerations, and indeed, as we think, by a necessity which could not be resisted. The great object to be accomplished, was not so much to save the House of Commons from the mortification of having their bills stopped by the Lords, or rejected by the Sovereign, as to protect these two estates from the hazard to which they might be exposed from the direct exercise of this privilege. By the vast and rapid increase of wealth and intelligence in the country at large, the consideration and relative authority of that branch of the government which stands most in connexion with it, was suddenly and prodigiously enlarged. The very circumstance of its being open to talent and ambition, ensured a greater proportion of ability and exertion in its members ; and their numbers and the popularity of their name and character, all contributed to give their determinations a degree of weight and authority, against which it would no longer have been safe for any other power to have risked an opposition. No ministry, for a hundred years back, has had courage to interpose the royal negative to any measure which has passed through the Houses of Parliament, even by narrow majorities ; and there is no thinking man, who can contemplate, without dismay, the probable consequences of such a resistance, where the House of Commons had been zealous and nearly unanimous. It is needless to say, that the House of Lords would oppose a still feebler barrier to such a measure of popular legislation. In order to exercise their constitutional functions with safety, therefore, it became necessary for the king and the great families to exercise them in the lower house, — not *against* the united commons of England, but *among* them ; and not in their own character, and directly, — but covertly, and mingled with those whom it was substantially their interest and their duty to control.

‘ It is thus, as it appears to us, that the balance which was in danger of being lost through the increasing power and influence of the lower house, has been saved by being transferred into that assembly ; and that all that was essentially valuable in the constitution, has been secured by a silent but very important change in its mode of operation. This change we take to be, that the influence of the crown, and of the old aristocracy, is now exerted in that house by means of members sent there to support that influence ; and that, in that

house, as the great depository of the political power of the nation, and the virtual representative of the whole three estates, the chief virtue and force of the government is now habitually resident.

‘ This last conclusion, we are persuaded, will not appear either rash or hazardous to those who consider the exclusive power which is now almost formally yielded to the House of Commons, with regard to the supplies; and the admitted impossibility of going on in the administration of the government, without the support of a decided and permanent majority of its members.’

To the last sentence is appended the following note: —

‘ See Hume’s *Essay on the Independency of Parliament*; the very basis of which is, that the House of Commons absolutely commands all the other parts of the government, and may, when it pleases, swallow up the rest, and engross the whole power of the constitution.’

To this theory of the constitution, and the consequences which these reviewers deduce from it, namely, that the usurpation which has been effected upon the people’s rights to place and displace, and exercise an efficient control over, the members of the house of commons, is salutary and desirable, we shall take a future opportunity of replying. On this, above all subjects, delusion is fatal; proportional pains will therefore be requisite both to discover true principles, and to make them clearly seen by the public. The little which we can afford to add to the present article, must be employed in exhibiting a few specimens more of that leading feature in the character of the *Review* which has occupied our attention in several of the more immediately preceding pages.

We shall pass on to a period when the *Review* thought expedient a much higher language on the side of the people, than it had ventured on before. The whole of the article entitled “ *On the Rights and Duties of the People,*” in the twentieth volume, though much of the language is still vague and slippery, may be given as a specimen of the new lengths which it was not scrupled, at this particular time, to go in opposition to aristocratical interests.

According to the following passage, though it had, in the previous paragraph, been allowed, that the principle of representation is the grand secret for good government, yet it is maintained, that for the people to let the powers of government out of their own hands, even to real representatives, is attended with imminent danger.

‘ With all these blessings, however, and they are as undeniable as they are important, the plan of delegated authority is liable to several objections — not, indeed, such as greatly to detract from its merits — but such as are well adapted to keep our jealousy awake to its abuses. It may be enough to mention one, into which indeed

almost all the others resolve themselves. The delegation of the greatest of all trusts, that of government, necessarily implies a surrender of the function itself, and with the function much of the power — and leaves the people, in some degree, at the mercy of those whom they choose for their trustees, during the whole term of the appointment. Hence the danger of those trustees abusing their delegated authority in such a manner as to weaken the control of the people over them — and, by rendering themselves more powerful and less accountable, to make the resumption of the trust more difficult. It is quite manifest, therefore, that there is nothing of which the Constitution, in a state like England, ought to be more jealous, than any step towards independence on the part of the representatives — any attempt of theirs to acquire a substantive and separate authority — either an existence not created, or attributes not bestowed by the people. From so self-evident a maxim we may deduce all the arguments in favour of parliamentary reform — all the observations which place in the strongest light the abuses in our representative system — the principles which render the septennial act by far the greatest mockery of popular rights, and breach of common good faith that ever was committed by the governors to the governed — the grounds upon which the exclusion of so many of the community from all share in the government, and the usurpation of the elective franchise by the few, are demonstrably shown to be a mere subversion of the very purpose and meaning of representation.'

The main object of the article is to maintain the utility of meetings of the people in large bodies, to declare their opinions on public measures and men. The following is a curious passage: —

'It is quite true that the adoption or rejection of specific measures ought in no case to be left with the bulk of the people. But it is equally true, that the people have a right to deliberate on specific measures — to discuss them individually and in bodies — to express the result of those deliberations, and to tender to the Legislature and the Executive Government their opinion, their advice, nay, the free expression of their wishes upon all matters of public import. This is the sacred inalienable right of the English people — it is theirs as they are freemen — it is theirs as they are both the fountain and the object of all government — it is a right, the invasion of which we conscientiously hold to form an extreme case — a case, perhaps, more easy than safe to discuss; and one which all lovers of their country, and friends to the peace and good order of society, must fervently pray against ever living to see practically moved. This right, however, was actually violated by Mr. Pitt — by the very man who did not scruple to invade the first principles of the representative system on the opposite quarter, by taking the sense of the country on a particular measure. He was the first minister who ever dared abridge the rights of Englishmen to discuss their own affairs.'

The people of England, according to this paragraph, ought to have taken arms against the government, and to have appealed to Heaven, when their rights were invaded as they were by Mr. Pitt.

After various observations to shew the importance of meetings held by the people to overawe their representatives, however purely elected, comes the following picture of the actual state.

‘ We have all along been reasoning upon the supposition that the parliament is really, and not in name only, a representation of the people — that its members are chosen by the nation at large — that its deliberations are the result of discussions among delegates appointed by those whose business they are to manage — that the choice of them is free, and the trust so often renewed, as to give the elector, by the mere act of election or rejection, some control over the deputy — that the representative body consists of persons sent, on the part of the nation, to resist the encroachments of the crown and the aristocracy, and not in any considerable number, of persons chosen by the crown and Aristocracy to play into their hands, and betray the people under the disguise of their trustees. But how greatly is the force of the argument increased by the actual state of the representation? Who shall say that a parliament, chosen as ours really is, requires no looking after? Who shall tell us that the crown requires no watching from the people themselves; when their regular watchmen are some of them named, and more of them paid, by the crown itself? Who shall be permitted to question the necessity of the people deliberating about their own affairs in their own persons, when such vast masses of them are wholly deprived of the elective franchise, and destitute of any semblance of representatives to speak their wishes, or to transact their business? ’

‘ The history of last session, fruitful as it is in lessons of political wisdom, offers none more striking than the one which it reads to us upon this important subject. The most weighty interests discussed in parliament were those of the manufacturing districts. The bread of hundreds of thousands was in question; and the two houses were occupied for many weeks in discussing their grievances. Those persons composed the population of Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Wakefield, Halifax, Boulton, Bury, Glasgow, and other places. Not one of those towns, some of them containing 100,000 inhabitants, has a single representative in parliament, except Glasgow; — and Glasgow is *represented* (if the abuse of language may be tolerated) by its corporation uniting with three other corporations, and the whole four sets of magistrates choosing one member; but so that the other three at all times (and two of them every other parliament) may return the member, and leave Glasgow wholly out of the question. Now, in what manner could those great and most important bodies of men have made themselves heard but through the public meetings, which they wisely and constitutionally held to discuss their grievances? In no other way could they have each obtained a hearing, or established a correspondence with.

a temporary representative: — But surely in no other way could they have gained the point, which they did so nobly carry with the legislature and the executive government. In specifying these towns, we have enumerated the greater part, by far, of the manufacturing interests of England; — and they are all without local representatives in parliament. Is it asking too much, to demand that they may use freely the only means left them of sharing in the public councils — of influencing the measures for which they pay so dearly in all ways — and assemble from time to time in order to communicate with each other, and with the government, upon the matters so imminently affecting them? In truth, while so many vast branches of the community are wholly deprived of all share in the representation — while so many members of parliament owe their existence to private nomination — while the electors, who exercise their franchise the most amply, have only an opportunity once in six or seven years of changing their delegate — and while the enormous patronage vested in the crown, strews with tempting baits the whole floor of the House, and besets every avenue to it with promises and threats — he must be a stubborn lover of despotism indeed, who can deny that the people betray their own cause, and have themselves to blame for the mismanagement of their affairs, if they cease to discuss and speak out their own minds upon all fit occasions. Such a parliament *must* be aided by the watchful eyes of the country. If the people slumber themselves, let them not vainly hope that their *representatives* will be very vigilant, or very successful in the public cause, whatever they may be in their own.'

On the other hand, here is a passage in the very same number (xl.), which, though it is somewhat misty and oracular, nevertheless contains a view of the *beau idéal* in government, well calculated to administer consolation to the holders of aristocratical power.

'The great point, then, is to ensure a free, an authoritative, and an uninterrupted communication between the ostensible administrators of the national power, and its actual constituents and depositories; and the chief distinction between a good and a bad government consists in the degree in which it affords the means of such a communication. The main end of government to be sure is, that wise laws should be enacted and enforced; but such is the condition of human infirmity, that the hazards of sanguinary contentions about the exercise of power is a much greater and more imminent evil, than a considerable obstruction in the making or execution of the laws; and the best government therefore is, not that which promises to make the best laws, and to enforce them most vigorously, but that which guards best against the tremendous conflicts to which all administrations of government, and all exercise of political power is apt to give rise. It happens, fortunately indeed, that the same arrangements which most effectually ensure the peace of society against those disorders, are also, on the whole, the best calculated for the purposes of wise and efficient legislation. But we do not hesitate to look upon their

negative or preventive virtues as of a far higher cast than their positive and active ones; and to consider a representative legislature to be incomparably of more value when it truly represents the efficient force of the nation in controlling and directing the executive, than when it merely enacts wholesome statutes in its legislative capacity.

‘The result of the whole then is, that in a civilized and enlightened country, the actual power of the State resides in the great body of the people, and especially among the more wealthy and intelligent in all the different ranks of which it consists; and consequently, that the administration of the government can never be either safe or happy, unless it be conformable to the wishes and sentiments of that great body; while there is little chance of its answering either of these conditions, unless the forms of the constitution provide some means for the regular, constant, and authentic expression of their sentiments, — to which, when so expressed, it is the undoubted duty and obvious interest of the executive to conform. A Parliament, therefore, which really and truly represents the sense and opinions — we mean the general and mature sense, not the occasional prejudices and fleeting passions — of the efficient body of the people, and which watches over and effectually controls every important act of the executive magistrate, is necessary, in a country like this, for the tranquillity of the government, and the ultimate safety of the monarchy itself, — much more even than for the enactment of the laws; and, in proportion as it varies from this description, or relaxes in this control, will the peace of the country and the security of the government be endangered.’

This description corresponds to what one might call a good Whig parliament; which, though it would turn out the ministry, and put in their opponents, would be much more careful to prevent any radical change, than it would be to make good laws.

The contradictions involved in this description deserve particular attention. “The main end of government, to be sure, is, that wise laws should be enacted and enforced.” The best government, however, is a government which has an end more highly valued than its main end.

Was obscurity studied, or were the ideas of the writer far from clear, when he said, “We do not hesitate to consider a representative legislature to be incomparably of more value when it truly represents the efficient force of the nation in controlling and directing the executive, than when it merely enacts wholesome statutes in its legislative capacity?” — The illustration of this topic will be completed by specimens from the succeeding numbers of the Review, in our next publication, when other characteristics of the work will come under review.

2. *The Quarterly Review*, No. LVIII. — *Faux's Memorable Days in America.*

OUR brief notice of the recent travels through the Anglo-American United States had just been printed off, when the *Quarterly Review* for December made its appearance; and as it contains a long article on "Faux's Memorable Days," a fitter opportunity could scarcely have presented itself for estimating the candour, knowledge, and integrity of that Review,—and for developing the process by which it fabricates a representation calculated to flatter the passions and prejudices of those who entertain an instinctive hatred of responsible and economical government.

The writer seems absolutely delirious with joy at finding in Mr. Faux's journal, what any intelligent and reflecting person might easily have anticipated, and what we have distinctly admitted in our introductory remarks on emigration; viz. that every one who emigrates to or resides in a newly settled and thinly peopled country must, though assured of an adequate subsistence, submit to great physical inconvenience and privation,—that his security for person or property will not be of so high an order as in some older established communities, the slender means of the new society not admitting of an efficient judicature and police, and the absence of neighbourhood rendering character of comparatively little importance,—and that without assiduous industry he can never attain a situation of tolerable comfort.

In order that persons disposed to emigrate might know precisely what amount of inconvenience and peril they would have to encounter, we have extracted from Mr. Faux the most aggravated and best authenticated instances of both kinds of annoyance, rendering them occasionally more prominent by italic type; and, allowing for all these detractions from the advantage of ceasing to feel anxiety on the score of subsistence, or the actual pangs of hunger, we have indicated the class of persons who alone can better their situation by emigration to such a country.

After the general admissions contained in our outset, it would have been superfluous to have loaded our pages with multiplied instances in detail; but had we been disposed to do this, so many of those mentioned by Faux rest upon mere hearsay or the assertions of loose talkers, that the number of authentic facts would not have been considerably increased.

Now how has the writer in the *Quarterly Review* constructed

his article? Thirty-two pages, — the whole of this lengthy performance, — has he nearly filled with extracts from Faux, containing the details of individual instances of ferocity, violence, knavery, boasting and vulgarity, disappointment, failure, despondency, bad soils, bad climates, bad food, discomfort, dirt, and barbarism, — all on the debtor side of the account, without hinting at the existence of a single item on the creditor side. In Mr. Faux's journal the good and evil are pretty equally blended; descriptions of kindly soils, of successful and satisfied industry, of generosity, liberal feeling, and integrity, and of the good effects of an economical form of government, are neither unfrequent nor ill attested; indications are given of the cause of failure in many cases of disappointment: but of all this, not one word from the writer in this Review, — it would not have suited his purpose; which, from his sneers at the "Land of Freedom," and irrepressible expressions of hatred towards republican government, we may fairly assume to be, an endeavour to persuade the reader that the evils, physical and moral, inseparable from every infant state of society, are altogether the result of American institutions, or rather of the absence of a certain institution; for in the want of an established church, the Quarterly reviewer discovers the cause of every offence committed in the United States. (p. 369.) Without religion, says he, there can be no morals; without an established church there can be no religion! — at least, none that will suit this gentleman. The only religious people are those who take upon trust all that their parish priest delivers, — who, without bestowing a single thought on religion or the evidence adduced in support of it, say their prayers, go to church, nod through half the service, and pay tithes without a murmur. Those who investigate a little, — who differ from what said parish priest chooses to lay down, — who doubt the Athanasian creed, or any of the thirty-nine articles, — who are depressed with the fear of eternal flames, or elevated with the hope of eternal pleasure, — these are all, according to the charitable and expanded views of the Quarterly Review, infidels or fanatics! (p. 369.) Whatever may be the effects of religion in general as a sanction for morals, this writer himself affords a striking instance, that "that pure and reformed branch of it," the established church, is not competent to compel the observance of truth among its acquiescent votaries. *He* is no doubt an eminently pious and churchgoing man, and he is sufficiently instructed to be aware that there are many modes of making a mendacious statement besides the simple process of mendacious invention. *Suppressio veri est expressio falsi.* There is the *false by omission*, as well as the *false by substitution*; and of all modes of falsehood, the *false*

by omission is the most deceptive, because it contains to a certain extent the elements of truth.

Now a more base and mischievous falsehood than that conveyed by the totality of the article now under consideration, it is impossible to conceive; base, because in the face of repeatedly conflicting statements contained in the very book referred to, the reader of the article is induced to believe that the book contains none but unfavourable representations, and he is told (p. 368.), that the reviewer has given “but the smallest portion of the unfavourable account of the American population;” — mischievous, because by every species of insolence and contempt, endeavours are made to exasperate against each other two nations who have the strongest interest in preserving the relations of friendship.

So much for the candour and integrity of our Tory scribe! Now for his knowledge, and the value of the materials with which he has filled his thirty-two pages.

Who — unless it be one whose intellect has been blinded by existing abuses — is ignorant of the leading principles which assign the various degrees of trustworthiness to the various species of evidence; of the difference between primary and secondary evidence, between direct testimony and *hearsay*? What child does not know that in passing from mouth to mouth every story either gains or loses so much, that after a certain number of transmissions it is often difficult to recognize the original narrative? Now at least one half of the facts selected with such care by the Quarterly Review from Faux’s journal, rest, not upon Faux’s own observation and direct testimony, but upon no better evidence than mere hearsay, and that of the weakest and most unsatisfactory kind, — the babble of loose talkers, tavern companions, and disappointed projectors. Great reliance is placed by the Review on general assertions hazarded at random, collected from few or inconclusive particulars, and mixed up with the foolish opinions of foolish individuals; and yet, after having been at the pains to devote four pages to the rendering contemptible and ridiculous an individual whose opinions Faux details at the greatest length, the writer concludes his article by ascribing to the opinions of others, so repeated by Faux, greater credit than to the statements and opinions of Faux himself, whose integrity and understanding are highly vaunted at the beginning of the critique.

The Quarterly reviewer extracts the story of “a poor fellow who was found lying in the street” (at Charlston) “in a hot broiling sun 110° by the thermometer, with both legs broken and dreadfully bruised, having been robbed of all he had: he had lain there all night, equally unnoticed by the nightly watch and the open-day humanity of the citizens; and had not an old Prus-

sian colonel offered a dollar to have him removed as a nuisance, he would have been suffered to roast and be devoured by the flies."

We omitted to select this story for extraction, not only because we deemed it somewhat improbable, but because Faux does not say that he saw the sight himself, and the narrative is accompanied with one or two minute circumstances which cast an air of doubtfulness over the whole;—for instance, the person who ordered the sufferer to be removed, is said to have called out to two slaves, "Here! July and August!" do so and so. Considering the heat of the day, it struck us as somewhat singular, that the slaves should be so appositely named July and August, in such happy succession. The same circumstance probably struck the candid reviewer as a ground for distrust, for he cautiously omits it in his extract.

The following story is also extracted in the same spirit:—

' I saw an execution lately defeated by that boasted spirit which they call liberty or independence. The property under execution was put up to sale, when the eldest son appeared with a huge herculean club, and said, "Gentlemen, you may bid for and buy these things, which were my father's, but by G—no man living shall come on to this ground with horse and cart to fetch them away. The land is mine, and if the buyer takes any thing away, it shall be on his back.'"

We omitted to select this story as one of the examples to show the degree of insecurity the emigrant might have to encounter, not because we deemed it improbable,—for in our introductory remarks we had admitted and accounted for the weakness of the judicial arm in remote and thinly inhabited districts,—but because the story does not rest on the authority of Faux, but was related to him by one Squire Lidliard; of whom we know nothing, except that by his own account he was precisely the sort of person who ought not to have emigrated to the Western States,—a London merchant, with a counting-house near the Exchange and a citizen's box at Blackheath.

Such are the stories, and so evidenced, on which the reviewer grounds his implied proposition, that the American people are so debased, and their institutions so pernicious, as to render existence among them absolutely intolerable, and our "excellent constitution in church and state" the only thing which can secure the happiness of man. These stories bear the date of 1819.

Three *years* have not elapsed since an aged pauper, in the middle of this metropolis of London, was thrust from parish to parish, from officer to officer, each contesting the liability to ad-

minister relief, till the last on whose hands he was thrown left him famishing with cold and hunger in the open streets. The wretched sufferer, unable to crawl further, laid himself down at night in a public thoroughfare near Drury Lane, where thousands passed by him regardless of his dying groans. The next morning he was found a stiffened corpse, and a coroner's jury brought in a verdict of "Died by Starvation!"

Three *months* have not elapsed since two individuals, one of them with the rank and education of a gentleman, tempted by the prospect of gaining a few pounds, made beforehand every preparation for the murder and interment of one of their familiar companions; enticed him into the vehicle which contained the sack for the concealment of his corpse; dispatched him within a few miles of this same metropolis, by beating his skull to pieces; and having deposited him in a pond close by the house at which the deceased and themselves were to have met for a convivial entertainment, sat down to supper as if nothing extraordinary had happened!

Three *weeks* have barely elapsed since a drama founded on this horrible assassination, was performed at a public theatre in this same metropolis; in which drama was produced on the stage, before a crowded and applauding audience, the identical vehicle and horse which had conveyed the miserable victim on his journey to eternity!

Three *days* have barely elapsed (Jan. 3. 1824) since, in the same county which was the scene of the preceding outrage, a special constable, James Grainge, has actually been murdered in an attempt to enforce legal process; the party who resisted being a man of education, and assisted by a beautiful woman of twenty-six!

The story of the dying pauper is at least as afflicting to humanity, and a little better authenticated than the jocose appeal to July and August at Charlston;—and the story of James Grainge carries into effect what Squire Liddiard's story only threatens.

Now suppose A. B., an American traveller through England, had stated, among other things, the four preceding facts; suppose he had also stated the recent murders of Mr. Mumford, of Mrs. Donatty, of Mr. Smith at Greenwich, of the Marrs, of the Bonars, and as many others as he could pick up in coffee-houses and stage-coaches; suppose he were to state the number of juvenile offenders every year committed to prison within the precincts of London, the number of houses annually set on fire

* See the Newspapers for the 2d of January, 1824.

about the time of the half-yearly payments of rent, the number of paupers and amount of poor-rates, the number of bankrupts, the number of insolvents, and the amount of assets available to their creditors; suppose he had also stated such appearances as he might have observed of occasional prosperity, comfort, and cleanliness, — appearances of fertile soil, unbounded capital, and transcendent industry and skill; —

What would the Quarterly reviewer have said if a North American democratic reviewer, reviewing A. B.'s travels, should make a detailed extract of all the disparaging circumstances, omit all the favourable ones, and then exclaim, or leave the reader to imply, "These are the blessed effects of monarchical and aristocratic institutions! This is the land where King, Lords, and Commons are so happily balanced, that each plays into the hand of the other! This is the land of legitimate sway, 'attempered liberty,' and borough influence! This is the land of the established church! Federalists and sentimentalists, before you cross the ocean to gaze at empty pomp and factitious dignity, before you surrender your understandings to admire the antiquities of your half-civilized ancestors, listen to A. B. Mark well the facts we have laid before you, and then choose your dwelling, if you dare, among a people so heartless as to leave a fellow-creature to perish in a crowded street,—so cruel, as to view with approbation, at a play-house, objects which would most forcibly bring to their imagination all the details of an aggravated murder; — settle, if you dare, in a land where neither person nor property are secure,—where assassinations are the topic of the day, and the arm of the law is resisted by weapons of death!"

Would the Quarterly reviewer admit, that such a representation as this contained one spark of candour, integrity, or *truth*? Would he admit, that a reviewer who should so exclude every favourable representation in regard to England, — who should ascribe to institutions, incidents inseparable from the condition of man in the present state of society, — would he admit, that such a reviewer possessed one spark of feeling, honour, or principle? And yet this is precisely the process which, with a fiendlike exultation, this writer has pursued with regard to America.

But before we have done we shall bring home to him, yet more clearly, blind malignity against a people whose only offence, beyond the failings to which it is subject in common with his own countrymen, is the offence of having an economical and responsible government.

It is notorious, that a great proportion of those who leave this country, either for Chili or the United States, are of the lowest and most ignorant class; it is equally notorious, that they com-

monly labour under the delusion of expecting that, when they arrive in the promised land, they shall be exempt from the common lot of humanity, the necessity of labouring for subsistence; and that they frequently waste in idleness and drinking the hours and money with which they might shortly better their condition.

No man knows this better than the writer in the Review himself: he admits it expressly in page 366.; and yet he has extracted from Faux every expression of discontent from every disappointed emigrant, without in the least adverting to the cause of each individual's disappointment, though, in a variety of instances, Faux has clearly traced it to the imprudence or incapacity of the sufferer.

In a laboured article "On the Condition of the Negroes in our Colonies" (p. 476. in this same number), the Quarterly attacks Mr. Wilberforce for rejecting all apology for the treatment of slaves in the West Indies; and contends that they are, in many respects, better off than the labouring classes in England. (No. LVIII. pp. 479. 485.) But no sooner does he come to the United States, — where, as we have demonstrated (ante, p. 113.), the treatment of slaves is infinitely less severe than in the West Indies, — than our reviewer altogether alters his tone: "Though many of the planters treat their slaves well, and allow them as much indulgence as is consistent with their situation, yet negroes being, in the eye of the *American* law, a degraded class, and denied the enjoyment of equal rights, their wellbeing is entirely dependent on the personal character of their owner; and however humane their treatment may be, *we cannot agree with farmer Faux in his conclusion, that their condition in any, much less in many, respects is better than that of paupers in his native land.*"

If they are a degraded class in the eye of the *American* law, are they not equally so, and that within the writer's knowledge, in the Anglo-West Indian law? If their condition in the West Indies is better than that of an English pauper, what should make it otherwise in America, where, according to his own admission, "many of the planters treat their slaves well, and *allow them as much indulgence as is consistent with their situation?*"

Our reviewer's hatred, however, is not confined to America or Americans; his own countrymen become the objects of attack for no other offence than that of preferring a residence on the other side of the Atlantic: and how is this attack conducted? Not content with filling four whole pages in the endeavour to render ridiculous and contemptible Mr. Thomas Law*, a man who, through a long and eventful life, has sustained the most ir-

* A brother of the late Lord Ellenborough.

reproachable character, this writer, with all the charity and good faith so peculiar to a moralist of the Quarterly Review, proceeds to sneer away his reputation for integrity and principle by mendacious and unfounded insinuations,—as, that he quitted England for America because he was mortified at not being a peer. Again, “This gentleman,” says this writer, “accumulated (it is not said by what means) an immense fortune in India.” True, it is not said by what means, for the history of his Indian life would have been grossly irrelevant in a book of travels through America; but we can take upon ourselves to say by what means he did *not* accumulate his fortune: he did not pander to the passions and prejudices of an insolent and craving aristocracy, by detailing as many as he could find recorded of those crimes and disorders which could not but have place to a certain extent in a community of ten millions, and then, with an utter disregard of truth and principle, exhibit this catalogue to the world as a representation on which men should form their opinions as to the character and condition, and the effect of the political institutions of that same community.

But we have not quite done with this reviewer. As if it were possible for any civilized society, however well organized, to exist without contribution for common purposes, as if it were not notorious to the whole world, if not to the Quarterly Review, that the several states in America receive for local purposes a revenue analagous to our county and poor’s rate, and that this revenue is raised by taxes imposed in the legislature of each state, — the general government expenses of the whole United States being defrayed chiefly by the customs, — this writer, on extracting from Faux, that land in the Illinois belonging to Orator Hunt’s brother was uncultivated, and selling for the *payment of taxes*, appears absolutely dancing in a transport of joy. “Avast reading, there!” he cries. (p. 365.) “Overhaul that article again! as Old Trunnion says. *Taxes*, did you say? *Taxes*, in this last retreat of suffering humanity, and the land selling to pay them!”

Yes, *Taxes!* With any man in his senses, the question is, not, whether there are *taxes*, but what is their *amount*. And this is a piece of information which, with regard to America, the Quarterly Review never will *dare* to give: still less will it dare to contrast it with the taxation endured by Great Britain. Probably the reviewer would have suppressed his mirth and transport had he anticipated that the false insinuation it was meant to convey, would have induced us to lay at once before the eyes of mankind this fearful contrast, which we should otherwise have

deferred for a season. Let him read what follows, and then call in, not Hawser Trunnion, but the Attorney-general to his assistance; for if, as Lord Ellenborough expressly laid it down, any thing is a libel which may *hurt the feelings* of any individual (meaning, of course, a dignified individual), nothing, we conceive, can be more libellous in the eyes of one of the ruling few than the columns of figures we shall forthwith *deploy*.

As we have before had occasion to state, the expenses of the *general government* of the United States; — of the army, navy, public offices, public officers; of congress; of the interest and liquidation of the public debt, and of all extensive undertakings affecting the States at large, — are defrayed, in time of peace, by a revenue derived almost exclusively from the customs and the sale of lands in the new territories of the Union.

So far, and for such extensive purposes, we have nothing beyond indirect taxation, and that to how small an amount we shall presently show.

Besides this, there is raised by direct taxation in each individual state a local revenue, called the state tax, analagous to our county and poor's rate; which revenue is applied to the following, among other purposes, which comprehend, in addition to those before stated, almost all the possible expenses of local and general government, — Judicature, including the salaries of judges, expenses of courts, rewards to prosecutors, and expenses of trial: gaols: elections: public printing and stationery: schools: roads*, bridges, and fishery-encouragement: expenses of the state parliament. — The revenue for these purposes is raised in some instances by a tax on land (exceeding in no case four-pence an acre, and in many districts not exceeding one penny); in others by a capitation tax on all males above sixteen; in others by assessments on carriages, or other articles not of primary necessity; and in the older states, by the sale of lands, and by the interest arising on monies belonging to the state. (See Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States, by D. B. Warden, late Consul to Paris.)

Now our county and poor's rates, in addition to the maintenance of the poor, cover scarcely any expenses but those of gaols, bridges, and that part of the expense of judicature which is occasioned by the building and furnishing of courts, rewards to prosecutors, and some of the expenses of trial.

In addition to our county and poor's rates, we are also saddled

* These are in some places maintained by contributions of labour, or by compositions in lieu thereof.

with tithes; — paying about the fourth of the value of all the landed property of the country for the support of an established church; a blessing with which brother Jonathan has learned to dispense.*

* The Quarterly Review, in a laboured article on the ecclesiastical revenues, has endeavoured to prove, among other things, that tithes do not operate as a tax on the general consumers of corn, by raising the price of the article.

If, the writer argues, tithes were abolished, land of the lowest quality, which now pays no rent, — the produce being equal only to the payment of tithes in addition to the expenses and ordinary profits of cultivation, — this land would pay in rent what it now pays in tithes. But the reviewer keeps out of sight this important circumstance, that if tithes were abolished, all that portion of land would be brought into cultivation which now not only cannot pay rent, but cannot even after the first seven years pay tithe in addition to the expenses and ordinary profits of cultivation. In such case, the nearest means of supply being increased, the price of corn would fall.

The reviewer thinks he has gained a great point in asserting that there are no cultivated lands in Britain which do not pay some rent; but he is ignorant that with regard to this, the true question is, not whether the *land* pays rent, but whether *the last application of capital* to the land pays rent. Thus, suppose lands 1, 2, 3, 4,* successively decreasing in fertility, it commonly happens that before 2, 3, 4, or the inferior lands are cultivated, capital can be employed more productively on those lands which are already in cultivation. It may perhaps be found that by doubling the capital already employed on No. 1., though the produce will not be doubled, it may be increased three-fourths; and that this quantity exceeds what could be obtained by employing the same capital on No. 3. In such case, says Mr. Ricardo, "capital will be employed in preference on the old land, and will equally create a rent; for rent is always the difference between the produce obtained by the employment of two equal quantities of capital and labour." — "The capital last employed pays no rent."

But admitting, if the reviewer pleases, that tithes do not raise the price of corn, and consequently do not operate as a tax on the consumer, it still remains that the clergy of the established church are supported by a modification of property the most pernicious that ever was devised by the barbarity of ignorant and superstitious ages.

It is admitted, on all hands, that tithes operate as a constant source of irritation between parson and parishioner, and as a constant check upon agricultural enterprise and improvement. They do not, it is true, prevent the person who employs his capital on land from obtaining in the long run the same rate of profit as every other capitalist, but they divert from land a great portion of capital, which,

But, to the point.—Direct taxes for the expenses of the general government in America we have seen there are *none*; tithes

but for the institution of tithes, would infallibly be employed on it, and employed to the promotion of abundance.

A farmer, for instance, has taken 100 acres for a term of seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years; he is willing to lay out 100*l.* or 1000*l.* in draining, manuring, or irrigating; the improved and increased produce will just repay his expenses, with the ordinary profits of capital, but it will not do this and pay tithes too: the parson is inexorable,—of course quite regardless of himself, but he has “a duty which he owes to his successors,”—he refuses to relinquish his tithes even for a period, till the farmer shall have been indemnified for his expenses; and the farmer, who has not piety sufficient to raise the parson’s income to his own loss, abandons the projected improvement. This is no imaginary or uncommon case, and within our personal experience we could point out repeated instances in which the process we have just described has literally been gone through.

Now, as the institution and maintenance of property in general can be supported on no other ground than that it is productive of general good, the most corrupt and ignorant legislatures have never hesitated from time to time to abolish such modifications of property as have been proved to be clearly pernicious to the community at large. Thus Henry VIII. suppressed the monasteries; Charles II. abolished feudal wardships, and the oppressive remnant of feudal services; and yet the feudal guardians had as good a right to certain proceeds out of the estates inherited by their wards, as the established clergy to a portion of the produce raised by their parishioners. Not only have legislatures been in the habit of abolishing modifications of property inconsistent with the general good, but it has been and is their daily practice after allowing some compensation (generally inadequate) to the individual injured, to invade property on no other ground than that on the occasion in question, the advantage to the public is so great as entirely to counterbalance the loss and inconvenience to the individual; and this in cases where the property invaded, instead of being of an objectionable kind, would, but for the projected advantage to the public, have been enjoyed consistently with the general interest of the community at large; as where the park or farm of an individual, is, against the will of the owner, appropriated by act of parliament to a canal, a road, or a fortification.

As to the time and mode of abolishing pernicious modifications of property, and the compensation or substitution to be made to the holders of it; these are questions for the enlightened and humane legislator, which at present we are not called on to discuss. However the reviewer’s main argument in favour of tithes, is the advantage which he says a parish derives from the residence of a person educated as our parochial clergy usually are. As to the existence of this alleged advantage we are directly at issue with him, and shall take an early opportunity of showing that no such advantage as that

there are *none*; and the figures below will prove that the state or local taxes covering so many more objects than our county and poor's rates, do not equal those rates by nearly three quarters their amount.

The states and counties have been taken at random, the one from Warden's book, the other from returns made to Parliament, and are offered merely as a sample.

United States.	Popula- tion in 1810.	Revenue.	English Counties.	Popula- tion in 1811.	Popula- tion in 1821.	Average Amount of Poor & other Rates in 1813--14--15.	
		Dollars.				£	
Massachusetts.	472,040	306,333	} Devon.....	396,100	447,900	283,429	
South Carolina	415,115	313,026		Cornwall.	223,900	262,600	120,568
Maine	228,705	209,257	} Middlesex	985,100	1,167,500	663,103	
New York	959,049	317,745		Essex	260,900	295,300	328,031
Virginia.....	974,622	414,133	1811	Lancaster.	856,000	1,074,000	433,419
Connecticut ...	261,942	79,192	1811	Bedford ...	73,600	85,400	74,782
Pennsylvania..	810,091	601,344	1815	Kent.	385,600	434,600	407,459
Delaware	72,674	72,163	1811				
Kentucky	406,511	105,180					

It must be distinctly borne in mind that the whole of the above revenues, arising to the several States, is not made up of direct annual taxes, but that a considerable portion of each is acquired by the sale of lands and the interest arising from monies belonging to the state. So that it may fairly be affirmed that the whole amount of direct taxation falling in any shape upon any given amount of population in the United States, does not equal a fourth of the poor's rates and county rates alone, paid by an equal amount of population in Great Britain.

Now for the comparison of the expenses of the general government.

The whole expense of the civil government, including the salaries of the President and Vice-President, *wages of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives*; the diplomatic and miscellaneous expenses, including pensions; all the public offices, post office, mint, light-houses, surveys of land, the government of those parts called territories, and every other expense what-

described, exists; — admitting, however, that it does exist, it furnishes no argument in support of tithes. The residence of a parochial clergy would be much more effectually secured (as in Scotland) by the payment of a salary on condition of residence, than by the perception of tithes from two or three parishes, one of which only can be inhabited at the same time by the same percipient.

ever, which does not belong to the army and navy, — were estimated for the year 1822 at 1,664,297 dollars, or 353,613%.*

By the British finance accounts for the year ending the 5th of January, 1821, the sum actually paid was 6,797,399% ; this sum, like the 353,613% in America, includes all the items which do not belong to the military or naval departments. Thus the civil government here costs very nearly twenty times the amount of the civil government in America, — in other words, it costs the nation as much to be governed for one year, as it costs the Americans to be governed for twenty years; and yet America is, beyond all comparison, better governed than Great Britain and Ireland. But we do, in fact, spend more than thirty times as much as the American United States for our civil government. In the finance accounts before alluded to, the charge for management, that is, the expense attending the collection of the revenue, is set down at

	-	-	£ 3,267,633
There are other sums also paid out of the gross receipts of the revenue, from which, when we have deducted drawbacks and discounts, there will remain upwards of	-	-	1,500,000
To which add, as before	-	-	6,797,399

And the annual expense will be £11,565,032

Which is nearly thirty-three times the amount of the annual expenditure in America. But it may be objected, that in America there are also charges for management: to which we reply, certainly; and that some of them are included in the 353,613% which the civil government costs; and that a sum greater than all the charges of management in America, is raised in several ways for the government here at home, which is given away in pensions and payments of various kinds, and never comes into the annual finance accounts. So that the money thus raised may be set off against the expense of management in America.—Another objection which may be made is, that each of the state governments defrays its own expenses. But here again the balance will be in favour of America, the county rates, and other assessments and payments for local purposes at home, being probably several times the amount of all the state governments in America; we will, however, take them at the same sum, and then the account will remain as before stated, namely,

That the charge for the civil government here amounts to	-	-	£11,565,032
In America to	-	-	353,613

* The dollar has throughout been calculated at 4s. 3d.

or very nearly one THIRTY-THIRD the sum we are compelled to pay.

But to show still more plainly the profligacy of the system here at home, we will make a few comparisons in detail.—On the 16th of March, 1819, was “published by order of the House of Commons, a paper, No. 114., being an account of the total expense of the following offices, *viz.*:— Privy Council, Treasury, Secretaries of State, and Messengers in the Lord Chamberlain’s department:”—

	£.	s.	d.
1. Privy Council office — Clerks, Messengers, Coals, &c.	-	-	-
	27,373	17	11
2. Treasury ditto	-	-	-
	103,139	17	6
3. Secretaries of State	-	-	-
	122,880	5	0
4. Messengers in the Lord Chamberlain’s office			
	2,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£255,394	0	5
	<hr/>		

This is a most monstrous sum for only three of the public offices, and the porters, or, as they are called, the messengers of a fourth office; but enormous as it is, it by no means shows the actual sum these offices cost. It is not many years since a sort of exposure took place in the trade department of the treasury, when it was discovered, that clerks of 800*l.* a-year kept magnificent houses, regular sets of servants, and three or four carriages, spending, in fact, the revenues of noblemen from the fees they obtained; it is enough, however, for our purpose, to take the expense of these offices at the sums furnished by ministers themselves: let us then see what our brethren in America pay for having the business done for which these offices are appointed. The whole expense for every thing which in any way relates to the Treasury, the Secretary of State, and the Exchequer of the United States, including the expense of distributing 11,000 copies of the laws passed at the preceding Congress, was 48,035*l.*, not one-fifth part of the charge for the three offices here; and if we could ascertain the expenses of the Exchequer in addition to the three offices, as well as the pensions and sinecures, it would probably come out that the whole charge was more than a dozen times the amount paid by the people of the United States.

The expenses of the Houses of Lords and Commons cannot be accurately stated; but the finance accounts give us some items. In the session of 1822 there were voted —

For salaries to the officers of both houses	-	£22,800
Fittings and furniture for ditto	-	22,500
Expenses of ditto	-	19,055
Printing for ditto	-	64,677
		<hr/>
		£129,032

In the United States of North America each of the representatives in both houses receives eight dollars, or 36s. 6d. per diem wages, during the time they are going to, remaining at, and returning home from Congress, as was formerly the case here. Supposing the Congress to sit for three months, or that the member is occupied one hundred days on the public business; then as the number of representatives in the two houses is 237, the amount of their wages will be 189,600 dollars, or 40,290l.; and this is possibly the best laid out money which a people can expend, and which we of course do not expend on those who, instead of being the servants of the people, are their masters, and ought not, of course, to receive wages. On this point, then, there is nothing to which we can compare it.

The American government, however, furnishes an explicit account of all its expenses under the following heads, *viz.*:—

1. Senate and House of Representatives,		Dollars.
their officers and attendants	-	314,866
Deduct wages to the members	-	189,600
		} 125,266
2. Firewood, Stationery, PRINTING, and ALL OTHER <i>contingent</i> expenses of the two Houses	-	49,000
3. Library of Congress and librarian's salary	-	1,950
4. Purchase of books for the library	-	1,000
		<hr/>
	Dollars	177,216
	In pounds sterling	<hr/> £37,608 <hr/>

Not one-third of the expenses which are paid here for the same objects, probably not one-fourth, when it is considered that the *stationery*, and many other items of expense, are charged to accounts not included under those for the Houses of Lords and Commons.

In our profuse way of doing business, the printing alone, it will be seen, amounts to nearly twice as much as the whole expense of the two houses in America; and if the stationery be added, to much more than twice as much.

One example in the way of printing may suffice.—In America all the public acts of the Congress are printed at length in the principal newspapers, for which the government pays at the rate of two dollars a column; and no less than SEVENTY newspapers actually insert the acts and receive the pay. The acts of Congress are printed in the octavo form on coarse paper, and they usually occupy about *one hundred pages*. Appended to these are the public treaties and other matters relating thereto; an immense number of copies are printed, of which the secretary of state for the current year causes *eleven thousand copies* to be distributed to the proper persons throughout the United States: the printing of these acts makes one of the items in the fore-named account.

The printing of each 1000 copies of the American acts cannot cost more than 30%.

We, however, disdain this beggarly-looking useful mode, and our acts are accordingly printed in folio on writing paper. Those of the last year occupy 1446 pages, and cannot have cost so little as 1200% for a thousand copies.

Another pretty specimen of the way in which an irresponsible assembly can vote the public money, may be taken from what is called the Civil List; which is principally composed of the KING's household, and allowances to the other members of the royal family,

And amounted in 1821, to	£1,064,877
Not, however, including further allowance to those members of the royal family, pensions, &c. of	439,229
	<hr/> £1,504,106 <hr/>

But besides this enormous sum, this most monstrous charge, for what may be with more strictness called the civil list, there are other expenses which make the whole amount to 2,878,892% ; which is more than the whole expense of the American government, civil, military, and naval.

A considerable portion of this charge of nearly three millions is called the ordinary charge of the civil list; but besides the ordinary charge, there are enormous annual charges out of the ordinary course. In 1818 an account of these charges was printed by order of the House of Commons, in two papers, Nos. 48. and 49. of that session. The title of these papers is, "Expenses of a civil nature which do not form part of the ordinary charge of the civil list." Look at these, John Bull, and if they do not make you sick at heart, and if your gall does not rise as your sickness comes on, your apathy is extraordinary. They are comprised under the 14 following heads: —

	£.	s.	d.
1. Salaries, &c. to officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons	-	-	6,293 6 8
2. Expenses of the two Houses	-	-	1,043 14 5
3. Monuments erecting	-	-	3,965 5 0
4. Conveying governors and other persons of distinction to their places of destination			3,597 13 6
5. Allowances to admirals of duty on wine drunk at their tables	-	-	605 11 0
6. Salaries and expenses at the receipt of the exchequer	-	-	552 6 8
7. <i>Contingent expense at the treasury and Secretaries of State's offices</i>	-	-	54,147 15 6
8. <i>Deficiencies of fees made good in the same offices</i>	-	-	37,673 13 9
9. Works and repairs of public buildings	-		50,938 4 7
10. Furniture for certain public offices	-		15,592 9 5
11. VARIOUS PUBLIC SERVICES	-		177,938 19 10
12. Extraordinary disbursements of ambassadors			64,016 14 1
13. Outfit for secretary of legation at Stockholm			214 16 6
14. Presents to ministers at foreign courts	-		33,565 16 7
			<hr/>
			£450,146 7 6
			<hr/>

Thus we see that the *extraordinaries*, as they are called, of the civil list alone, cost 96,533*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* more than the whole civil government of America.

The *extraordinary* disbursements of ambassadors alone cost us 64,016*l.*

While the *whole* cost of all sorts of foreign ministers, ordinary and extraordinary, cost the United States 148,500 dollars; or 31,556*l.*

And yet the diplomatic business of the United States is better performed than that of any other nation whatever.

On the 3d of May, 1822, the House of Commons printed a paper, No. 285., containing an account of the whole of his Majesty's diplomatic service from 1793 to 1822; from which it appears that the charge for 1821 was

	-	£265,962
That of America, as before	-	£31,556
Add to this agents for claims for spoliations at Paris and London	-	850
And for relief and protection of American seamen in foreign countries	-	8,500
And the total expense will be	—	£40,906

Less than *one-sixth* of the money expended by the government here, much less efficaciously for good purposes, but infinitely more mischievously for bad purposes. The bare charge for diplomatic services costs us more than two-thirds the amount of the whole expense of the civil government in America. Would a House of Commons freely elected by the whole people permit such things as these to exist? Would they ever have sent a minister jobbing to the empty palace at Lisbon, and paid him upwards of 14,000*l.* for a sea-airing to his family?

In the finance accounts for the year 1821 are the following items : —

Charges of management, customs	-	-	£1,069,280
Ditto----- excise	-	-	1,133,919
			<hr/>
			£2,203,199
			<hr/>

But the whole cost of the American government, including the civil government, the army, and navy, is

Or, - - - - - £2,010,220

less than the cost of *management* of the two engines of exaction and patronage, the customs and excise, here at home.

On the 27th March, 1821, the House of Commons printed a "Report from the Committee appointed to prepare the Militia Estimates." It consisted of two parts, viz. : —

	£	s.	d.
1. Estimate, charge of DISEMBODIED <i>militia</i> , Great Britain, for 1821	-	-	269,519 12 2
2. Ditto, Ireland	-	-	125,388 18 11
			<hr/>

Total charge of DISEMBODIED *militia* £394,908 11 1

Being 41,395*l.* more than the whole of the civil government of the United States in all its branches.

For the present we purposely exclude all mention of our army, navy, and debt.

So much for *taxes* in America, as to which we will now leave the Quarterly reviewer to his own reflections. With respect to all the details about provincial courts of justice, we are quite willing to admit that public courts and public officers in remote and thinly-peopled districts may have some of the vices, though none of the useless parade and dignity attached to their fellows in England. We have no time to pursue the subject further, but recommending to this writer and all his tribe

the diligent perusal of the President's last address to Congress, we shall conclude with the following striking passage from the introduction to Mr. Warden's statistical work : —

“ Doubtless the government of the United States is not exempt from the errors and imperfections that adhere to all human institutions. But compare its public conduct with that of the old governments of Europe. How calm and reasonable is its language ; always addressing itself to the understanding and the solid interests of the people, never to their passions or prejudices. It seeks no aid from superstition, supports no gainful impostures, and uses none of that disgusting cant with which the old governments of Europe varnish over the degradation of the people. It is a stranger to state craft and mystery. All its acts are done in the face of day. It promotes knowledge, religion, and learning, without the preference of particular sects, and without debasing them by falsehoods beneficial to the ruling powers. It is the only government in the world that dares to put arms freely into the hands of all its citizens. From Maine to Mississippi, it commands a prompt and ready obedience without any other weapon than a constable's staff. In a word, it secures property, satisfies opinion, promotes the development of industry and talent with a rapidity hitherto unexampled ; and with the smallest sacrifice of individual rights and property on the part of the people, it accomplishes all that the most expensive and powerful governments pretend to.”

ART. XII. MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

CRUISE'S Residence in New Zealand. * — The author of this book, in the most unaffected and unpretending manner, has given us a striking and entertaining sketch of the very interesting tribes who, in relation to us, have their heads where their heels should be; or, in other words, the *antipodes* of Great Britain, the natives of New Zealand. Savages, the natural men, have all the corporeal attributes in great perfection; the pleasures, and the pains, and the accomplishments of the senses, are carried to a pitch of excellence which leaves us poor debilitated invalids far behind, and raises them to a level with our dogs and foxes. Suppose a human being endued with an athletic frame, strong affections, uncontrollable passions, quick intelligence, gross habits, a warm love of blood, and an acute relish for human flesh, and we may form an idea of the nations of whom Captain Cruise has given us a great many pleasant and instructive anecdotes. The manners of the New Zealanders are, in many instances, extremely singular, or, rather, they vary very much from ours; such, for instance, is the pleasure they take in joining noses; for it seems that we have been hitherto mistaken in supposing that the meeting of lips, in which we on this side of the globe have taken such delight, time immemorial, has any foundation in the immutable laws of nature. Kissing goes by noses in New Zealand; and when a little more civilised than they can boast to be at present, they will probably write books (as philosophers have done here,) entitled *Basia*, or, perhaps, *Nasia*, to prove that their practice is more cleanly, convenient and agreeable. Little seems to have been effected in the way of civilisation; it is a slow work of time — the soil must be prepared before the seeds are sown, and then covered up for a season before the springing even of the first gentle shoot. The first preliminary towards doing good, is to learn the exact condition of the objects of the intended benevolence. Before we can make any progress in spreading the blessings of civilisation, in a nation, it is necessary accurately to know the materials upon which the change is to be wrought. In this point of view Captain Cruise's little volume possesses a high value; it is full of instruction respecting the real character and condition of the people. We can safely recommend it both as a useful and an entertaining book. It is handsomely printed, though we could have spared some of the margin and have saved some of our money. If authors derived the benefit of the high price of their own works, we should not grumble; but they are too generally printed and published for other people.

The Stranger's Grave. † — This is a mournful tale, simply and powerfully told. It describes the unconscious growth, origin, and guilty progress, and fatal termination of the loves of a youthful pair, who, by the mother's side, bear to each other the relation of uncle and niece.

* Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand, by Richard A. Cruise, Esq., Captain in the 84th Regiment of Foot. Longman & Co.

† Longman & Co. 12mo.

The strongest objection (if it be an objection) which can be made to the work itself, is already made by the mention of its subject. If the author be exonerated from censure on that score, there is little else which can call forth any other expressions than those of strong and unqualified praise. For the selection of such a subject, however, and for all which that selection involves, the author is justly held responsible.

The sanction of high authority may be pleaded in his behalf. Attachment of a more properly incestuous character, and therefore more criminal in itself and more revolting in its exhibition, was a favourite theme with the poets of antiquity, and with our own early dramatists. Modern writers of talent, of genius even, amongst the choicest which France, Germany, and England have produced, have, by their practice, added their suffrages to those of their predecessors. As the objection must be chiefly resolvable into a presumed immoral tendency, a still more important testimony than that of the manufacturers of fiction may be adduced in that of the teachers of moral and religious truth. That sacred history should contain the record of some connections of a similar description, was doubtless necessary to the perfection of the narrative, or to the purposes for which that narrative was constituted a part of the Bible. The necessity could scarcely extend to the regular public reading of such passages, which is a matter of ecclesiastical arrangement, and implies an opinion on the part of the fathers of our church that they may be perused without danger, and even to edification.

Yet is there an opposing authority to which an author owes some deference, and that is public taste and feeling. Besides that classical literature stands, and must stand, above all criticism, and in spite of all objections, it belongs to a very different and much smaller class of readers than an English novel. One reason for its restriction, at least in translations, and as to females, is the very fact in question. By this also has the popularity of the modern writers, to whom we referred, been injured, and the delight which they might have afforded been proportionally diminished. It constitutes, we apprehend, the sole reason why many dramas of Ford and Massinger, and other kindred spirits, cannot be revived with any prospect of success. And with regard to the theological part of the defence, it may be replied, that our religious instructors act under the authority from which the sacred volume emanated; that they rely on the historical truth, and the moral and devotional accompaniments of the narratives; and that such are not the passages more particularly indicated by them, or by parents in general, for youthful perusal and study.

The capabilities of these subjects for tragic effect are certainly great; too great for them to be entirely proscribed: at the same time that so much has already been made of them, and there is such a feeling (not altogether unreasonable) against them, as to render the judgment of an author somewhat questionable in preferring them to the countless variety which is open to his choice. Shakspeare never had recourse to them; probably from the consciousness of power to exercise a sufficiently despotic sway over the passions with-

out the aid of topics whose very mention excites some degree of horror. The writer before us has ample talent for framing a deeply interesting tale out of much less objectionable materials.

Nor was it necessary for him to draw the full-length portrait of a passion of this description, which is introduced much less offensively when the parties are supposed to be ignorant of their relation to each other, as in the *Œdipus*; or when it is rather surmised by the reader than delineated by the author, as in Byron's *Manfred*. To exhibit the circumstances by which two innocent hearts are predisposed for a forbidden and almost unnatural attachment, its advance to a fearful strength, its varying conflicts with every good principle, and final triumph over all, is a task which he has so well executed as to leave nothing to complain of, unless it be that he imposed it on himself.

We have told the worst of this little book, which has nothing in its language that can offend even the fastidious; nor in the sentiments, or the conduct of the tale, but what the most rigid must be satisfied with. The characters are only in outline, but they are well grouped; and the disastrous consequences of the criminality of the lovers are imagined with sufficient probability, and narrated in that unadorned and unobtrusive style which leaves them to sink into the heart by the force of their own pathos. The taste and feeling of the writer, and his acquaintance with human nature, are inferences which will be deduced on a second reading. The tale itself will take care of the first.

Italian Tales.*—Cruikshank (that is to say, George Cruikshank, for there are two of the name, who are brothers) is certainly the first artist in his way of the present day; and much credit is due to the publisher of this work for drawing him from mere caricaturing and inferior occupation to illustrate books of gallantry and humour. It is not so easy, as may be generally supposed, to arrive at excellence in this line. It requires a prodigious fund of observation; a keen insight into folly; an intimate acquaintance with the peculiarities of individuals; a knowledge of humour and wit, and how they operate upon different constitutions; some notion of the passions; besides the ordinary accomplishments of drawing and composition, which are common to every painter. The first comic artist with whom we are acquainted is assuredly Hogarth; and he, though he seldom invaded the ground of history or tragedy, must be considered as one of the very first painters who have done honour to art. It is true, that with a knowledge of the theory of grace, he failed most decidedly in the practice; and that, with all his merit, he was inferior, on the whole, to the topmost spirits in art,—to Michael Angelo and Raffaele, and Corregio and Rembrandt,—and perhaps to Titian and Rubens; yet it was not so much in *power* that he was wanting, as in the quality of mind which leads to particular objects. He had as much mastery over his subject as his greater brethren; but his pictures will always remain inferior to theirs by so much as reason and observation are below imagination. Nevertheless he was a great painter;

* Charles Baldwyn.

and in his way, we believe, is admitted to be unrivalled. We would not be understood to say that Cruickshank is equal to Hogarth, or that, in fact, he is not many grades below him. He has not, as yet, shown either the invention of Hogarth, or his dramatic talent, or that marvellous discrimination of character which places him, rather than any other artist, by the side of Raffaele himself. Nevertheless, if we were required to point out the artist who was next to Hogarth, in point of comic merit, we might find great difficulty in preferring any to the young artist, *George Cruickshank*.

He has illustrated these Italian tales, generally speaking, happily; and, in one or two instances, with a grace which (without imitation) approaches the beauty of Stothard's compositions;— we mean particularly in the print of the “Pomegranate Seed.” With respect to the stories, some of them are pleasant enough, some are really humorous, and some, it must be confessed, little better than incidents. The great merit of the book lies decidedly in the plates; although the tales are told simply, and sometimes a *naïve* humour shines through the somewhat quaint phraseology, which, itself, reminds us of the early translations of Boccaccio. Yet few of the stories, however, may compare with those of the great Italian. Nevertheless, the “Teacher Taught,” is an exemplary matter, and carries, moreover, a moral, which we recommend all readers (with or without wives) to attend to. The story of the unfortunate Grasso (“Who am I?”) is facetious, and reminds us, pleasantly too, of our old friend, Christopher Sly, and also of an older friend, Abon Hassan, the “sleeper awakened.” It would not be easy to instil into a man the Pythagorean doctrine in a more laughable manner. The “Pomegranate Seed” is unsatisfactory, and prodigiously improbable to boot; but the beautiful figures of the young countess and her ladies would make amends for thrice the sins of the story. Upon the whole, we recommend the book sincerely to the notice of our readers.

*Mitford on Christianity and the Heathen Public.** — With none of its redeeming merits, the present volume abounds with the characteristic faults of the author's History of Greece. The same hard and intricate style, even in a worse degree, without any of that accurate learning which is one of the chief recommendations of Mr. Mitford's principal work. To the variety of opinions existing amongst the professors of Christianity, Mr. Mitford imputes many of the doubts, and much of “the indifference, observable among many bred to the profession of that religion; and, before the French Revolution, enough manifesting its rapid growth in open avowal, Europe over; more especially among the higher orders, and most where the Roman is the religion of the state; checked then by the enormities practised in the name of philosophy, but as the horror of these, with time, producing gradual oblivion, has faded, it may be feared growing again.”

* Observations on the History and Doctrine of Christianity; and, as historically connected, on the Primeval Religion, on the Judaic, and on the Heathen Public, mystical and philosophical: the latter proposed as an Appendix to the Political and Military History of Greece. By William Mitford, Esq. 12mo. London, 1823.

To solve the doubts and to obviate the indifference described in the foregoing sentence, which we offer at once as a specimen of his style and an explanation of his purpose, Mr. Mitford has published these remarks. We confess we doubted more than once in the perusal of the first fifty pages, how far the author was in earnest. Whilst professing to explain the minutest discrepancies of Scripture, he is constantly perking in our faces its more serious difficulties, without appending any reasonable answers. With incautious readers Mr. Mitford will scarcely fail "to raise more doubts than he solves." His method is exactly calculated to produce that effect. For instance, when he wants a proof of the goodness and justice of the Deity, he invariably resorts to the examples of chastisement related in the Old Testament, in preference to the promises of the New. He affects considerable satisfaction in reflecting that the singular blessings of *wheat-corn*, and the art of writing, must necessarily have been vouchsafed by the immediate interference of Heaven; although, in the same page, he alludes to the alarming sophisms of Epicurus, and proposes a solution so inadequate as to provoke a doubt how far he understood the propositions. Mr. Mitford will at least be esteemed an unprofitable advocate of revelation by all whose judgments are not previously bribed by the subject to fall in with any favourable statement, however nugatory.

We are struck throughout with the same unremitting endeavour to depreciate the value of every attempt to improve the condition of mankind, which is so conspicuous in the History of Greece. This, in a writer who has never looked at politics as a science, is natural enough. Here, however, he has advanced a further step. In the second volume of the History he rather insinuated than asserted the usefulness of the institution of slavery: in the present book he openly defends it; for such, in fact, is the amount of all the vague phrases with which the declaration is accompanied. We will first observe, that at page 86. of the Fourth Part, he talks of "the slaves necessary to the well being of the Athenian people, *as negroes to our West Indian colonists.*" So far, perhaps, even this is susceptible of being explained into a harmless meaning, or, rather, into no meaning at all. But what shall we say to the following illustration of his great principle,—which, by the bye, he prints in small capitals, as though it had the merit of novelty, — that "Man, with reason for his guide, was placed in this world for trial?" The argument, if not strikingly ingenious, is at least original. "That slavery, authorised by the Old Testament, is forbidden by the New, cannot be shown; and, if trial is the purpose for which man has his existence in this world, **THE ALLOWANCE OF SLAVERY, FAR FROM BEING ADVERSE, IS AN ADDITIONAL MODE FOR BOTH SLAVE AND MASTER!**" (p. 113.)

Mr. Mitford, in the present book, has drawn largely on his former reputation; but we can assure him that a greater name than his would have been unable to shield from ridicule propositions so extravagant as these. The natural and factitious obstacles in the way of human improvement are too numerous already; and disclaiming, as he does, all connection between politics and religion, it is scarcely fair in

Mr. Mitford to introduce a perverted doctrine of the latter as a sanction to the most atrocious of all the abuses of the former. We have only to add, that the price of Mr. Mitford's Observations on the Primeval Indian and Heathen Public, mystical and philosophical Religion, the latter apropos of the Political and Military History of Greece, and the whole as connected with Christianity — is *nine shillings*.

Tytler's Life of Sir T. Craig. * — The title of this book ought to have been reversed ; instead of the life of the celebrated author of the treatise on the feudal law being made the principal subject, it should have run thus, " Biographical Sketches of the most eminent Legal Characters, since the Institution of the Court of Session, &c. including an Account of the Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Craig." In truth, Sir Thomas Craig occupies but a very small portion of his own book, and very little more than some of the other jurists whom the author has introduced. He who looks for a full and learned disquisition on the great works of this eminent legal antiquary, to become familiar with their excellences and acquainted with their defects, will certainly be disappointed ; nor will the interest or information which the volume contains on other persons and topics be a sufficient indemnity for the omission. The enumeration of names and the respectful mention of honourable families, with a brief memorial of the time at which this person and that person came into the world, and according to the common lot of nature went out of it, is not quite sufficient to insure popularity. Yet Mr. Tytler with such materials, eked out with some well-known portions of Scotch history, and a rather dull analysis of the author's Latin poems, has manufactured a thickset, solid-looking duodecimo. If there had been more comprehensiveness of design and greater amplitude of detail, the author would probably have produced a more entertaining and instructive work. The style is in general good, although occasionally deficient in correctness, and his narrative is sufficiently clear and spirited. The reflections, however, with which it is interspersed, we beg to inform Mr. Tytler, are not of that value which entitle them to be made. The best sketches are those of Lord Chancellor Thurlstoune and the Earl of Haddington ; both are entertaining.

Corfe Castle, or Keneswitha. † — This is a fair-looking novel, with a neat vignette of the remarkable fortress which gives name to the work. The scene is laid in the eleventh century, and is intended to present a picture of the Saxon manners and the incursions of their northern enemies, the Danes. In this part of his task the author has succeeded better than in the construction of his plot or the delineation of his characters. He has evidently studied our Saxon history, and his book contains some information illustrative of that period ; but the story he has invented to render it more agreeable, is clumsily told in

* An Account of the Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, including Biographical Sketches of the most eminent Legal Characters since the Institution of the Court of Session by James V. till the Period of the Union of the Crowns. By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., Advocate, F.R.S. & F.S.A. Edinburgh, 1823.

† Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 8vo.

a monotonous and incumbered style : towards the conclusion indeed it grows insufferably tedious. One reason of this is, that after having brought us to the point where it ought to have terminated, he very unseasonably commences a new series of adventures which have all the appearance of a fresh story. Amongst other curiosities of the Saxon times, the author indulges us with a very long, particular, and dull account of the ceremony of initiation to a club of Saxon Freemasons. If we look to the descriptive parts, we shall find that he is not a whit the more happy in those than in the rest. In the description of Corfe Castle, one of the most singular and striking objects in the kingdom, he has recourse to a dry enumeration of wards, &c. extracted from a history of the county, instead of giving an animated picture of it himself. The characters in the book too, although very much praised and admired by their contemporaries, continually disappoint us. They are so vague and undefined that we can form no intimate acquaintance with them, with the exception of the black-mailed warrior, who wields his battleaxe with the same mighty power and is enveloped in the same temporary mystery, as a black-mailed knight in a less recent work not unknown to fame. In short, if the author will write, we recommend him to apply himself to writing history instead of novels ; for although he is a man of some talents, he has neither fervour of imagination nor knowledge of character sufficient to people the world of fiction.

The Spae-wife. * — Such a being as “poor Anniple the Taen-away,” is a treasure to the votaries of romance. Well supported, she would have been akin to Undine, the most glorious creation of fancy, next to Ariel ; and as it is, may be reckoned fairly worth the White Lady of the House of Avenel. Pity that the author should, in some degree, have marred his own work ; and by the agency and behaviour which he assigns to Anniple have not only interfered with our faith, which is always ready to answer the largest demands provided the bill be well drawn, but what is still worse, have puzzled us to know what she thought of herself. She might have done her spiriting, without the conscious cunning of insanity or imposture. She ought always to have spoken like one of a world without souls.

To conceive better than he executes ; to sound too loud a note of preparation ; to continue an effort, frequently a very vigorous one, and up to a certain point completely effective, till it becomes too obvious, — are indeed the besetting sins of the author of the Spae-wife. They have been very visible in some of his former productions, particularly in Ringan Gilhaize, and might be copiously exemplified from his present publication. He can avoid them, as the Annals of the Parish, that delightful effusion of *bonhommie*, bear witness. Here the historical importance of his tale and characters seduces him into an ambitious style, in which he is much less at home. His speech seems as if it had been rising into song, but stopped half way in a chaunt. His Pegasus spreads and rustles his wings, and after all only goes off in a canter. The reader’s eye informs him that the

* Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh. 3 vols. 12mo.

book is in prose; but there are many passages during which the hearer is listening for the rhymes, and wondering that they recur at such long intervals. There is much beautiful description of scenery, especially of the enchanting neighbourhood of Loch Lomond; but too often the author will not leave it alone when it is beautiful. He "paints the lily," and lays it on with a trowel. The narrative is overdone in a similar way, when the more striking incidents of the tale are to be told. There is a tone of exaggeration, like that of a French bulletin announcing a great victory, or a court newspaper recording a royal fête. He describes like a sonneteer, and narrates like an Irish orator. For instance, a lady runs away from the court of James I. at Perth, to meet her lover, attended by a faithful highland youth, just as the conspirators were proceeding to the assassination of that monarch: the uproar comes swelling on the gale after them.

'The Lady Sibilla for a moment drew her bridle and looked back.

"On, lady, on!" cried Nigel.

'A turn of the road brought the town in view, and they beheld lights borne along and flaring at many windows, and shapes and shadows of hurrying men gliding on the walls of the houses.

"On, lady, on!" cried Nigel.

'The sounds of panic and consternation rose louder and wilder. Bells rung as with a frantic vehemence, and drums were beating to arms, and trumpets clamouring the alarum.

"On, lady, on!" cried Nigel.

"I cannot proceed," exclaimed the lady Sibilla, almost sinking from the saddle.

"On, lady, on!" was all that Nigel could reply.'

This might do; but so it goes "on," for four whole pages, till the lady gets off, and Nigel recovers breath enough to vary and lengthen the burden of the song.

Another vexatious trick of this writer is the portraiture of dark or violent passions which prepare us for some extraordinary course of action, or some single deed of daring, and then evaporate, to our great disappointment. It makes one angry to be so hoaxed. There are a lord and a lady in this tale, — whether they be the hero and heroine is a point on which we are not quite clear, — who are put forward so that we felt it a duty to be interested very deeply about them, and who, notwithstanding all our expectations, do very little besides running away together in the last chapter. We thought ourselves used very ill by them, particularly by the lady, of whom we had great hopes that she would turn out a terrible one. Her lover, if he be the hero, might plead privilege perhaps; for the despot of modern romance has practically decreed that the hero's office shall be a sinecure, at least compared with what it used to be. In the great Scotch novels the hero is generally pretty nearly the most insignificant fellow in the book. So far as he is concerned, therefore, it becomes us to submit. And the imitator is sufficiently successful, after all the drawbacks we have made, for us to submit cheerfully. Indeed our chief objection is, that he spoils his own good things; that

writing as he does, with great power and beauty, he sometimes indulges in exaggeration, and sometimes becomes affected so as to break his own spell when the reader was completely under its influence. Where this is avoided, the Great Unknown himself could scarcely present a more impressive scene to the imagination. That we give no abridgment of the story, is to be taken by our readers as a hint that they must peruse it themselves. That we give no extracts, is not because we do not wish it.

*The Last Days of Spain.** — This little pamphlet, though full of errors and anachronisms, is entitled to the authority which it claims; it is the production of an eye-witness.

The agitation and distress with which the author contemplates the catastrophe of Spanish freedom, have produced a strange confusion of names, seasons, and events. The facts which the author knew are hardly to be distinguished from those he surmises; and the weight of the whole is lessened by a pretended acquaintance with motives and projects either not conceived, or cautiously concealed.

The truth is, and it is beginning to be generally felt, that the Spanish Revolution fell into hands incapable of wielding the great and glorious instruments which it created for the regeneration of the Peninsula and of the world. Those who obtained its first glorious triumphs — brave and generous, but injudicious, short-sighted men — gave the power they had obtained for the people into the hands of a faction, whose pretensions to superior sagacity they had so often asserted for themselves, that they at last seemed to be believed. They were eloquent men, and therefore supposed to be wise. They had travelled, and it was fancied they had gathered all knowledge in their wanderings. They had talked to very weariness of the horrors of the French Revolution, and pretended to be able to stop the current of that of Spain just when it reached an appropriate and decorous height.

They stopped it in truth; and a ban be upon them! For had the torrent been allowed to flow, it would have covered that land, which is now a scene of shame and sorrow, with peace, and joy, and festivity. There was a moment when the Revolution was spreading widely and proudly over the whole soil of Spain: the peasants came forward to take their share in the enactment of the laws; the power of the priesthood was daily diminished; improvement was busily at work through all the ramifications of society. Then it was that a cry of terror was raised. "You are doing too much, you are going too far!" were the words of delusion; yet never was there a triumph so untarnished as that of the Spanish Revolution in all its early stages. Compare this struggle for the wellbeing of ten millions with any contest for the ascendancy of a single man. Why has it failed? Neither aggression from without, nor treachery from within, were in themselves sufficient for its overthrow. We repeat, the people had not been sufficiently interested in the Revolution.

* An Historical Sketch of the Measures taken by the Continental Powers in order to destroy the Spanish Constitution. By an Eye-witness. Partridge.

It is the poor artifice of impoverished thought to say the Spaniards were not ready for beneficial change; which, if it mean any thing, means this, that the greater the necessity for good government, the less the chance of obtaining it. When oppression reaches its *maximum*, endurance ceases to submit; opinion obtains the mastery: it may be again subdued, but it has added to its strength by its short success, and the *maximum* of oppression, which leads to revolt, is lowered. The struggle may have heretofore been spread over ages; but civilisation has given a marvellous impulse to all that is intellectual. The fruits which once could hardly blossom in a century, may now ripen in a year; and if there be a country in which the retrospect of the past gives good hope for the future, that country is Spain. Is it no triumph for the cause of liberty to reckon thousands and tens of thousands of intelligent, and courageous, and devoted partisans of constitutional government in a country which, half a century ago, saw nothing but an uncontrolled despot and his obedient slaves? Is it no triumph to have seen *Spaniards* abolish the Inquisition, destroy the system of tithes, break up their monastic institutions, establish schools, reform prisons, humanise their penal code, put an end to the privileges of primogeniture? Is this nothing?

*Charlton, or Scenes in the North of Ireland.** — In this age of historical novels it is perhaps no great praise of Mr. Gamble to say that his is not the worst, or even one of the worst, of that extensive species. He has been unhappy in his subject. The author of *Kenilworth* may deal as he pleases with the days of Queen Elizabeth and the Pretender, and incur no great risk of detection if he occasionally *make the facts bend* to meet his political prejudices or the convenience of the plot. But we are too well acquainted with the circumstances of the Irish rebellion. The calamities of that period are too recent, and attested with too horrible a certainty, to permit his requisite licence to the *historical* novelist. Mr. Gamble's story wears in consequence an air of constraint which is fatal to this species of composition. Whenever his incidents rise to the interest of romance, they lose their probability; and when they are on a level with the attested facts of history, they lose their interest. This is a dilemma incident to the nature of the case; and one which would have proved as fatal to a more eminent genius as we fear it has been to Mr. Gamble. The domain appropriate to the novelist is the history of remoter periods — itself, for the most part, as romantic as a fairy tale. The common sense of mankind is concerned in the memoirs of more recent times, and cannot be insulted by the intrusion of fable into matters of serious moment.

The author is accustomed to his art, and writes with ease, though without much grace or elegance. His attempts at wit at times are tolerably successful; but his whole style and manner — whatever he may think to the contrary (see Preface) — are palpably formed on the *Northern* model, and not unfrequently degenerate

* By John Gamble, Esq., author of *Irish Sketches*, &c. 3 vols. 12mo. Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy.

into so close an imitation, as to suggest comparisons which can in no way be favourable to the author. After all, the book is above mediocrity, and will probably find a ready sale in a market which it seems impossible to overstock with such materials, be their quality what it may.

*St. Johnstoun, or John, Earl of Gowrie.**—Another imitator of the Prince of Novelists. But though he may have made use of the same kind of materials, he has moulded and disposed them into many striking and agreeable portraitures, which bear evident marks of the man of genius and observation; and if they were original—if the star of the north had not lighted the way to the shrine where the author was to worship, his praise would have been great, his reputation lasting. As it is, he can only be called a successful imitator; one who has, with the assistance of a guide, penetrated into the depths of the heart, and drank largely of the same well of human feeling. He possesses an easy power over his subject; his diction is flowing and agreeable, and his story, though slight and simple, is interesting; but his characters, though consistent and well drawn, have nothing new, bold, or original, about them. In those situations, however, which call for the display of feeling, he is natural, spirited, and charming. The noble Gowrie is, like most of the leading personages in novels, somewhat tame; but the Master of Ruthwen is a fine, graceful, spirited sketch, full of young feeling, the sport of the varying passions which distract the heart of man in the May-day of his age. Agnes is a little saint; the Jesuit is a failure; and James the Sixth, who acts a conspicuous part in the tragedy which closes this work, is exhibited in more disgusting colours than any in which we have ever seen him. In Nigel he is invested with something like a royal air; but in St. Johnstoun he appears without any thing of royalty but the name. Euphan, a popish old woman, is described with a bold and sweeping pencil. The scene between her and James is, indeed, dramatic, grand, and imposing; it is in the very spirit of the author of *Waverly*: and in her meeting with her only surviving son, whom she supposed dead, there are touches of genuine pathos. The author's descriptive powers are of a high order; they are truly pictorial; his scenes, and the subjects under his description, are palpable to the mind's eye; we see them in colour, shape, and gesture, in dress, speech, and action, as if they were all present to the eye of sense. This is no mean praise.

Schidtmeyer's Travels in Chile. †—It is highly probable, from his name, that Mr. Schidtmeyer is not an Englishman. At any rate he shall have the benefit of the doubt; and he may think himself well quit, if it serve to excuse his style, which is surely the worst ever penned by an ill-educated foreigner. For the book itself he can offer no apology. The little information it contains is scarcely worth our notice; nor are we the more easily induced to put up with the scanty supply because it has been taken, in many instances,

* Edinburgh, Maclachlan. 3 vols. 12mo.

† *Travels into Chile over the Andes, in the Years 1820 and 1821, &c.* By Peter Schidtmeyer. 4to. pp. 366. Longman and Co. 1824.

“from the works of scientific travellers and writers who had the best means of obtaining authentic documents,—and particularly from Baron Humboldt.”

Mr. Schmidtmeier's book admits of no regular analysis. He has no sooner landed at Buenos Ayres, at the fifteenth page, than he sets about a general account of the two continents of North and South America, with occasional observations on the three remaining quarters of the globe. His method of description is thus happily hit off by himself:—“Skipping from Europe to Asia, from Asia to Africa, and back again to Europe by way of America—standing with his feet resting on Popocatepelt and Mount Blanc, his hands on Dhawalagiri and Chimborazo, viewing Corcovado and the New Southern Lands;” and lastly, “turning about, and looking for a north-west passage or the magnetic pole.” (p. 209.) The purpose of Mr. Schmidtmeier's voyage was to travel across the continent to Mendoza, if not as straight as the crow could fly, at least as much so as the road would allow. This end he accordingly accomplished; but whilst waiting for the travelling apparatus at Buenos Ayres, he amuses the reader by a detailed account of every thing relating to every part of the American continent, with the single omission of that which he came to visit, and proposes in his title-page to describe. Besides a vast quantity of matter, all of which “we read in Humboldt's,” and which could only lose its interest in Mr. Schmidtmeier's English, we have disquisitions without end on every subject of human science—medicine, meteorology, and geognosy; politics and political economy; morals, divinity, and literature. We are gravely told, that America was discovered by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, but received its name from the Florentine Americus Vesputius; that the serpents of Paraguay are of no contemptible dimensions, since Dobrizhoffer has not scrupled to relate a story of several men, who, mistaking one for the trunk of a tree, quietly sat down upon it, and remained many minutes in that posture before they got up again; and finally, that the south-west wind of the pampas is somewhat violent, since Azara relates an instance of a hurricane “tearing off the head of a horse which was fastened by the neck!” All which marvels are repeated with seeming confidence, although the author was not ignorant of the *cuentos de fraile*, as much the curse of the Spanish colonies as of their mother country.

After dragging us through 120 pages of such matter, and a chapter on the states of La Plata, which occupy together nearly half the volume, the author begins his journey. As he met with no adventures in his progress from Buenos Ayres, to Santiago, to relieve the dullness of the route or to show his contempt for regular arrangement, to which he exhibits on all occasions an invincible repugnance, he introduces an occurrence which took place on his return; when it seems he was put into great jeopardy by a sudden irruption of a royalist horde, headed by Carrera, who were laying waste the country right and left in the name of the legitimate king and the Virgin. Having dispatched a chapter, entitled “Mendoza

and Goitres," videlicet, of and concerning the city of Mendoza, and the goitres, with which four-fifths of its inhabitants are afflicted, we reach the pass of the Andes. This is the best portion of the book. The passage over that part of the cordillera called the *Cumbre*, the summit of the ridge, is easy travelling, in comparison with certain places in which even the mules with their instinctive skill sometimes lose their balance and are precipitated. An instance of this kind our author witnessed on his return, "when the mule which was going immediately before him with two boxes, struck one of them against a stone, missed her hind step, and rolled down some hundred feet. The mule died shortly after the accident; and when the author reached the spot where she lay, he saw the skeletons of several mules, which had perished in the same manner." He adds, however, that "the bad path did not continue above a mile and a half; and that two men, with a single day's work, might render the road very safe."

The description of Chile is extremely vague and unsatisfactory. Mr. Schmidtmeier, who seems, amongst other disqualifications, to have been imperfectly acquainted with the Spanish language, hastened from town to town, surveying every thing with a cursory and superficial glance, and accordingly relating what he saw without method or correctness. In some of his descriptions of the domestic manners and amusements of the inhabitants of the towns, he rises above his usual mediocrity. But we look in vain for that minute delineation of the nature and capabilities of the country, and the political and private state of the people, which forms the principal value of works like the present. In his general estimate of Chile and its inhabitants we are inclined, from authentic information, to agree. As the passage is the best in the book, we shall extract it almost entire.

'There are, perhaps, few people and lands better formed for improvement, and for the exhibition of good national qualities, than Chile and its inhabitants; but the natural advantages possessed in that country are held in check. . . . The country has a fine form, an advantageous situation, a most healthy climate, and a very fertile soil; but the occupiers have no encouragement for extending and improving its cultivation. . . . The Chileno is naturally intelligent, docile, and of a temper remarkably even and cheerful: he is capable of much activity, if excited to it; but when young, the road to rational improvement is not open to him; and when grown up, unless born within the small circle of the wealthy, he is held too low in the ranks of society to feel the effect of that great lever by which human faculties are best set in motion and excited,—emulation. The advantage of allowing agriculture and commerce to run their course with freedom and without heavy burthens, have not yet travelled to Chile, and the trade by which the products of its lands, of its mines, of its manufactures, and of foreign countries, are circulated there, is heavily laden with duties and shackles, not only in its course with foreign nations, but even among the Chilenos themselves." (p. 100.)

Adventures of Hajji Baba. * — This is a Persian Gil Blas, certainly not quite so full of genius as the amusing work of Le Sage, nor yet falling below it to an unmeasurable distance ; something is wanting in the writer, as much or more in the nation to whom his hero belongs. Persia is the best scene for a light-hearted adventurer, after Spain ; but it is in vain to look elsewhere for the same rich materials of romance as are to be found in the manners, pursuits, occupations, and government of the latter most remarkable country. Like Gil Blas, Hajji Baba is tossed about from rank to rank with all that suddenness of elevation and depression which can only happen in a despotic government, where the fortunes of all men depend upon the will of one, and where, for the quick dispatch of business or pleasure, the tedious forms of law and justice are dispensed with. These rapid changes present every advantage to the novelist, and from his intimate acquaintance with the manners of Persia, the author of this book has been able to avail himself of them to a very great extent.. Indeed, such is this writer's familiar, almost native knowledge of the people he describes, that we may assert with some confidence, that there are not ten men in the country who are, from their local experience, qualified to have produced the adventures of Hajji Baba. We may add too, that such is our opinion of the talent displayed in them, that on that account alone we should not be inclined to increase that number very considerably, were we required to say how many were capable of writing them at all with the same easy humour, the same felicitous strokes of satire, the same vigorous delineations of character. The defects of the author are similar to those of his great prototype — he is incapable of pathos ; he passes over the finest opportunities of affecting the feelings, and fails whenever he attempts to use them. His hero is a worthless unfeeling knave, who, were it not for his invincible good nature, would inspire us with no feelings but those of disgust and contempt. Indeed the whole book is calculated to produce similar feelings for the entire species, were it not that the cause of the degradation of this particular nation is constantly kept before our eyes. A bad government is the source of all the vice and folly, the baseness, heartlessness, and egregious vanity of a Persian. We can truly say, that it is seldom that a book leaves Mr. Murray's shop, which is likely to give birth to better notions respecting the nature and ends of national government.

Hajji Baba is not a book to make extracts from ; — it is an entire piece of uniform texture, invariably well wrought, but seldom distinguished by parts more remarkable than the rest. However, we will enable our readers to form some idea of it, by quoting a pretty long passage, which describes Hajji's first employment by a Persian doctor, into whose service he has just entered.

' Requesting me to approach nearer to him, and in a low and confidential tone of voice, he said, looking over his shoulders as if afraid of being overheard, " Hajji, you must know that an ambassador

* Murray. 3 vols. 12mo.

from the Franks is lately arrived at this court, in whose suite there is a doctor. This infidel has already acquired considerable reputation here. He treats his patients in a manner quite new to us, and has arrived with a chest full of medicines, of which we do not even know the names. He pretends to the knowledge of a great many things of which we have never yet heard in Persia. He makes no distinction between hot and cold diseases, and hot and cold remedies, as Galenus and Avicenna have ordained, but gives mercury by way of a cooling medicine; stabs the belly with a sharp instrument for wind in the stomach; and, what is worse than all, pretends to do away with the small-pox altogether, by infusing into our nature a certain extract of cow, a discovery which one of their philosophers has lately made. Now this will never do, Hajji. The small-pox has always been a comfortable source of revenue to me; I cannot afford to lose it, because an infidel chooses to come here and treat us like cattle. We cannot allow him to take the bread out of our mouths. But the reason why I particularly want your help proceeds from the following cause. The grand vizier was taken ill, two days ago, of a strange uneasiness, after having eat more than his usual quantity of raw lettuce and cucumber, steeped in vinegar and sugar. This came to the Frank ambassador's ears, who, in fact, was present at the eating of the lettuce, and he immediately sent his doctor to him, with a request that he might be permitted to administer relief. The grand vizier and the ambassador, it seems, had not been upon good terms for some time, because the latter was very urgent that some demand of a political nature might be conceded to him, which the vizier, out of consideration for the interests of Persia, was obliged to deny; and, therefore, thinking that this might be a good opportunity of conciliating the infidel, and of coming to a compromise, he agreed to accept of the doctor's services. Had I been apprised of the circumstance in time, I should easily have managed to put a stop to the proceeding; but the doctor did not lose an instant in administering his medicine, which, I hear, only consisted of one little white and tasteless pill. From all accounts, and as ill luck would have it, the effect it has produced is something quite marvellous. The grand vizier has received such relief, that he can talk of nothing else; he says, 'that he felt the pill drawing the damp from the very tips of his fingers;' and that now he has discovered in himself such newness of strength and energy, that he laughs at his old age, and even talks of making up the compliment of wives permitted to him by our blessed Prophet. But the mischief has not stopped here; the fame of this medicine, and of the Frank doctor, has gone throughout the court; and the first thing which the king talked of at the *selam* (the audience) this morning, was of its miraculous properties. He called upon the grand vizier to repeat to him all that he had before said upon the subject; and as he talked of the wonders that it had produced upon his person, a general murmur of applause and admiration was heard throughout the assembly. His majesty then turned to me, and requested me to explain the reason why such great effects should proceed from so small a cause, when I was

obliged to answer, stooping as low as I could to hide my confusion, and kissing the earth — “ I am your sacrifice : O king of kings, I have not yet seen the drug which the infidel doctor has given to your majesty’s servant, the grand vizier ; but as soon as I have, I will inform your majesty of what it consists. In the meanwhile, your humble slave beseeches the Centre of the Universe to recollect, that the principal agent on this occasion, must be an evil spirit, an enemy to the true faith, since he is an instrument in the hands of an infidel ; of one who calls our holy Prophet a cheat, and who disowns the all-powerful decrees of predestination.”

‘ “ Having said this, in order to shake his growing reputation, I retired in deep cogitation how I might get at the secrets of the infidel, and particularly enquire into the nature of his prescription, which has performed such miracles ; and you are come most opportunely to my assistance. You must immediately become acquainted with him ; and I shall leave it to your address to pick his brain and worm his knowledge out of him ; but as I wish to procure a specimen of the very medicine which he administered to the grand vizier, being obliged to give an account of it to-morrow to the shah, you must begin your services to me by eating much of lettuce and raw cucumber, and of making yourself as sick to the full as his highness the vizier. You may then apply to the Frank, who will, doubtless, give you a duplicate of the celebrated pill which you will deliver over to me.”

‘ “ But,” said I, who had rather taken fright at this extraordinary proposal, “ how shall I present myself before a man whom I do not know ? Besides, such marvellous stories are related of the Europeans, that I should be puzzled in what manner to behave ; pray give me some instructions how to act.”

‘ “ Their manners and customs are totally different to ours, that is true,” replied Mirza Ahmak ; “ and you may form some idea of them when I tell you, that instead of shaving their heads and letting their beards grow, as we do, they do the very contrary ; for not a vestige of hair is to be seen on their chins, and their hair is as thick on their heads as if they had made a vow never to cut it off : then they sit on little platforms, whilst we squat on the ground ; they take up their food with claws made of iron, whilst we use our fingers ; they are always walking about, we keep seated ; they wear tight clothes, we loose ones ; they write from left to right, we from right to left ; they never pray, we five times a day ; in short, there is no end to what might be related of them ; but most certain it is, that they are the most filthy people on the earth, for they hold nothing to be unclean ; they eat all sorts of animals, from a pig to a tortoise, without the least scruple, and that without first cutting their throats ; they will dissect a dead body without requiring any purification after it, and perform all the brute functions of their nature without ever thinking it necessary to go to the hot-bath, or even rubbing themselves with sand after them.”

“ “ And is it true,” said I, “ that they are so irascible, that if perchance their word is doubted, and they are called liars, they will fight on such an occasion till they die ?”

‘ “ That is also said of them,” answered the doctor; “ but the case has not happened to me yet; however, I must warn you of one thing, which is, that if they happen to admire any thing that you possess, you must not say to them, as you would to one of us, ‘ It is a present to you, it is your property,’ lest they should take you at your word and keep it, which you know would be inconvenient, and not what you intended; but you must endeavour as much as possible to speak what you think, for that is what they like.”

‘ “ But then, if such is the case,” said I, “ do not you think that the Frank doctor will find me out with a lie in my mouth; pretending to be sick when I am well; asking medicine from him for myself, when I want it for another?”

‘ “ No, no,” said the Mirza; “ you are to be sick, really sick, you know, and then it will be no lie. Go, Hajji, my friend,” said he, putting his arm round my neck: “ go, eat your cucumbers immediately, and let me have the pill by this evening.” And then coaxing me, and preventing me from making any farther objections to his unexpected request, he gently pushed me out of the room, and I left him, scarcely knowing whether to laugh or to cry at the new posture which my affairs had taken. To sicken without any stipulated reward was what I could not consent to do; so I retraced my steps, with a determination of making a bargain with my patron; but when I got to the room, he was no longer there, having apparently retreated into his harem; and therefore I was obliged to proceed on my errand.’

*Prose by a Poet.**—This is an amiable and amusing little work—full of good nature, fancy, and, what perhaps the author himself does not suspect, humour. Though inclined to quarrel with the title, we had not read far before we were assured that the writer was not merely a *soi-disant* poet. Nay, we moreover discovered, not only that he was a *bonâ fide* poet, but we had no difficulty, on proceeding a little further, in detecting, under this general designation, the excellent author of “ the Wanderer in Switzerland.” The purest feelings of philanthropy have always distinguished that amiable man; and they never, perhaps, were displayed more conspicuously, or more amiably, than in these very entertaining and instructive essays. To our tastes, this “ Prose” bears a high value, from the knowledge which the poet possesses respecting the situation of many classes of the poor, and for the strong sympathy which he excites for their miseries and deprivations. It seems that he resides in a large manufacturing town, and that he has extensive means of information. We beseech him to neglect no opportunity of instructing the public concerning the real state of that class, as to whom the opulent ranks of this country know as little, or indeed less, than they do of the poor of Naples or Madrid. In the meantime we will give the author’s sketch of the general life of an old woman.

‘ A female child is born in a poor man’s family; and there is joy there, even on such an event, for nature will be glad at that time, however melancholy the prospect of futurity. If the infant be hardy

enough to survive a few years of bad nursing, coarse fare, and perhaps cruel usage from rude parents, or sordid relatives, among whom she has been left an early orphan, — no sooner is she able to carry a child than she begins to learn to nurse ; her little arms are strained to clasp a baby half as big as herself, and her feeble knees totter beneath a burthen which she kisses with transports of unfeigned affection, while it almost bears her down. Thus, from the very lap she is taught by the sweetest feelings of nature, as well as by premature toil, the lessons of love, and the habit of sacrificing self-will and self-indulgence to the wants and the caprices of others ; she scarcely ceases to be an infant before she is initiated in the practical duties of a mother. Yet she is happy, because the sun shines, the shower falls, the rainbow shoots, and the birds sing for her ; sleep is sweet, and play is pleasant, and food delicious ; she has not yet found out the secret of being discontented with what she has, and coveting what she has not.

As her younger sisters grow up under her, they gradually relieve her from the delightful though oppressive employment of nursing ; but it is only to give her the opportunity of undertaking harder and less amiable tasks. She now becomes her mother's assistant in house-keeping, that is, the household drudge of all the family : she cooks, and scours, and bakes, and washes, and works, when she ought to be improving her mind at school, or exhilarating her spirits and invigorating her limbs in healthful sports with companions of her own age. Almost the only solace of her painful pre-eminence at home, in this stage of life, is that, as her mother's deputy, she can exercise a petty authority over her juniors on the hearthstone, and scold and slap the little ones when they are obstreperous, or she is ill-humoured. Presently, however, she is tall enough to be put out to service ; a place is found for her in some family, little superior in wealth or information to her own ; and here she experiences how much truth there is in that proverbial saying among persons of her class, — " There's no end of women's work." The hardier sex, from the master to the youngest apprentice, labour and rest at intervals. The servant girl is up earliest in the morning ; she is on foot all day ; even the Sabbath scarcely affords a breathing space to her ; and till she is permitted to retire at night, she knows no respite from active drudgery, except the few minutes of her meals : but those meals are hearty ones ; her couch may be straw or eider-down, for aught she knows or cares, for her slumbers are sound and her dreams are golden ; she thrives, and is cheerful amidst all her toils and privations. The flowers come in April, the nightingale sings in May, and love in due season awakens in her breast all the hopes and the fears, the jealousies, anxieties, and entrancements, that agitate more refined and susceptible bosoms ; for love is a leveller, and his influence is equally overpowering in whatever heart it prevails. Our young maiden, in her own expressive language, is sure to have " a sweetheart," with whom the wooing interludes, amidst her weary service, make toil delightful, if not for its own sake, yet for his. Meanwhile, though pinioned to time and place in her duty, like a wren sitting on nine

eggs, every one of which must be hatched ; yet as even the brooding mother flits occasionally from the nest " to pick a scanty meal," and then returns with double ardour to her task, — so our indefatigable maiden seizes the hasty opportunity whenever it occurs, if it be but for a moment, to steal out and exchange a word or a look with the youth of her choice, and feel as if there were something in life worth living for to the poorest of its possessors. And so there is.

‘ Preliminaries are soon arranged, where being thrice asked at church is all the legal formality required ; they are married, and she has a home of her own, such as it is ; — but she is charmed with being mistress of herself, and heedless of the future. Her husband lives with her a few years, and they are as well off as other folks ; their children are multiplied, so are their troubles ; — trade fails ; her partner is unfortunate or improvident ; his health is broken, and he dies before his time ; or he falls into bad company, his morals are debauched, he goes for a soldier, or runs away nobody knows whither ; and she is left, in middle age, a widow, or a widowed wife, with a numerous offspring, the oldest of which is hardly fit for apprenticeship. These grow up around her, — if they are not dispersed by the overseers, — according to her own character, in habits of industry or sloth, subsisting frugally on their honest earnings, or miserably on parish allowance. One by one, however, they leave her : the sons are scattered abroad ; some settle in humble occupations, others are rovers, and enter the army, or seek their fortunes at sea ; the daughters in their turns engage in domestic service, or in manufactories, from whence, in the course of nature, (as it is in low life) they are duly married off ; and while she is growing old, her immediate successors are transmigrating through the same stages of poverty and trial, to the same consummation of wretchedness as she and her husband passed before them, and through which their descendants are doomed to follow them. Every year they are further removed, and estranged from her, or have additional burthens and expences of their own to bear. Thus every year she is more deserted ; and her helps fail just in proportion as her strength declines, her infirmities increase, and assistance from others becomes indispensable to her wellbeing.

‘ At length, worn down with bodily exertions and long suffering ; broken in spirits, and bowed under a weight of years ; without a relative beneath her roof, — if she have yet a roof to shelter her, — except perhaps a grandchild or two, whose parents are in the grave, and whom she has to nurse and feed, when she herself ought to be nursed and fed like an infant, — she lingers out to the latest period of decay in penury and sickness, with just food enough to make her feel unceasingly the yearnings of hunger, and clothing [enough] to make the lack of more a grievous discomfort. Yet so mysteriously and mercifully mingled is the cup of life, that there is sweetness at the end of the bitterest draught, and the very dregs of it are drained with delight by those to whom " the evil days are come, and the years when they say we have no pleasure in them." These few general outlines, with little comparative variation, might be filled up

with the features of each particular case in "the short and simple annals" of thousands of poor old women breathing at this day the air of heaven, and loving the warmth of the sun, if they cannot see his beams,—so as to form perfect biographical resemblances of all.

' The aged and unprovided females of the present day are also in less favourable circumstances than, it may be hoped, those who are treading in the steps of womanhood after them, to the same extremity of helplessness, are likely to be placed in when they arrive there. Formerly there were few Christian and benevolent institutions for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the poor; no societies among their superiors for bettering their condition, and more effectually helping them, by teaching them to help themselves. Such genuine charities are now both numerous and flourishing throughout the land. Those, therefore, of the feebler sex, who now form the advanced guard in the march of human life, and already verge on the confines of the grave, having passed that limit beyond which mortal strength is declared by the voice of inspiration to be "labour and sorrow,"—those who are thus circumstanced, at this time, have fewer resources and consolations than their successors are either wisely preparing for themselves, or by anticipation enjoying through the beneficence of others. There is, therefore, the greater need to urge with importunity the practice of that part of "pure and undefiled religion," which is "to visit the widows in their affliction;" seeing that a few more seasons will utterly sweep away the living race of old women, and hurry them beyond the reach of wrong or compassion from their fellow-creatures.

' But independent of casual disadvantages, these sufferers, in their lowest state, have a peculiar claim, on account of their sex, on the veneration and gratitude of both sexes;—a claim on their own, springing from the purest sympathies of a sister-nature; a claim on ours, founded on the strongest obligation that can bind one being to another,—the obligation of birth. When the Almighty had taken Eve from the side of the man whom he had created, and brought her unto him, Adam said, "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh." The debt which the first woman thus owed to the first man, her daughters have been repaying through all generations. Every son of Adam has been born of a woman, and beholden for his very substance to a mother; from the fountain of whose blood his veins were first filled, and from the pulsation of whose heart vital motion was first communicated to his own:—of every one, therefore, who assumes to be an hereditary lord of this nether creation, woman may say as literally as Adam said to Eve,— "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh."— "*Man that is born of a woman!*" is so beautiful, and tender, and solemn an expression, that in the whole compass of language, there is not another, connected with terrestrial existence, that awakens deeper feeling, that associates so many affecting ideas, or comprehends more of what is lovely, and awful, and dear, in alliance with our social nature; while it touches with personal application every individual of the species.'

THE
WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

APRIL, 1824.

ART. I. *Life of Ferdinand VII.* By Don ———, Advocate of the Spanish Tribunals. Translated by M. J. Quin, Esq. &c. &c. 8vo. London. Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 1824.

Notes on the War in Spain; detailing Occurrences, Military and Political, in Galicia, and at Gibraltar and Cadiz, from the Fall of Corunna to the Occupation of Cadiz by the French. By Thomas Steele, Esq. M. A. 8vo. London; Sherwood, Jones, & Co. 1824.

THAT man must be dead to every elevated thought, and every generous affection, who does not feel indignation and sorrow on considering the tragic close of the great drama of the Spanish revolution, the rise of which excited so much interest, and inspired so much hope. The tree of liberty which was beginning to flourish, and gave promise of seasonable fruitage, has been cut down and uprooted, and the soil which nourished it is covered with pernicious weeds.

The causes which put an end to liberty in Spain are many in number, and some of them contemporaneous with the re-establishment of the constitution in 1820. We shall endeavour to explain them as they present themselves to our minds, convinced that in regard to their actual amount, and to the magnitude of their future results, they claim the earnest attention of the philosopher and the politician.

When a few Spanish soldiers, about four years ago, with no other inducement than a knowledge of the lamentable state of their country, and of the necessity of reform, with no previous understanding with men of similar sentiments in other countries, with no other aid than the consciousness of honest intentions and a daring spirit, ventured to proclaim the constitution given to their country in 1812 by the Cortes, but never firmly planted, and destroyed almost as soon as formed; their easy triumph demonstrated more than the goodness of the re-established law, more than the affection of the people for the recovered code, the need in which Spain stood of bettering her condition, and the extent and intensity of those evils which so urgently demanded a remedy. It is a truth which requires little proof;

that five thousand men, whose first plans failed,* and who met with more reverses than victories, could never have succeeded in changing the political institutions of their country, had there not existed a strong and general conviction of the necessity, and an eager desire, of change. The constitution of 1812 was accepted by the Spanish nation as a pledge of unknown value indeed, but which promised better fortune; it was received with an enthusiasm which the most perfect and most approved work could never have merited. The salutary principles on which it was generally founded, justified this partiality in the eyes of the intelligent observer; those of the vulgar were dazzled by the brilliant perspective which the advocates of the code presented to them. In the dawn of the restoration arose hopes that assumed indistinct but gigantic proportions, but which the light of mid-day reduced to their just dimensions. The disappointment that ensued was natural, as was also the advantage derived from it by the enemies of the new system.

The Spanish constitution contained elements which were adverse to its stability. In fact, amidst a multitude of excellent doctrines and useful laws, it includes contradictory principles, which must tend to its destruction. Its primary defect, consists in its excessive detail. It embraces a very considerable number of regulatory articles, which, being in their nature variable, could not be modified without incurring the charge of altering the constitution itself. So that the dilemma (and it was thought a serious one) constantly presented itself of either abandoning useful objects, or of appearing hostile to the unchangeable nature of the fundamental law. It is deformed by religious intolerance, which unfits it for the establishment of a liberal government. Democratical in a high degree, in regard to the power which it concedes to the legislative body, it is not sufficiently democratical in the formation of that body, as it fails to create that intimacy and confidence which ought to exist between representatives and their constituents. Recognizing popular elements alone, it creates in the council of state a monstrous influence, possessing the defects without the advantages of an Upper House, to which it bears an unfortunate resemblance. To a limited monarch it gave many noxious prerogatives, and removed him beyond the

* The plan of the insurrection of 1820 was for the whole army to occupy Cadiz and declare for the constitution. Cadiz closed her gates, and a large portion of the army declared against the constitutionalists, who would never have triumphed if their cause had not been highly popular.

reach of popular control, while, though endowed with splendor and wealth, he was in some cases stripped of a power which might have been beneficially reposed in him. The tribunals it abandoned to much of their ancient disorder and arbitrary sway, though it must be evident that the efficient administration of justice is the principal object of social institutions, and the means by which the advantages or disadvantages of a government are brought home to the nation at large. These defects sully a work in other respects worthy of great praise, and in which are established and developed, more happily than in any of the constitutions existing in Europe, the foundations and the doctrines of the true popular and representative system. The defects originated in the impossibility of at once constructing a perfect work, and with time and experience they might have been remedied.

Among the principal causes of the calamities of Spain was the imperfect nature of the revolution by which the constitution was re-established; an imperfection occasioned by the unexpected oath taken by Ferdinand in favour of a constitution of which he had been the destroyer and the most inveterate enemy; and by the unwise and even ridiculous submissiveness with which the nation accepted that mendacious piece of mockery from the hands which had signed the decree of the 4th of May, 1814, been imbrued in the blood of patriots, and held in a tremor of anger and fear the sceptre of Spain. Hence sprang two great and irremediable evils:—permanency in the throne of the ancient sovereign with a new title, and with two-fold and contradictory rights, and that permanency in the power of a man such as Ferdinand the Seventh.

It has been wisely remarked, that the revolution of an absolute monarchy cannot be consolidated without supplanting the reigning despot by a republican government, or by a new dynasty. The sovereign by right of birth will never consent to be indebted for his throne to the will of the nation. He will employ the power that remains to him in endeavouring to recover what he has lost, and will strive to corrupt or disturb the exercise of his government, so that it shall be inadequate to the purposes for which it was instituted, or through continual alarms and struggles again fall under his absolute dominion. What could be expected from the depraved, the hypocritical, the false, and perjured Ferdinand, though transformed from a tyrant into a popular magistrate? Hated, and, what is worse, humbled, he inspired neither compassion nor respect. The strife against him must needs be continual; aggravated by the recollection of the past, and the dread of the future, an oppo-

sition was to be expected, as violent through its fear, as insolent through its contempt of the monarch.

Wherefore, amidst the general applause excited when the restoration of liberty in Spain was proclaimed, it was not difficult to foresee, from the causes here adduced, either its speedy destruction, or another struggle in order to confirm it—a struggle which must be not only domestic but foreign—a struggle provoked by reforms indispensably necessary, and by the contrariety prevailing between the system adopted in Spain, and that which was universally followed on the continent of Europe.

It was to be presumed that, on the establishment of the new constitution, there must ensue in Spain a destruction of abuses that were incompatible with it in every respect. It was impossible either to take steps for the general improvement of the condition of the people, or to ordain such institutions as would ensure the health and vigour of the body politic without coming into collision with numerous corporate communities, or trampling on interests which in tranquil times should be respected. In states enjoying just and beneficent laws, the respect due to property is the most solid basis of the social edifice. But in a country just regenerating, where, through years of abuse and usurpations, enormous masses of misapplied property have been accumulated, some violence may be necessary to place things in the most beneficial order. Had it not been for those oppressions by which Henry the Eighth deprived the religious houses of their ample possessions, England might now be suffering the sad effects of the ecclesiastical mortmain. Had it not been for the violence of her legislative assemblies, France could not have attained to that degree of internal prosperity which she now enjoys. Spain required similar measures; and if her legislators are to blame, it is not for having instituted reforms, but for having done that work by halves. They left in the hands of those who had suffered by the partial suppression of abuses, means enabling them to make a stand against the reformers whom they hated for what was past, and feared for what was to come.

But if it was impossible to avoid exciting intestine discontents, and creating domestic hostility to the new system of things, it was equally impossible not to provoke the aversion and enmity of foreign governments to the constitutional system of the Peninsula. When she shook off her chains, tyranny was reduced to a system in Europe; the Holy Alliance already existed. The despots, chastised in the wars of the French revolution, saved afterwards through the delirium of

Napoleon, and by the enthusiastic aid of their deluded subjects, had, without acquiring true wisdom, learned more ingenious methods of committing crime. Armed oppressors—they justly feared that the oppressed would, like the Spaniards, arise and vindicate their rights. They were piqued that Spain should exhibit this example, for two reasons; first, because they regarded her as the classic land of submission to civil and religious tyranny, and held forth Spanish endurance as a model to other nations; secondly, because the circumstance that Spain had been the country which, by means of a popular insurrection, was the first to resist the power of Napoleon, and even contribute to his overthrow, afforded reason to fear that the example which they now gave would be followed like the former, and with an equally propitious result. This fear was doubly excited when Naples, Portugal, and afterwards Piedmont, proclaimed their regeneration and raised the Spanish constitution as their ensign. But even before the manifestation of these revolutions, and from the very moment when a constitution founded on the sovereignty of the people was re-established in Spain, by means of that sovereignty, all the monarchs of Europe, either openly or insidiously, placed themselves in a state of real hostility against the Spanish nation and its new government.

Such was the situation of Spain, when in July, 1820, her legislative body assembled, and Ferdinand in the midst of that assembly took a new oath to the constitution, amidst general demonstrations of the most sincere and heartfelt joy. Every thing seemed to promise tranquillity and happiness; but a vigilant observer might discern the symptoms of an imminent and inevitable convulsion. The circumstances of the revolution, the situation of the king, and his known character, afforded unequivocal indications of such a result; the passions excited both at home and abroad against the new laws portended that it would be violent and lasting.

Much has been said in Spain on the dissolution of the army of San Fernando, on the fatal dissensions among the Liberals, to which it gave rise, and on the distinction between the men of 1812 and those of 1820 or between the *Moderados* and the *Exaltados*. We, who neither undertake to write a history, nor have any taste for personalities when they can be avoided, shall not blame this or that minister, this or that deputy of the Spanish Cortes—this or that general or patriot. Taking a larger view of things, we shall attend solely to the system pursued by the government and the majority of the Congress in 1820, and to the sentiments of the opposition, without dwelling upon par-

ticular facts, which we shall refer to the general plan that produced them.

As soon as the king of Spain had taken his first oath in favour of the constitution, two parties appeared in the nation, of which the one deemed the revolution ended by the establishment of the constitution, and the other believed it still to be in progress, with every probability of a long duration. The former party thought, that the real revolution of Spain had taken place in the war of independence, and had been accomplished in "the constitution;" that if this constitution had indeed been destroyed, and an insurrection had been required to re-establish it, this desired re-establishment being once effected, nothing more was to be wished for; that the misfortunes of France, caused by the duration of her revolution, should serve as a warning to Spain; that having the advantage of a constitution already formed, nothing was to be thought of but to follow the path which it prescribed; that every trace of the late insurrection should be effaced; that a pacific and moderate policy should be adopted, for the purpose of enabling the constitutional system to gain the affections of its internal and external enemies; to flatter the king that he might become well satisfied with the use of his legal prerogative, and by proofs of a mild and conciliatory conduct, to convince foreign governments of the innocence (if such a term be allowable) of the change that had taken place in Spain; that this presented no obstacle to the institution of reforms in a legal way, and to their accomplishment without violence; lastly, that a generous oblivion of the past, and a lenient system, were best calculated to enable the nation to consolidate the new institutions without intestine dissensions, or embarrassments on the part of other powers. To these arguments the other party replied; — that although it was true that the constitution had been re-established, yet for that reason the revolution had not ceased, nor was it in the power of any one, however much such a consummation might be desired, to cause it to cease so suddenly; that the elements of a counter-revolution existed among them; were even in agitation, and ought to be extinguished, which could not be done without vigour and even severity: that although the constitution existed *de jure*, it did not, nor could it, exist *de facto*; that it was necessary to root it firmly, and provide for its preservation; that for this intent, and to counteract the party opposed to it, there was an absolute necessity of maintaining in its strength and enthusiasm, and to a certain degree *in activity*, the power of the people; that the monarch was notoriously an enemy of the new system; that he had taken the oath only through duplicity

and cowardice, and was bent on the destruction of that system, for effecting which he relied on powerful aid within and without the kingdom; that for these projects his prerogative afforded him abundant means, and that the exercise of that prerogative must be carefully watched; that to confirm the revolution it was necessary to create new interests dependent on it; that since reforms must take place, they should be prompt, radical, and profitable to the people, who might thence form a counterpoise to the animosity of those who lost by them; that these reforms should be maintained by a physical force, which should generate a moral force capable of commanding the respect of domestic and foreign foes; that the latter were numerous, inveterate, irreconcilable, and not to be restrained but by intimidation; that it was therefore proper to adopt a strong and daring policy in the management of our domestic affairs, and of our foreign relations; to inflict a terrible chastisement on those who conspired against the fundamental laws of the constitution; to disarm its enemies; to arm its friends; and by means of a military force, a determined tone, and a daring conduct, to consolidate the constitution in Spain, and perhaps for this purpose to diffuse it in other countries, since sooner or later its principles must either prevail over the whole continent, or perish on the soil where they were first proclaimed.

The above is a brief summary of the opinions entertained by the two parties into which the Spanish Liberals were divided. To the former class of opinions, must be ascribed the steps taken by the first constitutional ministry, and supported by the Cortes:—the dissolution of the army of San Fernando; the suppression of popular societies; the conciliatory spirit manifested towards the anti-constitutionalists; the timid and cautious policy observed when the Spanish constitution was proclaimed, and immediately afterwards attacked, in Naples; the dilatoriness in augmenting the army; the reduction of the contributions; the smallness of the first loan; and the wary timidity that effected by halves the most important reforms. On the contrary, those in opposition, by their anxiety to keep alive the enthusiasm and power of the people, by their agitation of the patriotic societies, by their desire for the punishment of the anti-constitutionalists, by their clamour for the creation of a force, and the adoption of a daring policy, domestic as well as foreign; by their violent writings and even their harangues, clearly exemplified to the extent of their ability the latter class of opinions. The reasons alleged by both parties were plausible; experience has shown those of the latter to be the best. But in Spain opinions of the former class obtained a complete triumph. Scarcely had Ferdinand sworn to the con-

stitution, when the men who had re-established it at the risk of their lives, voluntarily divested themselves of the power which they possessed. By their consent the reins of government were transferred to the patriots of 1812, to the deputies of the general and extraordinary Cortes, who formed the constitution, and of the ordinary Cortes dissolved in 1814, who rose from a dungeon to the seats of the ministry, to the bench of the legislators, and to posts of the highest honour and confidence. Most of those men enjoyed a great reputation; persecution had magnified their virtues, while their fortitude in suffering and the inflexible constancy with which they clung to their opinions had either blotted from remembrance, or sufficiently refuted, the charge of improvidence or timidity which some persons, with more or less reason, had raised against them for their conduct in their former superintendence of the constitutional system. The nation welcomed them with applause and confidence; the leaders of the insurrection received them rather as chiefs than as companions. But this submission was not natural, and could not be lasting. Those who received the power, regarded those who had transferred it to them, as rivals to be suspected, and endeavoured to deprive them of the little physical force which remained to them, without assigning to them the moral force to which they had a claim. The latter chagrined and disappointed, attempted to recover the power which they had lost. The strife began; what was formerly difference of opinion was heightened into party vehemence and rancour; the enemies of the constitution, inciting both parties to the conflict, and lending their perilous aid to that which they least dreaded, gloried in a struggle in which, whoever were the victors, the conquered must necessarily be their adversaries.

Thus passed the year 1820, and with it expired the period of the first legislature. Some conspiracies, which proved abortive before they had produced the slightest effect, were the only signs which the anti-constitutional party gave of their existence. To the triumph of the moderate or ministerial party in September, succeeded, within about three months afterwards, a species of tacit capitulation, by which the *Exaltados* were restored to power and to the subordinate commands, by ministers dismayed at their own victory, from the ascendancy which they had conferred by it on the enemies of liberty.

In the year 1821, the cause of the constitution appeared to be in a still more perilous state. The conspiracies of the *Serviles* were more frequent, and the body-guards ventured to give public demonstrations of their evil disposition. The

former, however, were discovered; and the latter were subdued and dissolved without a struggle. Ferdinand appeared as an accomplice in all these plots. The regal inviolability protected his existence, and ensured his permanency on the throne, but his character was degraded and debased at every step, and as suspicion thickened upon him, the condition of Spain became more critical and irritated.

This year was signalized by an important event. At the opening of the session the king dismissed his ministers and accused them before the congress, in an addition to the opening speech, which was, of course, to be supposed the composition of that responsible ministry. Such an irregularity was risked by Ferdinand and unnoticed by the Cortes. By this event, the ministers recovered a portion of their personal popularity. The king who had called them to him, doubtless much against his inclination, would never have resolved to discard them, had he not known that they had lost the immense reputation to which they owed their appointment. If their dismissal was adverse to the preservation of liberty, this is an additional reason for lamenting the divisions by which it was facilitated.

Their successors were chosen promiscuously and never formed a homogeneous mass. Their conduct, regular in the outset, became afterward so rash and inconsiderate as to give room for suspicions as to their designs, and for alterations very fatal to the public tranquillity, and ultimately, to the cause of the constitution.

In the same year, 1821, the *Servile* party began to appear in arms. A powerful faction broke forth in Biscay and Navarre; but it was instantly subdued and extirpated by the troops of the line and the national militia, and by means of severe laws, executed at that time with vigour, precision, and celerity. Merino appeared in Castille, and though he made no progress, he gave full occupation to the troops that pursued him, and was constantly re-appearing in arms. With similar fortune, though with fewer forces, Zaldivar took the field in Andalusia. These partisans were encouraged with the hope of foreign succour, which was rendered more probable by the invasion of Naples by the Austrians, which occurred at this time, and by the more decidedly hostile attitude which the Holy Alliance took in regard to Spain.

But the events which still more distinguished this year were the symptoms of civil war which at its close appeared in Andalusia, and spread, though not to the same extent, in other provinces. The Liberals took up arms against each other: the cry of "The Constitution" resounded through the ranks of both

parties. These events were attributable to the ambiguous conduct of the ministry, and to the irritable and suspicious temper of the *Exaltado* party; the former demanding the letter of the constitution, while the latter, insisted on its spirit, and on the necessity of saving it amidst the complicated and imminent dangers to which it was exposed. The former were deficient in worth and talent, the latter wanted union and firmness. The Cortes, whose aid was invoked by both parties, wished to do justice, by condemning the one as well as the other. Their decision, very doubtful in regard to its justice, was fatal in respect to the rules of policy. Both parties were offended by it, and more exasperated against each other. Their dissensions had an influence on the congress and produced a fluctuating majority which as promptly condemned the ministers as the *Exaltados*, and which proceeded to enact new restrictions on the liberty of the press, and on the right of petition, without any other effect than that of augmenting the irritation of the parties against whom they were directed. The moderate party appeared victorious, and certainly had suffered least in the conflict. The anti-constitutionalists joined their ranks, and under the pretence of supporting the constitution, plainly indicated their wish for its overthrow. This coalition rendered the moderate party still more suspected, and they, to exculpate themselves, lavished on their adversaries the epithets of republican and anarchist. This state of confusion existed at the close of 1821 and during the first months of the year following.

In that year a dissolution of the Cortes took place, and nearly all the newly-elected deputies joined the *Exaltado* party. This union was a source of great hopes and fears. Friends and enemies agreed that the past season of moderation and mildness, of gentle reforms and timid policy, must be succeeded by an æra of radical reform, of energy, of violence, and perhaps of *terror*. These calculations proved fallacious. The Cortes of 1822 and 1823 advanced in the same path which the former Cortes had pursued. There was a little more vehemence in their debates, and a little more alarm among their opponents, which however were followed by no important results, and evaporated in empty noise.

The reins of administration were then placed in the hands of men of the moderate party, who had been deputies in the recently dissolved Cortes, who were celebrated for their talents, and known as strenuous constitutionalists before the year 1820. But they neither justified the opinion formed of them, nor proved themselves by their conduct to be firm friends of the

constitution of 1812. Surrounded by anti-constitutionalists, intoxicated with the applauses which they received from them, enjoying a semblance of royal favour, insulted by the *Exaltado* party whom they persecuted, they gave birth to a third faction, to which there is some reason to believe, though no certain ground for affirming, that they themselves belonged. This faction, of which the existence was long denied, and which at length declaring itself, has acted a principal part in the ruin of Spanish liberty, was designated as the party of *the chambers*, its object being to alter the constitution of 1812 by assimilating it to those of England and France. To name all the men composing this band, would be a difficult task; the rancour of party more than once enumerated among them persons who afterwards testified their adherence to the existing constitution. The general voice accuses the constitutional society, commonly called the *Society of the Ring*, of having served as a point of union to the *modifiers*. The first ostensible object of that society was the defence of the constitution, which was supposed to be attacked by the *Exaltados*, in opposition to whom the society was actually formed. Its proceedings were not known, but there is reason to believe that they were of little importance. But the knowledge of its existence, and the suspicion of its intentions, did harm rather than good to the cause of the constitution, and its members themselves were obliged to abandon a society productive of no advantage even to them. The date of its existence was contemporaneous with the meeting of the second Cortes. To it belonged the ministry that was then formed, and though the majority of the congress was rather adverse than friendly to it, they were at length induced to act in its support, since for want of judgment they were led to favour, perhaps against their will, the ministry themselves.

During the short career of that ministry the moderate party and the *Exaltados* continued at war though with less vigour than formerly. But, meanwhile, the declared enemies of the constitution had augmented their strength. Deriving vigour from the divisions among the Liberals, and also from foreign aid, especially from France, they raised the banner of insurrection in Catalonia. Their rising appeared to some persons to be at first of little importance, and not at all more formidable than several insurrections which had been easily suppressed in other provinces. But clear-sighted men instantly discerned in it symptoms denoting the magnitude of the evil, and predicted that it would be a lasting and powerful rebellion. The proximity of the French army which, under the title of *Cordon Sani-*

taire, occupied cantonments on the frontier, while it offered a point of support to the insurgents, disclosed the origin of the insurrection, and was a prognostic of its results. But among those who were aware of the danger, unfortunately, we can reckon neither the ministry nor the chiefs of Catalonia. The latter, entangled in puerile quarrels with some patriots of Barcelona, totally neglected the rising and suffered it to gain strength. The former, either deceived or corrupted, described the movement to the Cortes as insignificant and as suppressed as soon as manifested. Meanwhile the flame spread, and in a short time the whole of ancient Catalonia was on fire. The conflagration extended to Navarre, where symptoms of insurrection had already appeared, as well as in the Biscayan provinces. On more distant points of the French frontier there appeared only some fitful movements. Yet the aspect of the peninsula in May 1822 was on all hands sad and gloomy. The ministry accused the *Exaltados* and were accused by them at every moment with increasing acrimony: the factions grew more violent; the party of *the chambers* augmented: none of these parties had strength sufficient to prevail, though all were strong enough to hurt each other. Every thing portended a great catastrophe, though the shock had not yet arrived. The words of Tacitus might now be justly applied to Spain; "*non tumultus, non quies, sed quale magnæ iræ et magni metus silentium erat.*"

The French invasion, and the easy conquest which has ensued, have occasioned a very general opinion that the majority of the Spaniards were adverse to the constitution of 1812. An opinion which we believe to be unfounded. In support of our belief we shall request the reader's attention to the state of Spain at the time of which we are now treating.

A celebrated deputy of the Spanish Cortes* observed, that though in 1820 five thousand soldiers changed the face of the nation, in 1822 thirty thousand armed men with foreign aid could not succeed in overthrowing the constitutional government of a single province, and hence he very accurately inferred, that the constitutional monarchy rested on a basis more solid than that of the former despotism. In fact, if public opinion in Spain had been adverse to the constitution, the *Servile* insurrection in Catalonia would have been attended with results similar to those of the *Liberal* insurrection in Andalusia.—A matter the more easy, because the Spanish government had not physical force sufficient to suppress the insurrection, and

* Senor Arguelles. Session of the 11th January 1822.

applied either erroneously or too late the little that it possessed. The constitution, therefore, defended itself in those circumstances by its moral strength, which proves that at least the effective majority of the Spaniards were in favour of it.

We cannot deny, however, that a considerable part of the Spanish people were discontented, and in a state of which the factious might avail themselves for their own purposes. In truth the improvements which the nation had anticipated from the fall of the despotism, and the introduction of a rational and liberal form of government had by no means begun to be felt. Several beneficial decrees of the Cortes had not been carried into execution, thanks to the lukewarmness and inexperience of the ministers or their subordinate agents, and to the total disorder of the machinery of the state. The public revenue instead of advancing, became daily more confused; the taxes imprudently lessened had been suddenly augmented; the public expenses were becoming considerably greater, and new imposts, at all times odious, had been added to those already existing. The people, who in few countries take any interest in political affairs, though in all countries capable of knowing when they are ill or well governed, in Spain were, therefore, quite prepared to favour the insurgents, even for the mere chance of mending their fortune by a new change. But the middling classes, in whom consists the real dignity and strength of all states, were decidedly favourable to the existing system. The nobility, degraded and insignificant, seemed satisfied with the new institutions; and the principal part of them, the *Grandees*, almost all passed in Madrid for constitutionalists. Even those quiet persons whose sole wish is to live at peace, did not lend to the overthrow of the constitutional system the aid of their indifference, which they had formerly afforded to the fall of the absolute government. Hence it was, that the bands of the Faith were composed only of outcasts, or of the most wretched of the populace. Their efforts would never have sufficed to destroy the liberty of Spain, even aided by the arms of France. It was necessary that intrigue should detach from the cause of the constitution of 1812 a part of its adherents, and that the middling classes, and the peaceable individuals should be deluded with the promise of another liberal and just system, attended with less danger, and greater happiness in order that the one in actual existence, which had unfortunately lost its popularity, might be buried at once, and with it the national independence and glory, and every notion of a free and enlightened government.

But the separation of this party from the constitutional ban-

ners, was not the work of a moment, nor did it occur at the period to which we allude. There did, indeed, exist at that time, as we have already stated, a party which desired modifications in the constitution, but it was small in number, and absolutely destitute of influence. It was composed of some *grandees*, formerly constitutionalists, who fancied, that with the establishment of an upper house, they might obtain a degree of consideration equal to that enjoyed by the peers of England;—of some councillors of state, who believed that their body would be the nucleus of that upper house; and of perhaps the greater part of the old partisans of Joseph Buonaparte, known by the name of *Afrancesados*, who partly by their presumption,* partly by the former antipathies between themselves and the Liberals, and partly by the conduct maintained towards them, since the restoration, had never been able to amalgamate themselves with the mass of the Spanish people, or to acquiesce in laws formed by men with whom, at the time of enacting them, they were waging an inveterate war. A party composed of these elements was of little value in the revolution. But on the entrance of the French army into Spain, it formed a dangerous centre of union; since, having points of contact with the two conflicting opinions and with the enlightened part of the invaders, it was enabled to render defection less odious, and to impart a semblance of respectability to the servile party.

Some persons affirm, that the rebellion of the guards in the beginning of July 1823 was the first operation of this party. Doubtless that occurrence, the causes of which are, as yet, not well ascertained, was intended to be turned to the advantage of the *modifiers*. But if they indeed prepared it, they were, at all events unable either to direct or to controul it. Ferdinand, on whom the lessons of adversity are totally lost, had no relish for half measures, and was satisfied with nothing short of unqualified despotism. The idea of a political equilibrium, or of a mixed monarchy was incomprehensible to soldiers in a state of insubordination, who knew no medium between the cry of “Long live the Constitution,” and that of “Long live the Absolute King.” The cowardice of Ferdinand, and the incapacity of his counsellors, frustrated this celebrated conspiracy, which for a time extinguished the moderate party.

* It is not to be supposed that our aim is to inculcate all those who in the war of independence joined that party. Many among them have distinguished themselves by their adherence, and their services to the constitutional cause. But the chiefs—those who occupied the highest posts under the reign of Joseph, the writers of greatest repute, have all been ranked among the *modifiers*—they have all contributed to the subjugation of Spain by the enemy.

In the memorable event of the 7th of July, the Spanish revolution seemed to assume a new character. The existing administration accused from many quarters of connivance with the rebels, or at least of having endeavoured to avail themselves of the rebellion of the guards, for the purpose of effecting alterations in the constitution, and denounced almost universally as weak and imbecile, sunk under the weight of public indignation. The king, openly recognized as a conspirator, was subdued, and fell into the hands of the victors. The power reverted to the people, or to that portion of the people best known for its adherence to the new institutions—namely, the national militia of Madrid, and the armed patriots who, without the acquiescence of government, had, by their valour and success, saved the country. The sole consequence of an event, which seemed likely to produce so many important results, was, as we have stated, the fall of the ministry and the formation of another, composed of revolutionists of 1820, and other liberal *Exaltados*. Never was so favourable an opportunity so utterly lost. The time of action was certainly arrived, since it was quite clear that, issue being already joined, the foreign governments, and especially that of France, which had taken so considerable a share in the frustrated conspiracy, were not likely to overlook any means for remedying the disaster. The crisis of the 7th of July has, by many persons, been compared to that of the 10th of August, 1792 in France. Although the comparison be as odious as it is unjust, the results ought to have been similar in regard to the dethronement of the despot; for how was it possible to preserve in favour of Ferdinand the respect necessary for his sway? Where was the utility of retaining as king, a man in the lowest degree humbled and debased, whose continual acts of perfidy involved the country at every step in new perils?

Contenting themselves with inferior advantages, the Spaniards continued their course, availing themselves of the name of the king who readily allowed it, affecting to be satisfied with impunity for his repeated crimes, and with the means still left him for again committing them with better success. His new ministry were beyond measure odious to him; but their immense moral power ensured to them his respect. In those circumstances it was difficult to attack them with the arms of the servile party. Those of the Liberals appeared more fitted for the purpose, and with them the war was waged. The victorious party of the liberal *Exaltados* was divided into two sects, the *Masons*.*

* The persons called Masons in Spain bore no affinity to the Masons of other countries. The designation was given to the Patriots, who, in secret societies, had planned the revolution of 1820, and also to their adherents.

and the *Comuneros*. Their violent dissensions drew the attention of the public, and on more than one occasion, that of the ministry, from interests of greater consequence, and from perils more serious and urgent. Yet the accession of the *Exaltado* ministry to power was brilliant. Mina marched into Catalonia, and opened a campaign which terminated in the total rout of the insurgents,—in the dispersion of the pretended government, which, under the title of Regency of Spain, had been erected at Urgel, and in the almost complete pacification of the province. In Navarre similar advantages were obtained; and although new factions appeared in other quarters, yet there would be no temerity in affirming, that, had it not been for the foreign invasion, Spain would speedily have witnessed the extinction of the civil war by which she was lacerated. But at this time, the despots of the continent, who had more than once manifested a desire to suppress in Spain the spirit of reform, by them called anarchy, assembled at Verona to deliberate on the execution of their iniquitous plan. At that congress was decreed the ruin of European liberty, and in furtherance of that design, the subjugation of Spain by a French force. Unfortunately there existed abundant means for the Holy Allies to carry into effect their projected enterprise. Spain wanted money, that sinew of war, and the animating principle of a state. She wanted also a spirit of union among her children. In order to prevent her from obtaining the former, and to establish new obstacles to the creation of the latter, the first care of the foreign cabinets was, to prepare the invasion and provide for its successful result.

So long ago as 1820, on the meeting of the first Cortes, the government demanded, and the Cortes granted loans to supply the great disproportion existing between the revenue and the expenditure. Unfortunately that middle course, so fatal, and so frequently followed in the Spanish revolution, was adopted also in this case. The first loan was paltry, so that the nation burthened itself with an augmentation of debt without furnishing itself with means sufficient for opening new channels of public prosperity which, by augmenting wealth, might have created resources for the future liquidation of the amount borrowed. This convenient, but ruinous course, being once taken, required to be strictly followed. A bad loan was succeeded by a one which proved worse, but which was the more urgently required, because, through an irregularity common in Spain, under every system of things, the contributions yielded returns much inferior to the estimates, either from the unwillingness of the people to pay them, or from their diminution in passing

through the hands of the collectors. At all events, it is certain that at the time of the congress of Verona the resources of the Spanish government were completely exhausted. Having been authorized by the Cortes to open a new loan they executed this measure at a late period, and in an injudicious manner. But when they calculated on its scanty amount to meet the most urgent necessities, the contractor with whom they had treated refused to pay over the stipulated sums, and even protested the bills drawn on him for the amount consumed. This blow, so decisive at the particular moment when it was given, disarmed the Spanish government at the time when the contest was, commencing. There can be no hesitation in affirming that the agents of governments hostile to Spain participated in this scandalous procedure.

Nor would it be unjust to ascribe to those agents the exacerbation of the parties in Spain, which never was greater than on the eve of the invasion, and while it was in preparation. We are far from wishing to stigmatise on this, or on other accounts, the actors in the Spanish revolution with the disgraceful reproach of acting under foreign direction: nor should we in so doing be justified by the subsequent delinquency of some individuals among them. But their passions were doubtless excited by the enemies of the country, who assuredly found their account in that excitement. When these dissensions among the Liberals were most violent, and a short time before the shock already mentioned, of the protested bills, was felt, the congress of Verona had terminated, and its resolutions were communicated to the Spanish government in that form which is notorious to all Europe. The ministry replied to them with firmness, and laid them, together with their answers, before the Cortes, who, by an unanimous vote, approved their conduct in the famous sittings of the 9th and 11th of January, 1823, which excited so much interest in Spain and throughout Europe. In the first instance their decisions were greeted by a general expression of applause, nor was the enthusiasm in Spain confined to approbation of their conduct. A *quinta*, or enlistment, decreed at a rather late period, was executed with astonishing celerity, and as far as the exhausted state of the country permitted, the clothing of the new troops was effected with equal promptitude, though it was found impossible to arm them so quickly, in consequence of the extreme scarcity of arms in the Peninsula. This spectacle gave birth to cheering, though ill-founded, hopes.

But any one who dispassionately considers the situation of the Spanish ministers and legislators in 1823, must admit, that they could not take any other path than that which they

actually chose. It is a false, though a very generally received opinion, that the Spaniards were required to modify their constitution by regulating it according to the forms of representative government which prevail in England, or even in France. There does not occur in the communications of the Holy Alliance any thing like such a proposition. If there was a suggestion of that kind, it must have been verbal and vague, solely calculated to mislead, and to produce the effect which unfortunately ensued; namely, to persuade the unwary that the Spanish government had it in their power, by some slight concessions, to have avoided the war, and yet secure to Spain the possession of civil liberty and a representative system. The contents of the notes from the ministers of the Holy Allies, were vituperation of the Spanish constitution, and declamations against the measures and the men that re-established it; to which was added an expression of the wish of the *High Sovereigns* to see it destroyed. Such was the the purport of the words. The objects of the governments forming that alliance were as various as their interests. France had two objects; the one real, the other ostensible, to attain which she could not rest satisfied with the modification of the code of 1812. Her real object was, to commence a war calculated to gratify the military ambition which forms the distinguishing characteristic of the French people; to attach the army by these means to the reigning dynasty, and to raise the French nation from their degraded condition, by offering to it that dominion over Spain which had been constantly aimed at by the French governments, whether *revolutionary* or *legitimate*. Her ostensible object was, to declare that Spain could only receive from her king those laws which he in his wisdom might think fit to bestow on her. Without exposing the absurdity of this principle, it may be sufficient to observe, that in its application to Ferdinand the Seventh, it was most ridiculous, because his conduct in 1814, and subsequently, had clearly shown what was his wisdom; and what laws the Spaniards might expect from him. The announcement of both these objects rendered war inevitable. A French minister declared that his government would not admit the mediation of England in the contest at issue, and even insinuated, that if the Spanish government made any reforms in the constitution agreeable to the apparent ideas of France, the latter would remain armed, or in other words, maintain an hostile attitude towards Spain. All these considerations prove that the Spanish ministry and Cortes could not avert the invasion. Had they replied to the communications of the Holy Allies in an evasive manner, war must have ensued, since no one can suppose that it could have been prevented by so

clumsy an artifice. Had they undertaken to change the constitution without conceding the principle, that, to the king alone this function belonged, France would have affected to be dissatisfied, and would have commenced the war for which she had been preparing. But this last step neither the government nor the congress of Spain was competent to take either in justice or in policy. They could not justly take it, because they did not possess authority to overthrow the system by which they existed, and without which their title to obedience was null; nor could they in policy take it, because that very want of authority would have induced many persons to refuse obedience to the new modifications. Hence other parties would have arisen among those already existing; the insurgents called royalists, who wanted nothing but civil and religious despotism, would have waged war against the constitution modified even to the utmost degree; and lastly, the foreign force would have deduced from these circumstances new pretexts to justify the invasion and to carry it into effect. It is madness in a season of violent passions and parties to attempt alterations in the fundamental laws of a state; but laying that consideration aside, the question whether the modifications were convenient or necessary has never been considered with due impartiality. But into this question the government of Spain did not, and, consistently with their duty, could not enter. Placed, not as some suppose from a wish to magnify their merits, in the alternative of war or of dishonour, but in that which required them to choose between the certain ruin of their country, and that doubtful ruin which might result from a disastrous war, they had to fix upon the latter. They did not, however, declare war: on the contrary, they did all that was possible to avoid it, invoking for this purpose, though in vain, the mediation of the British government. They had, however, to enter into it with some probabilities certainly of an evil issue, but with many others which promised more favourable results, and without any anticipation of those acts of treachery which afterwards ruined the cause of liberty, and which could not then be foreseen or provided for. But the political horizon, which in January began to exhibit a consoling light, was soon overspread with clouds, portending a tempest more furious than could have been expected. A few days after the famous sittings on the subject of the notes, a contemptible faction, beaten in Aragon and neglected by the chiefs charged with its dispersion, approached Madrid, at that time garrisoned with a very small number of troops. Those that could be collected attacked the rebels, and though not inferior in force sus-

tained a complete rout. The faction approached the capital, and the fear that prevailed there disclosed the weakness of Spain. The faction was constrained to retire, but the injury which it had already inflicted was incurable. It emboldened domestic and foreign enemies, discouraged the constitutionalists, and produced another evil more serious than it then appeared to be, by contributing to the elevation of count Abisbal, of Ballesteros, and of Morillo.

The first of these persons was noted for the inconstancy of his character, which had repeatedly induced him to change his party, having at one time effectively served the cause of the constitution; and at another having put it up to sale. He was one of those who in 1820, by proclaiming the constitution in front of the troops, had contributed to extort the oath from the king. By this act, and by certain attendant circumstances, he had given personal offence to Ferdinand, who regarded him with insuperable aversion. It was, therefore, his interest to be faithful to the constitutional cause, from which alone he could expect security and advantage. Doubtless the knowledge of this weakness in his character, and the distrust which it inspired, had for some time estranged him from the command. The estimation of his activity and talents, and the belief that he was too far compromised to recede, caused him to be entrusted with an army at the period of which we are now speaking.

The second enjoyed a reputation much beyond his deserts. Though he had been a minister in the time of the absolute government; though, as such, he had signed the warrant for the execution of Porlier, and had assisted at Madrid in 1820, to make war on the constitutionalists who had then risen in Andalusia; the promptitude with which at this epoch, he changed his opinions and contributed to obtain from Ferdinand his oath to the constitution, had blotted out the remembrance of his former errors. Ever since 1821 he had been in the foremost ranks of the most radical political party in Spain, that of the *Comuneros*, of whom he was the hero—the idol. On the 7th of July he had commanded the constitutional troops, and though he was the first to check them in their victory, he monopolized all the glory of that day. Thenceforward his party designated him as a dangerous rival of the ministry—and perhaps something more. On the approach of the *Faction* he was entrusted with the command of the capital, through an exemption from the law which prohibited him as counsellor of state from filling any post. Afterwards he was entrusted with the command of an army.

Morillo, count of Carthagená, is a name that ought not to have

been found on the list of the Liberals. Raised from the lower classes to the rank of general, by his valour in the war of independence, he had been sent at its close to reconquer a part of Spanish America. There, by making war against liberty, he gained wealth, new honours, and a title. On his return to Spain after the proclamation of the constitution, he rendered himself odious to the *Exaltado* party, and won the favour of the *Moderados*, whom he flattered with the assurance of thus having made him a convert to the cause of the constitution, and with the more substantial expectation of his support. His conduct in the events of July (when he was military chief of Madrid), was regarded by those of his party as loyal, by their adversaries as suspicious. Accused by the latter before the Cortes, it did not appear that he ought to have been employed before he vindicated himself. Yet the *Exaltado*, the *Comunero*, *Ballesteros*, on taking military charge of the capital named him his second in command. The *Moderado* party took this occasion to insist that he should be placed in the command of an army in the war which was about to commence; the *Exaltado* party was silent because the *Comuneros* respected the choice of Ballesteros. The ministry appointed him to the command of Galicia, and of one of the armies of reserve which were to be formed, doubtless wishing by this appointment to conciliate the *Moderados*, and giving just cause of disgust and offence to their own party in the Cortes. The object of all this altercation was a rude and brutal soldier, with no other merit than personal valour and a presumed sincerity and honesty, which are usually imputed to men of rough manners.

The Factions being repelled from Madrid, the power remained divided among these three men, since the force which was to resist the invasion was in their hands. Ballesteros marched to Navarre, Morillo to Galicia, and Abisbal remained in Castille. Mina, whose fidelity was proved, retained the important command of the army and the province of Catalonia, which he had almost entirely tranquillized. Meanwhile the war was on the eve of commencement. The Chambers of France opened with a speech from the king declaring the intention to invade Spain. In these circumstances all eyes were fixed on the British government in anxious suspense as to what party they would take. Though their ministerial journals adopted a tone hostile to the Spanish revolution, yet it was expected that the policy of England would not permit the domination of the French in Spain. This belief was justified by the reflection that for a long time it had been the constant care of England to prevent the strict union of France and

Spain, whether under the government of the Bourbons or of the Buonapartes. And admitting it to be true that the tenderness manifested during the years that have elapsed since the French revolution by the English ministry and their supporters, towards the family of Bourbon, afforded reason to suspect that they would never act to the injury of that family, yet many believed that this tenderness must yield to higher reasons, and that as it was produced by policy in substitution of former hatred, it might cease from the same cause when it came in collision with the higher interests of England. If the ministry which for so many years has governed this country, on most occasions shewed itself hostile to the *liberties of nations*, it had almost always been the defender of the *independence of governments*, at least of those of a certain importance. To secure that of Spain they had recently been lavish of British blood and treasure. The contest against Napoleon had endeared the Spanish people to the English, who at the moment when the existing government of France threatened to invade Spain, had declared loudly and pretty generally the interest they took in favour of the Spaniards. Besides, exactly at the time when the Congress of Verona terminated, the English ministry had advanced certain claims in a tone almost hostile to the Spanish government, who, in conjunction with the Cortes had not merely attended to them, but had even shewn a desire to render the fullest satisfaction. The British envoy in Spain was not ignorant that there existed on the part of the government and the Cortes a disposition to treat with Great Britain on the commerce of America, and even on the formal recognition of her independence, so much desired by the English people, so likely to be advantageous to them, and while the recognition by the mother country, the sole power which (according to the language of the legitimates) possessed the right of interfering in such questions, would give every possible security to all the interests involved in it. For all these reasons the Spaniards felt assured that England would interfere indirectly, if not directly, to prevent the subjugation of Spain. It is very true that the British plenipotentiary at Verona, though he disapproved the invasion of Spain, had not manifested any strong opposition to it; and it is no less certain that the English minister at Madrid besides expressing himself, individually, in terms calculated to encourage the party that desired the invasion, had recommended the Spanish ministry to comply with certain apparent wishes of the French government. But notwithstanding this, an anxious expectation still existed for the opening of the British Parliament, which almost coincided with that of the French

Chambers. The early part of its session did not discourage the friends of Spanish liberty, considering the language employed by men of different and even opposite parties. Afterwards things took another bias; and it may be asserted that the conduct of the English government and of their envoy in Spain, has contributed in no small degree to the triumph of the French arms.

This triumph would have been neither so complete nor so early as it has proved, if the contest had been maintained, not by the whole Spanish nation but even by the constitutionalists. But it has been already asserted that divisions among them were the object to which the Holy Allies directed their attention, and in the attainment of which they unfortunately succeeded.

We have observed that the Liberal *Exaltados* were divided into two parties, called the *Masons* and the *Comuneros*. The ministry who had sent forth a spirited reply to the Holy Alliance, were connected with the former—and in consequence, were at war with the latter, and also with the *Moderados* and the *Serviles*. For reasons wholly distinct all these parties desired their fall. We, who are not writing as the partisans either of that ministry or of their opponents, will admit that they may have committed faults; but it was not at that time that the correction of their faults was to be desired. Ferdinand, though he detested his ministers, would not have dared to dismiss them from office, had he not known that in this procedure he should receive support from a part of the *Exaltados*.

The dismissal of the ministers was effected, and its consequences were most fatal. The ostensible cause of that dismissal was scandalous. They, in the name, and with the sanction, of the king, had proposed to the Cortes that in case of invasion they should remove, with Ferdinand and the royal family, to a place of security, Madrid being unsafe, as the road to it from the frontier was open, there being neither armies nor fortresses to detain an hostile army. The Cortes acceded to this proposal, but not with the unanimity which they had manifested in the affair of the notes. This circumstance would be of no importance if it did not disclose the presence of the modificatory party in the assembly. Among those who opposed the abandonment of Madrid, there were, doubtless, some zealous patriots who believed that this step would be a fatal proof of timidity; there were some who thought that the best mode of organizing a defence was, to maintain the government in its central position, where the provinces were accustomed to hold it in respect; but there were several, whose known opinions, which their subsequent conduct has confirmed, manifested an in-

tention of remaining in Madrid until they might be surprised by the French, and until the constitutional system was destroyed, for which they intended to substitute the visionary chambers. The minority, worsted in the Cortes, expected to retrieve their defeat out of doors, and availing themselves of the antipathy of the *Comuneros*, coalesced with them to displace the ministry.

The latter, strongly urging the king to give effect to the decree for quitting Madrid, were by him deprived of their employments, and to make the scandal greater, no successors were appointed, at a time when the extraordinary legislature was to terminate, and when the ordinary legislature was to assemble, in which were to be examined the conduct of the ministry and the state of the nation. That nation, therefore, was left an orphan at a crisis the most terrible. The intelligence of this event excited, in a high degree, the popular indignation. The party which reckoned among its numbers the discarded ministers, were the first to express that feeling with violence, but they were joined on this occasion by almost all the *Exaltados*, including a considerable number of the *Comuneros* themselves. The discontent broke forth in a tumult or storm, mischievous and perilous indeed, but inevitable, and to which recourse was necessarily had on more than one occasion during the Spanish revolution, to counteract and frustrate the perfidious plans of the monarch, shielded by his inviolability and by his legal prerogative. The most daring of the agitators penetrated into the royal palace; and as in March, 1820, they extorted from the king an oath in favour of the constitution, so they now obliged him to restore to their places the discarded ministers. The stupid and ferocious Ferdinand, whose character is a compound of the most striking contradictions, after having manifested some hardihood, was terrified in the extreme. Perhaps he favoured his own purpose by deriving from the tumult fresh motives for dissensions and hatred. The fury of the enemies of the ministers knew no bounds. The most outrageous were a part of the *Comuneros*. With signal imprudence they, who had mingled in so many commotions, inveighed against this tumult. They spoke of the king's want of liberty, repeating the arguments of the Holy Allies and of the *Serviles* against the system existing in Spain. In the mouths of liberal Spaniards such arguments were ridiculous, because neither friends nor enemies were ignorant, that the whole act of the revolution, including the oath of the king to the new laws, was extorted by intimidation from that sanguinary despot. The anti-constitutionalists of Spain haughtily repeated the declarations of their adversaries, and for some time the journals of both parties spoke the same language.

The convulsion of the 19th of February was fatal to Spanish liberty. It is true, that if the tumult had not taken place, the departure of the king from Madrid would not have been effected, and the constitution of 1812 would have perished in the capital of the monarchy. But the violent remedy which prevented this evil contributed to the dissolution of the state. The restored ministry knew and were indignant at the anomalous situation in which they were placed. The discontents increased. Among the persons who censured the tumult, inveighed against the act of compelling the king to replace his ministers, and represented it as destructive of the constitution, there was not one who could point out any other means through which it might have been saved from the ruin prepared for it by Ferdinand.

The king, however, only replaced the ministers provisionally, and soon appointed others to succeed them who were known to be Liberals. But the Cortes, already assembled in ordinary legislature, fearful lest their own removal and that of the king and government might not take place if the ministers by whom it had been proposed did not remain to carry the measure into effect, employed an artifice to maintain them in their places until it should be accomplished. The new ministry were not competent to take the places of their predecessors, until the latter had laid before the Cortes the state of the nation; and the Cortes declared that they could not take it into consideration until they had quitted the capital and were assembled in a place of security. They at the same time insisted that the removal should be expedited, and to this the king was obliged to consent. By one of those fatalities of common occurrence in the Spanish revolution, the middle or neutral course was adopted even in this instance; and while the king was constrained to quit Madrid, he was allowed to point out the place to which he was to be transferred. Ferdinand chose Seville, an open town, from whence, in case of reverses, another removal, subject to greater inconveniences than the former, would be necessary.

At length, after a trifling and ridiculous attempt of the treacherous monarch to impede it, the journey took place, and the capital was abandoned. Count Abisbal remained in command there, invested with plenary authority, and he soon proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in him, by forming and organizing with the utmost celerity a small but excellent army.

The departure from Madrid, and the invasion of Spain by the French army, took place at the same time. This invasion was preceded by an unfortunate attempt on the part of some

Liberals of that nation, to excite among their troops an insurrection which might lead to their emancipation from the Bourbon yoke. The former constitutional administrations of Spain had committed an error in not forming plans of this kind at an earlier epoch. The then existing administration fell into the same mistake; and after having neglected the object at a seasonable opportunity, relied too confidently upon the attempt, when it was already too late.

The duke of Angoulême, at the head of eighty thousand men, invaded Spain, without a declaration of war against the government on the part of that of France, although the latter had acknowledged it, and had maintained relations with it for the space of three years. He committed the atrocity of nominating a government to an independent nation, and with barbarous policy he sent forward hordes of the banditti of the Faith to commit every kind of outrage, that he might afterwards appear as the mediator and preserver of the people. Conduct so infamous did not excite due indignation in the breast of Spaniards. On the contrary, the modifiers increased in numbers and hardihood, and openly declared themselves. Their blindness appears unaccountable. Although the Spanish government created by the duke of Angoulême, in his first decree, re-established civil and religious despotism in all its purity, yet they obstinately persisted in believing, or at least in saying, that the object of France was, to give to Spain a liberal and representative government. Individuals were not wanting who coined in their own brain the articles of a constitution on the French model, and afterwards blamed the government and the Cortes for not adopting their visionary scheme. This opinion gained favour among thousands of persons: the pusillanimous, who dreaded the risks of war,—the selfish, who wished to enjoy the sweets of liberty without sharing in the struggle for it,—the malcontents, for the pleasure of censuring the government,—the ambitious, from the hope of acting a part in a new system. The general mass of reasonable and pacific men, whose adherence to the constitutional system had hitherto sustained it, and who wished not for the re-establishment of despotism, seduced by the ideas presented to them, and contemplating the evils of war and the absolute want of military resources in Spain, reproached the Cortes for not admitting this modified constitution, without pausing to consider whether it really existed, whether it had been proposed, whether it was good, or whether its establishment was practicable. It was in vain that the acts of the invaders, belying their professions, dispelled these illu-

sions; in vain did some zealous patriots prove,* by incontrovertible evidence, that no other means for deliverance existed than to rally round the constitution. The opinion in question gained ground; it acquired a moral power, and at length insinuating itself into the armies, gained the ascendancy over the physical force, and overbalanced all contrary opinions by placing the sword in the scale.

Without venturing positively to affirm that the British government directly favoured the promoters of this opinion, we shall not hesitate to say, that it was sustained and fomented by their envoy in Spain. This was loudly declared by the modifiers. According to them, "the English government, on being assured that the Spaniards would apply themselves to effect a change in the constitution of 1812, had offered their mediation, which had been admitted by France." Misinterpreting the formal denial of that admission given by the French ministry, they laid great stress on some inconclusive conversations and insinuations, never reduced to writing, which they converted into regular propositions. Certain expressions used by Mr. Canning in the House of Commons, proved, according to the construction put upon them by these persons, the truth of their assertion. "The neutrality declared by England was directed to that object, and, as soon as Spain should consent, the new constitution would remain established under the auspices of the British government, France would withdraw her troops; and an epoch of calamity, and an age of iron, would be followed by the peace and happiness of the golden age. On the other hand, without the aid of England, which delivered the Peninsula, in her war against Buonaparte, how could she now be saved?"

Thus was English influence employed against Spanish liberty and to the advantage of France: and, although in the British parliament the ministers professed to observe the strictest neutrality, yet their party, and even they themselves, in act, though not in speech, betrayed an inclination in favour of the French, and of the *Serviles*, who converted it to their own profit. An absolute neutrality is in human nature impossible. A private

* On this subject see the report presented to the Cortes in Seville, by their Committee of Diplomacy, and the debate upon it, which began on the 23rd and ended on the 26th of May, 1823. In that debate, unknown in Spain or in Europe, because all communication was interrupted by the immediate invasion of Andalusia, the reporters clearly exposed the perfidy of foreign governments in respect to Spain, and demonstrated the error of the modifiers. Their speeches now appear prophetic; at that time they were heard with indifference, and they have been forgotten.

individual who witnesses a combat which in no way concerns him, naturally takes the part, and sometimes with very deep interest, of one of the contending parties. Such also is the case with neutral states, and for a stronger reason, since it can never occur that they shall be equally unaffected by the triumph of one or other of the belligerents. In the present instance, the partiality manifested by the English people was contrary to that of the government, the former showing as strong a feeling for, as the latter manifested against, the cause of Spanish liberty.

It had been from early times a custom in the Peninsula to rely on English aid in all contests with France, and when it was seen that this aid was not only not forthcoming, but was in a certain manner given to the invaders, it was quite natural to regard the cause of the country as desperate.

¶ In these mournful circumstances the government arrived at Seville, and the Cortes resumed their labours. In commencing them it was necessary for the new ministers to enter upon their functions; and they, if not *Comuneros*, were at least in favour with that association. But the indignant party of their predecessors united with the moderate Liberals, and succeeded in displacing them before they had entered on their duties. They substituted two individuals of good reputation, one from the ranks of the revolutionists of 1820,* and the other from those of the patriots of 1812, whom they were to name their colleagues. Ferdinand, whose present scheme was, to appear as a captive, acceded very readily to this change. But this was an error in policy, and in equity it was a fault. Men who had not begun to exercise their functions, could not be charged either with evil designs or with incapacity. Their removal seemed to proceed from the spirit of party and from revenge, and it furnished an argument to those who maintained that the king and the nation were domineered over by a party that monopolized all offices in the state.

The friends of the displaced ministers declaimed furiously against their removal. They even went to the ridiculous extreme of calling it illegal. The adversaries of all legitimacy invented a new species, which they termed ministerial legitimacy. Without reflecting that the appointment of every ministry is the consequence of a species of intrigue, and that the one which had been just expelled was tainted with that fault, they denounced as criminal the intrigue that had prevailed

* General Torraquin, who did not enter upon his office, as he was killed in action against the French in Catalonia.

over their own. Their resentment was just; the mode of expressing it was both unjust and absurd; their indignation precipitated them lower and lower, and their very violence contributed to the victory of the enemy.

Such was the clouded state of the political horizon in Spain in the month of May, 1823. Yet the war might have been carried on even amidst these disadvantages, had but the chiefs of the army remained faithful to a constitution which they had sworn to maintain. They absolutely delivered up their country into the hands of the enemy.

Count Abisbal was the first to set the example. The moment when he conceived his plan,—whether he concerted it with other generals; what were his inducements; and why he executed it so ill, are mysteries which no information we possess can explain. To accomplish his defection it was necessary for another personage to appear on the stage. This was a *Grandee*, at once an aristocrat and a demagogue, more turbulent than factious, whose ambition, unaided by talent or judgment, had induced him to serve under the old despotism alternately as an informer and a conspirator, and in the time of liberty as a promoter of seditions, sometimes for its advancement, sometimes for its ruin. This man, whose name shall not have a place in our pages, lest they should help to confer on him a celebrity which he aspires to and does not deserve, invited the general to set himself up as the arbiter of the nation. That invitation was a tissue of inconsistencies. The general answered it with somewhat less obscurity, but in a manner equally ridiculous. He pretended to give his opinion as a private individual, but declared that in his public capacity he should obey the government. This sophistical distinction, without concealing his intentions, manifested his weakness, of which he gave another proof by retracting his declaration. But it was now too late; his partisans fell off; the officers abandoned him; and, overwhelmed with indignation and contempt, he resigned a command which he could not retain. His treachery, which at first appeared to be of trifling import, was attended with very serious consequences. Of these the most immediate were, the entrance of the French into Madrid and the dissolution of the army.

The former event produced a greater effect than was expected. Madrid does not possess that influence over Spain, which other capitals have over their respective countries. The strong attachments of Spaniards are provincial, not national. In the insurrections of 1808 and 1820, the movement began in the provinces, and proceeding from the circumference to the centre, reached the capital, which received, instead of giving

the law. The war against Napoleon had accustomed the Spaniards to behold and to obey a government resident in Andalusia. Notwithstanding this, on the present occasion the entrance of the enemy into Madrid, operated as a signal to all the disaffected, announcing that the hour was arrived for declaring themselves. The duke of Angoulême, "in virtue of the powers which he held from his uncle the king of France," formed for Spain another government under the title of Regency. The monstrous illegitimacy of such an origin did not deter a considerable number of Spaniards from recognizing it, and yielding to it their services. The example was first given by a number of *grandees*, of whom, many had served the constitutional government, and some were now holding high appointments under it. The foreign powers of the first order, as they were called, acknowledging in like manner this spurious government, sanctioned an attempt against the independence of nations which may be fatal to them all. England refused that recognition. But the partisans of her ministry discouraged the subscriptions in favour of the Spaniards, threw opprobrium on the constitutionalists, and openly avowed the wish that their adversaries might triumph. Notwithstanding the efforts of opposition, the majority in parliament strongly supported the Foreign Enlistment Bill, thus frustrating the chivalrous enterprise of Sir Robert Wilson, who had promised to raise a body of troops in defence of the cause of Spanish liberty, and who had to set out alone. The inferior powers of Europe remained silent, doubtless alarmed by certain acts which, placing in a clear light the right of the strongest, rendered the situation of the weak precarious and wretched.

The modificatory party in Spain believed that the epoch of triumph was now at hand. But the acts of the newly-created Regency, by no means favoured their views, for all of them tended to re-establish the old form of government and its antiquated abuses, without a single exception. At the same time the populace excited by the clergy, and the armed rabble of the Faith, now designated as the Spanish army, exclaimed against every thing but absolute government, so that the most complete anarchy prevailed.

The plebeians, who at a great risk had risen to defend the cause which they declared to be that of religion, and the king, and the clergy, who to support them had expended their treasures and at times even their blood, could not endure that those should seize the fruits of victory who had not taken part in the conflict. In their eyes every kind of regular government was fatal and odious, and they were not the men to have over-

turned the existing system merely to substitute another which was not satisfactory to their interests. To give weight to these notions they were not wanting in means, since the force was their own. And it was folly to imagine that a party like the modifiers, composed of feeble men, in a time of revolution, when the passions are most vehement, although such a party might be very well adapted to ensure victory to whomsoever it might join, was capable of gaining it of itself. But in proportion as this result was improbable, the more firmly and generally was the belief in it entertained. Unhappily, it was with this opinion as with all others, characterized by absurdity ; it produced a kind of fanaticism, and gained proselytes. Meantime the invaders, while in their public and positive acts they favoured the partisans of pure despotism, were not sparing of promises in their private protestations, that they would contribute to ensure to Spain a liberal system of government with something like a representation. Thus, they predominated over all parties and employed them to their own advantage. Unfortunately their arms triumphed. The Spanish army was dispersed without a defeat and even without a blow. In the rich provinces which were the centre of the constitutional government, the general charged with the organization of a body of reserve had done nothing, and was almost destitute of troops. Every thing conspired to invite the enemy to advance without fear, when the revolution of Portugal occurred, to confirm their security and to crown the misfortunes of Spain. That revolution, though for some time impending, was not expected to be so rapid and so complete as it proved. The treacheries by which it was prepared and accomplished were a warning to the Spaniards.

Portugal being changed from a friend to an adversary (for after her revolution she neither could nor did remain neutral), the position of Spain became beyond measure critical. In truth, her defence was almost impossible. If, in the war against Napoleon, with Portugal for an ally, with the treasures of America, and with succours in arms, money, and troops from Great Britain, the resistance of Spain still appeared heroic, how was it at this time to be supposed probable, destitute as the country was of all resources, open on all sides, and without a single friend to aid her? We are far from exculpating the Spaniards who abandoned her cause, far from asserting that the nation has made that defence which her honour and her interests required ; but we may be permitted to say that more was expected from the Spanish people than they were able to perform ; and that it is not for those who assisted in placing

them under the yoke to reproach them for their feeble efforts of resistance.

These events facilitated the invasion of Andalusia by the French. A small division of their troops penetrating into these provinces, advanced towards the king and the Cortes, as if sure of their prey, which treason was to have placed in their hands. The Cortes saw that they were lost, and with them the country and constitution of which they were the guardians. They therefore resolved to place themselves in the secure position of the Isle of Cadiz, where they might prolong their resistance, and wait for better fortune. The place was strong by nature, and still more so in public estimation, since the victorious arms of the French empire were unable to subdue it in 1810, and fruitlessly wasted two years and a half in front of its lines. Though its means of defence were far inferior to those which it possessed at that epoch, yet so likewise was the strength of the invaders.* Some provinces still remained untouched, and their armies had not yet measured their strength with the enemy. The nation had been taken by surprise: it might be expected to recover itself, and it was to be hoped, that the portion of it which had been imposed upon, might, after mature reflection, again cherish that hatred of foreign domination, which is habitual to Spaniards. And, while a single ray of hope remained, it was necessary still to resist, rather than abandon the nation to those disasters which must attend the triumph of the enemy, and by which she is now oppressed and distracted.

The Cortes found themselves isolated, and the ministry knew not what to do. That which then existed had been formed piece by piece—two of the members were absent—the situation of the rest was critical: it appeared as if upon their own responsibility they must advise the king; and the king set no value on their counsels, and conspired against them and against the constitution, by which their authority was supported. The Cortes dispensing with formalities, and speaking directly to the king, invited him to remove with them to the Isle of Cadiz. Ferdinand throwing off the mask, refused; this was a virtual declaration that he was already resolved to destroy the existing system of government, since he wished to fall into the hands of the enemy, who, with the intention of overthrowing it, had invaded Spain. The Cortes, without hesitating, provisionally deposed the king, and appointed a regency which might

* In regard to their land forces; but they had a naval force which they wanted in 1810, and the contrary was the case of the Spaniards.

take measures for his removal to Cadiz, together with his family.

This step, so generally censured, was the only one which could be taken at so terrible a crisis. It was in some degree prescribed by the constitution; the argument by which it was sustained was sound and legal. Admitting the maxim that the king could not be considered as criminal, and agreeing at the same time that it was an atrocious crime to deliver up the Cortes and the fate of the country to the invader, and that Ferdinand had not concealed his intention to commit such a crime, the most favourable, and in fact, the only, supposition to be made, was, that his majesty was in a state of mental alienation. Designing that his moral existence might terminate as constitutional king of Spain, he was exactly in the predicament of a man who intends to deprive himself of life. If then, towards a man who manifests such an intention, force is employed to prevent him from carrying it into effect, it was necessary to do the same with Ferdinand. In the constitution the case of the king's insanity had been provided for, and a mode of proceeding prescribed which was to be adopted whenever it might occur. To this mode recourse was to be had. The political suicide having been prevented, the royal power after the arrival of the government at Cadiz, was to be again placed, with all its faculties, in the hands of the monarch, unless he exhibited fresh proofs of madness, that is to say, of treachery.

So much for the justice of the act of deposing the king; its expediency, however, has been called in question; yet worse results would have attended any other measure. To leave the king in Seville and thus abandon the cause of the constitution, while means of hope and defence remained, would have been foolish and criminal. To attempt, as some have wished, to intimidate him by means of a commotion, would have been a fruitless enterprise. The enemy was near at hand: the king depended on their support, and on that of a party in Seville itself; the difficulties to be encountered in effecting the removal, even by a government having all the means at its disposal, shew that in the confusion of a tumult, it would have been impracticable. To depose the perjured monarch for ever would have been just, but not *at that time* expedient, because this act would have justified all the accusations against the Cortes, and annihilated the hope of gaining the modificatory party. It was necessary to prevent the violent death of the king, which would have excited commiseration in his favour, and have given to the invaders, in that person who was to succeed him, what

they now wanted, according to their own doctrine, "the person of the legitimate sovereign," to authorize their acts.

By these considerations the Cortes were guided in taking a step denounced as precipitate and imprudent. It necessarily followed that a very general clamour was raised against them. Those who expected that the constitutional system would expire in Seville, on witnessing the frustration of their plans, loudly vented their indignation. Those who wished for tranquillity, and vainly expected it from submission, declaimed against a decision which prolonged the war. Cowards, who were anxious to keep aloof from danger, and yet preserve their reputation, were reduced to despair by a proceeding which obliged them to continue fighting, or to adopt the alternative of a shameful desertion. Many who would have emphatically blamed the weakness of the Cortes, if they had suffered themselves to be dissolved in Seville, now accused them for "their temerity and factious spirit." These accusations formed a pretext for new defections. Almost all the modifiers now *really* abandoned the cause of the constitution. But the wonder was, that the British minister, appointed to reside near the constitutional king of Spain, should leave his post and lend his support to a party. It was of no avail to say, that his powers being solely to treat with the king, must cease on the cessation of the king's authority. Since the deposition of Ferdinand according to the terms of the decree by which it was effected, was provisional, and in consequence, on his arrival at Cadiz, he was restored to the exercise of his functions. And he who should affirm, that, notwithstanding his *apparent restitution*, he was *really in captivity*, might with equal reason have made the same assertion when he quitted Madrid with no less repugnance than he manifested on leaving Seville, and by the same necessity, namely, a decree of the Cortes.

But the person who most violently and most effectually declared himself against the suspension of the king, was general Morillo. His conduct had already become very obnoxious to suspicion, and he then took a decided tone. He concluded treaties with the French—he opened to them the gates of Galicia—he recognised the government created by them—and at length he set the horrible example of joining his forces with theirs, and of making war—open war—on the cause which hitherto he had openly defended. In his army was general Quiroga, who found means to escape, and endeavoured to withdraw the troops along with him, but few followed him. The small constitutional force existing in those provinces, divided between the garrison of Corunna and a light flying division, was soon obliged to yield,

and Morillo remained under the French dominion, lord of Galicia.

The traitor endeavoured to justify his infamy by criminating the Cortes. We even possess documents written by himself or issued in his name, in a correspondence with the gallant sir Robert Wilson, in which (as well in that part which has been given to the world, as in an unpublished letter now before us) the deserter accuses the congress of having torn the constitution to pieces, protests that his duty is, to save the people committed to his charge; pretends that for this purpose he has consulted their wishes, and declares that he has found them adverse to the code of 1812. It would be easy to refute his arguments. The constitution which he supposed to be torn to pieces was in force at Cadiz, and in all the parts of Spain not occupied by the enemy. In regard to the preservation of the people, he was not competent to judge of the mode in which that could be effected. As a military man, his duty was to defend them against the enemy. It would be indeed strange, if in a state possessing regular channels, and legitimate representatives for the expression of opinion, the soldiers should arrogate to themselves the right of interpreting it. And how was the will of the Spanish people to be ascertained, when an invading force had come to suppress it, and did not allow it to be expressed; and when the arms dedicated to the maintenance of liberty were converted into instruments of servitude? If the Cortes were criminal—if the nation detested them, as well as the constitution by which they existed, it might easily have delivered itself from both, after Spain was freed from a foreign enemy—why, then, did not the generals who so severely blamed the Cortes, and so highly disapproved the constitution of 1812, make known their sentiments before the invasion, or why did they not fight to repel it; and wait afterwards for the voice of the nation against the system? But they were not capable of enterprises so perilous. Not daring to raise themselves into a faction, they were content to be cowards and deserters. Weak towards the strong, they insulted, in its adversity, a government disarmed through their treason.

Soon after their arrival in Cadiz, the Spanish government received intelligence of the defection of Morillo. This news augmented the distress of their situation, which was, in truth, most critical. They were shut up in Cadiz, without pecuniary resources, with few troops, and no naval force. It was, however, defensible for some time. On the arrival of the government it was found completely dismantled, but in a short space the fortifications were in a remarkable state of forwardness. The troops by

whom it was defended, appeared well disposed, and in a sally on the 7th of July, displayed their gallantry and enthusiasm.

The want of funds, however, was doubtless a principal impediment. In their necessity, the Cortes granted to the government the use of certain monies belonging to Spaniards, drawn from Paris by a commissioner appointed for that purpose. The government began to avail themselves of the sums, by issuing bills on the commissioner ; but he protested them, and thus inflicted another mortal blow on the cause of the country.

The ministry, confounded by so many disasters, despaired of the fortune of the state. We possess data for affirming, that they opened a correspondence with the enemy to procure a basis for a negociation. But it must be owned that they possessed little dexterity. There were persons who became aware of these proceedings, and perceiving mystery suspected treason. The opinion spread, and created dejection in some, while it augmented that of others.

The sole hope of Spain rested on general Ballesteros. Mina maintained the war, if not successfully, at least with honour to the Spanish arms ; but his efforts scarcely sufficed to preserve his footing in Old Catalonia. Ballesteros, at the head of a splendid army, superior in force to any of those belonging to the enemy among which he was posted, might have raised the siege of Cadiz, and this alone would have been sufficient, notwithstanding all past reverses, to change the fate of Spain.

The conduct of this chief was strange. He had abandoned, to an enemy inferior in numbers, two rich provinces which he had previously pillaged. His language was harsh and severe towards the patriots ; menacing in regard to the government, who had with abundant indiscretion sent him contradictory orders, now investing him with the command of all the armies, and then restricting him to that of his own. With this mode of treatment, Ballesteros, who believed himself the first captain of the age, felt himself offended, and vowed revenge. It was expected by many that his indignation would urge him to drive the enemy from before Cadiz, and afterwards possess himself of the government. Such splendid crimes were not suited to his character. He took a more vile revenge by capitulating with the enemy. The army of Abisbal had abandoned that chief in his treachery ; that of Morillo, divided into discordant bands, had almost disappeared ; that of Ballesteros remained united to its leader, and participated in the ignominy of the act.

The treason of Ballesteros was communicated to Cadiz by the besiegers, and was not believed. The government did nothing,

and knew nothing. A little before this time, being then doubtful of the fidelity of Ballesteros, they had demanded and obtained from the Cortes, authority to employ Riego,* and the hero of the Spanish revolution had sailed in a small vessel through the midst of the hostile squadron.

At length, when the treason of Ballesteros was ascertained, the duke of Angoulême presented himself before the Isla. On his arrival, he wrote a letter to Ferdinand, in consonance with the speech of the king of France on the opening of the Chambers,—no mention was made of a constitution: declamations on his want of liberty which he invited him to recover; a promise of oblivion for the past, given in the name of the king of France; a repetition of the doctrine, that he alone was competent to give to the people those laws which he might deem just and convenient; and a senseless proposition about convoking the ancient Cortes, as if there had ever been any general Cortes of the Spanish monarchy. The answer of the king was dictated by his ministers; it was consequently constitutional; and contained a refutation of the duke's letter. But at the same time the private correspondence of the king proceeded with great activity. One individual, discovered in conveying it, was scandalously suffered to go unpunished. This was a virtual invitation to treason.

At that time, or a little anterior to his arrival before Cadiz, the duke of Angoulême issued the famous decree of Andujar, in which arrogating to himself full authority in Spain, and trampling even upon that of the government created by himself, he pretended, or affected to put an end to the persecution against the Liberals which he himself had excited, and had hitherto patronised. The drift of this gross policy was too obvious; yet with it he aimed to satisfy the modifiers. But their triumph was of short duration. The decree served to manifest the weakness of that party, the *Serviles* dared to contradict and even insult the prince Generalissimo; and he, who had troops at his command to enforce obedience, gave way, and shamefully retracted. Whether he was sincere or not in dictating the decree, the consequences shew; the persecution became furious, and continued to spread; he tolerated it; and the man who signed the decree of Andujar, afterwards authorized the assassination of Riego.

The duke having arrived on the lines with some reinforcements, the French troops assaulted and carried the important

* As a deputy, he could not be employed, but a decree removed this inhibition

post of the Trocadero. This blow proved mortal. That position was erroneously believed to be impregnable; and the chief by whom it was commanded inspired the utmost confidence by his valour and his exalted patriotism. He was also compromised as one of the principal actors in the revolution of 1820, and as a deputy to the Cortes!* But the enemy were already under the range of his guns; the position, far from proving advantageous was most defective, and on the other hand, the whole of his troops did not do their duty. The discouragement caused by the loss of this post, being proportioned to the exaggerated opinion of its strength, much exceeded its real importance.

The ministry now endeavoured to negotiate; and for this purpose, commissioned general Alava, a deputy to the Cortes, who, by his mild and noble manners, his diplomatic experience, and the connection which, in his former employments, he had contracted with the duke of Angoulême, was no less qualified for the duty than by his character as an honest and zealous patriot. His mission was unsuccessful. The answer which he brought to the proposals was only a recommendation to the constitutionalists to deliver themselves over to the mercy of the king, with whom the duke promised to interpose his good offices in order to prevail on him to give to Spain a good system of government. Whoever considered the state of the country must have seen that this promise was illusory; and it was even couched in terms which manifested either a faint intention of fulfilling it, or doubts whether it would produce the desired effect.

Somewhat in anticipation of this result, the government had applied to the British minister, Sir William A'Court, then resident at Gibraltar, to solicit his mediation. The conditions on which it was to take place could not be specified. Sir William expressed himself in terms which were equivalent to a negative; and on a second request, made a cold proposition to the duke of Angoulême, which was rejected.

In this emergency the ministers advised the king to assemble the extraordinary Cortes. According to the constitution, they could be convoked by the king alone, and could only treat on matters which *he* proposed to them. They met; and the ministers, presenting themselves before them, gave an account of the pending negotiation, depicting in the most vivid colours the impossibility of carrying on the war, for want of resources of every kind. But this description was unaccom-

* Colonel Grases.

panied by any proposal whatever. It was known that the ministers were convinced of the necessity of submission, and yet wished that the motion to that effect should proceed from the Cortes; a proposition inconsistent alike with justice and policy. For, even were the necessity indubitable, and the Congress fully convinced of it, they were restrained by the constitution; to the ministers, as counsellors of the king, appertained the exercise of the prerogative of negotiating treaties. Besides, even in an extreme case, it was of dangerous consequence to the rights of the nation, that their representatives should, by their own act, formally renounce those rights. And if it was indispensably necessary for those invested with the executive power to yield to force, it was for them to do so, because they alone could be aware of the necessity, and they possessed the means of terminating or prolonging the contest.

The Congress impressed with these reasons, rejected a question as one into which they could not enter. The ministers, while representing defence as impossible, protested that they would not accede to proposals tending to degrade them. The Cortes approved their mode of thinking. The ministers inquired of the Congress, "What was the national will?" and the Congress at so unusual a question, answered with becoming dignity, "The will of the nation, while it was free, was virtually manifested in the preservation of the constitutional system, and this is the only will which the Cortes ought to know, or can know." At length the ministers demanded resources; and the Cortes granted to them all that could be found, authorising them to seek and to employ them.

The ministers affected to be satisfied with the answer of the Congress; but they were not. They repeated their communications, giving an account of negotiations, which they alone were competent to conduct; and the Cortes returned no answer.

All this passed in secret. The impatience of the public was at its height; the more so, as the malignants availed themselves of the opportunity to spread sinister reports. Cadiz contained a considerable number of persons who were compromised; and, among them, the heroic national militia of Madrid, so greatly distinguished for their valour and their sacrifices, who wished, and who had a right, to know, how their fate was to be decided. The secrecy necessary for negotiations is improper for a legislative body, which ought to take no share in them. In the present instance, it exasperated all parties without promising any advantage. The Cortes were aware of this, but the ministry, according to the constitutional forms, were competent to demand secret sittings, and persisted in demanding them.

With many persons this exasperation gave place to suspicion, and some affected the latter feeling without having experienced the former, solely that they might disseminate reports of an approaching adjustment. These ideas reached the army of the Isla, whose moral force began to fail.

Intelligence of a most painful and unexpected event formed a climax to these misfortunes. Riego, the hero of the revolution, had collected a small force in Andalusia, and making a daring march, had presented himself in front of the army of Ballesteros, which, since its capitulation, had occupied cantonments on various points of those provinces. It was thought that the officers and soldiers, once such zealous friends of liberty, would hasten to rally in its cause, under the banners of the most eminent man on the records of the Spanish revolution. This was not the case, Riego was, in the first instance, treated as an enemy by the troops accustomed to applaud his name. The very battalion of Asturias, of which he was commandant, and at whose head he gave the first shout of liberty at Las Cabezas—that battalion, distinguished by the Cortes with peculiar honours, heeded not his voice when he spoke in the name of their country! For a moment, indeed, Riego was able, to awaken an impulse among them and the other troops; but speedily withdrawn from their sight, and basely sold by Ballesteros, he was constrained to retire, abandoned by many of his officers and soldiers, and even by whole corps. Followed by the enemy, he sustained continual rout and desertion; and at length fell into the hands of the factious Spaniards, from whom he was taken by the French to be afterwards delivered over to that execution which was to crown the glory of the hero, and brand with eternal infamy his assassins, among whom the French must be numbered.

This news, though not accurately known,* was a death-blow to Spanish liberty. By the finest part of the army, which had sworn to combat in its defence, it had already been openly abandoned. The example could not fail to be contagious. The idea of a compromise was convenient, because it conveyed an exemption from danger and toil. A compromise, therefore, was requested even by many of those who had hitherto been foremost among the *Exaltados*. “Of what use is it,” said they, “to prolong a hopeless war? Let us endeavour to make the most of the negotiation. Since it is no longer possible to save the whole (that is to say the law of 1812), let us sacrifice it to

* In Cadiz the belief was; first, that he had escaped; then, that having been claimed by the French, he would be treated as a prisoner of war.

preserve a portion, in a system less liberal, but of a regular form, and with a representative government."

In one battalion of the army these expressions were so loudly uttered, that it was instantly necessary to disarm and disband it. Almost at the same time the enemy, with great ease, did considerable damage to the castle of Santi Petri, one of the keys of the Isla. It no longer appeared possible to defend that place, and some persons (among whom was the general of the army) were of opinion that the defensive operations should be confined to Cadiz and to its outwork, the *Cortadura*, or at most to the line of the Torregorda. At this period the French naval force (which had been joined by some Spanish vessels) to augment the distress, and doubtless to foment a revolution, threw shells and balls into Cadiz, of which more than a hundred penetrated into the city, occasioning no loss of lives, but doing some damage to the buildings. One of these missiles burst over the head of the king, in whose defence the aggressors professed to be fighting. These proceedings exasperated the inhabitants of Cadiz, who, far from being intimidated by the bombardment, felt their enthusiasm revive. But a new and unexpected disaster occurred to afford fresh discouragement.

Among the troops that defended the Isla, the battalion of *San Marcial* was distinguished for its valour and patriotism. Its intrepid commander, a friend of Riego, and his companion in his immortal enterprise, was adored by his soldiers, whom he inspired with the same ardour which glowed in him. On the fall of Santi Petri this corps had been destined to cover the adjacent beach, as the point most exposed to a landing of the enemy; there they rebelled, and proclaimed the absolute king. The soldiers alone were to blame; none of the officers, commissioned or non-commissioned, were among the accomplices. The rebellion was soon suppressed, and some of the rebels were sentenced to death and instantly executed. This severity, which would have been useful at another time on a similar occasion, but which had not hitherto been employed, proved fruitless. The spirit of the army was vitiated: the idea that the soldiers of Ballesteros were enjoying full pay at their own ease, and were about to return to their homes, had been propagated among the ranks to the destruction of all discipline. "If the battalion of San Marcial has been found wanting," exclaimed some persons, "in what corps can we confide?"

The ministry, confounded at this period, knew not what course to pursue. Without undertaking to accuse them, until we possess sufficient grounds, we cannot but admit, that they might hope to derive some advantage from submission; but if

they entertained that hope, they did not proceed skilfully towards its fulfilment. They fatigued the Cortes with vague expositions which implied, but did not express, the impossibility of resistance, and included no proposal whatever. At length they were constrained to petition for authority to allow the king to leave Cadiz, or, in other words, to abandon the already ruined cause of the constitution of 1812.

The Cortes, according to custom, referred the matter to a committee, in which a division took place, the majority and the minority presenting their respective decisions for the approbation of the assembly. It has been falsely asserted, either through levity or malice, that the departure of the king was recommended by the majority and deprecated by the minority. They both agreed that it was necessary to yield to force. Neither of them decided that this necessity already existed, for such a declaration belonged solely to the ministry, to whom both parties assigned the responsibility attached to that avowal. They both suggested, that in giving any vote on so delicate a question the Cortes should protest against every thing that might be done to the prejudice of the national rights, by the exercise of force. The sole difference between the two opinions was, that the minority, in stating the grounds for their own, manifested an abundantly reasonable disapprobation of the acts of the ministry, and especially on that of having submitted to the Cortes a question so foreign to their functions, and which the ministry alone ought to decide; that of the majority, on the other hand, passing no censure upon them, and constituting them judges of the necessity and time for submission, while it charged them with a tremendous responsibility from which it exonerated the Cortes, manifested an entire confidence in them.

The opinion of the majority of the committee was adopted by the Congress. Those who voted for it, did so for various reasons. Some of them were persons known to be adverse to the constitution, and desirous to see it speedily abolished. Others were the modifiers, several of whom in Seville, and even at an earlier period, were called *Exaltados*. Others, again, were persons who expected nothing but the disasters which ensued; and who were influenced by a notion, "that the Congress, by such a vote, avowed nothing more than that they would yield to absolute necessity, the avowal of which signified nothing since against necessity there is no resistance; that the meritorious and constitutional city of Cadiz ought not to be sacrificed unless there remained no hope of saving the country even through its ruin; that, moreover, for the purpose of completely undeceiving the people, and ensuring

their future resolution, it was proper that they should know by experience that they could derive no advantages from negotiation; that this knowledge would serve to unite all minds at a more favourable opportunity, which could not be obtained if Cadiz were taken by force, because, then it would be believed that submission might have ensured a better fate; that these reasons would be of no value if there were the slightest hope of conquering, or even of prolonging the contest, but no such hope existing they were of great weight; that it was necessary to prevent the army of the Isla from declaring against the system, as that act would occasion disasters, and would compromise them with the party of the invaders; lastly, that if all this were done with suitable protests from the Cortes the national honour would remain, if not well established, at least as little impaired as possible, since misfortunes such as had befallen the Spanish Liberals no human force could have resisted." The worst circumstance attending the decision of the Cortes was, that it took place in secret. Many wished to have given and explained their votes in public, but they were overruled by a majority of two or three against them.

The resolution of the Cortes being once made public, and communicated to the ministry, the fall of the constitutional system was regarded not merely as inevitable, but as having actually taken place. Then commenced that disgraceful spectacle, so frequent in history, yet always disgusting, of a people precipitating itself into slavery.

The ministry, left to judge as to the time when submission would be necessary, believed it to be already at hand and hastened to release the king; but they took no precautions to have it effected with due decorum and advantage. In the first instance, abdicating their charge as counsellors of the king, they consented that he should write, without their acquiescence, even without consulting them, a letter to the duke of Angoulême, which was entrusted, not to an officer of the state, but to a person who, though of high quality, had no other character than that of an officer of his majesty's household. They then undertook to send commissioners in the name of the constitutional monarch and on the part of his government, and they actually did send them, but to no end, because their message did not agree with the one previously sent through the envoy from Ferdinand; at length these commissioners returning without having been admitted to an audience, the ministers found it necessary to consent to the unconditional departure of the king. To grace this determination they passed a vote against his departure, and even threw up their employ-

ments as if to show that they disapproved it; but at the same time they took measures for its being carried into effect, and even prepared the manifesto which on this occasion the king was to ratify. It would have been difficult to proceed more improvidently, and it is not strange that conduct such as this should have subjected the ministers to vehement though perhaps unfounded accusations.

But if this proceeding of the ministry was reprehensible, that of Ferdinand was vile and odious; without any necessity for so doing, he lavished on the constitutionalists a variety of fair speeches and flattering promises. He cheerfully undertook to sign the very notorious manifesto of the 30th of September 1823, and on its being submitted to him, made certain emendations calculated to create a belief of his sincerity. He at the same time spoke so sensibly of the evils of persecution, and of the afflicting instances of it which he witnessed in 1814, that many persons anticipated an æra if not of liberty, at least of mild and moderate government. Even among those who were acquainted with the duplicity of his character, and with the habits of dissimulation which he had contracted in captivity during the period of childhood and early youth, and which had been strengthened by practice as well during his imprisonment at Valençay, as in the course of his reign, both as an absolute and as a constitutional sovereign, until they had become a source of exultation to him—there were some who thought him in this instance frank and sincere. It seemed that his former iniquity could not be exceeded; but Ferdinand the Seventh still lived, and was capable of surpassing all that is recorded of his crimes.

At length this abominable tyrant departed from Cadiz and passed into the hands of the invaders. The ministers, on renouncing their employments, had not made the slightest communication to the Cortes on the weighty affairs then pending; and the latter, assembled in extraordinary Congress solely to deliberate on propositions from the executive power, in the absence of that power, became virtually dissolved.

The day when this memorable event took place, and that which followed it were passed in various conjectures. The perfidious Ferdinand, on arriving at Port St. Mary's, made the atrocious decree of the 1st of October, which remained a secret until it was published in the Gazette of Madrid on the 7th of the same month. Meantime there were some who were creating for him a ministry of constitutional *Moderados*, partly composed even of his ministers at Cadiz; others were imagining the *charter* which he was about to grant; and some, more

moderate in their wishes, or their hopes, contented themselves with anticipating the fulfilment of the manifesto of the 30th of September. But there were not wanting more cautious persons who foretold the evils of their country, and made preparations for the safety of their own persons which it was useless to sacrifice.

On the 2nd of October arrived the first orders of the tyrant, and these were for the delivery of Cadiz to the French. On receiving this decree the permanent deputation of the Cortes, charged by the constitution with the duty of maintaining its observance and its sole authority—seeing that the system was destroyed, in virtue of which they acted, found it necessary to dissolve themselves, renewing the protest of the Cortes against all that might be effected by force against the rights of the nation.

Thus fell the Spanish constitution !

That which ensued, that which is now taking place in Spain, is abundantly notorious. Executions, imprisonments, banishments, confiscations—with their offsprings, rebellion, insecurity, and discord. Such is the absolute government of Ferdinand, and the fate of the Spanish nation. The tranquillity that was desired is far from being realized ; and the Spaniards suffer, at one and the same time, the oppression of despotism and the convulsions of anarchy. The tyranny of the king clashes, and yet combines, with the despotism of the populace, instigated by the clergy. The invaders, whose infamous policy at one time leads them so far as to tolerate and authorize assassinations like that of Riego, and at another to protect the constitutionalists, has yet obtained, in the conquest of Spain, no more than an expensive burthen of insuperable difficulties for its pacific preservation. The friends of humanity derive, from this posture of affairs; new motives of hope, and expect that the disputes of the tyrants, on the partition of the spoil, will avenge the wrongs of the people, and contribute to their deliverance.

Such have been the results of a contest, on which the friends of liberty had formed the most cheering anticipations. Hence proceeds the universal feeling of disappointment and of apprehension, that the cause of the people is lost for ever ; hence those bitter accusations against the Spaniards, without any allowance for their situation, and for the powerful causes which have effected their ruin.

Spain alone could not, without a miracle, preserve herself and Europe from despotism. In the state of modern society such prodigies are unknown. France, in her revolution, could not have saved herself without the violent expedient of *assignats*; and Spain,

as we have shown, could not have resisted Buonaparte without that aid of which she is now in want. Whoever considered the revolution of Spain, and its different circumstances, must have foreseen what would be its termination if vigorously attacked. The faults of the plan on which the system was founded, must prevent its solid establishment, to which also a traitorous king, by his position and his character, must be an insuperable obstacle. Hence must arise divisions which would augment the deficiency of resources; and these, by their re-action, augment those divisions in return. The hostile foreign powers must foment those divisions, and, on a favourable opportunity, fall upon Spain: attacked by France, who had the support of all Europe, Spain could not resist: the knowledge of this truth must weaken the means of resistance: foreign policy would take advantage of defections arising from desperation; and by these means Spain must necessarily fall, and the aristocracy of Europe proudly enjoy her ruin.

Let us hope that this enjoyment will not be lasting. A great blow has doubtless been dealt to the people in Spain; but it is not decisive. The conflict must and will be carried on, and the conquerors will become enfeebled by their own victory. Intellectual light will continue to spread, and against it the brute force of arms is of little avail. That light will expose the horrors of the system which tyranny and her satellites aim to establish, and are now adopting. "*Spain will yet be the school of nations;*" and the overthrow of her liberty, so much desired, so much applauded by the enemies of all reform, will become the most convincing proof of the necessity of reform, and the best lesson upon the method of carrying it into effect.

The memoirs of Ferdinand the seventh, king of Spain, the subject of one of the books which we have placed at the head of this article, can be interesting only in relation to the great events which are connected with the name of that useless and perverse being, who is destitute of energy, even for crime,—who, if he had not been born to a throne, would have fallen among the lowest of the populace,—and who, even as king, had he not been exposed to great extremities, would scarcely have been remembered in history. But the misfortunes of his early youth, his captivity in France, the two revolutions of Spain in which he took part (an almost uniformly passive part, it must be confessed) have built up for this political pigmy an immense pedestal, and rendered him an object of universal attention, by bringing more into view his faults and his bad qualities. The author of his memoirs undertakes to execute an impartial portrait of his hero; and, although he uses no very flattering colours, he at least

softens the dark shades with which his subject is almost universally represented. His work, which does not include the period of the revolution of 1820, as it pretends to do, contains some anecdotes, for the authenticity of which we cannot vouch, and certain notorious facts, quoted from the newspapers. Such as it is, it may perhaps serve to make Ferdinand better known. Even in the favourable portrait of this personage, which is given at the conclusion, there is a sufficiently strong resemblance, to afford the reader a just idea, if not of the malice, at least of the imbecility of that *legitimate* object of so much solicitude among his legitimate brothers. Generally speaking, we find nothing in this or in any of the other publications on the late events in Spain, which can excite particular interest, or which can be considered as commensurate with the grandeur of the subject;—grandeur we repeat—because, notwithstanding its shameful termination, the Spanish revolution, from the magnitude of the interests involved in its success or failure, and from the nature of the experiment, must be regarded as one of the tremendous catastrophes which are to be recorded in the history of our time.

The work of Mr. Steele is written in haste, without order or method, and appears to be little more than a memorandum-book. Mr. Steele visited Spain with the intention of joining the patriots, and undertook the charge of a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, on the part of the committee formed to aid them in their struggle. When he arrived, the cause of the constitutionalists was lost; and Mr. Steele, in his respective visits to Galicia and Cadiz, witnessed the triumph of the French and the Serviles, in both quarters. His book consists of remarks made upon the spot; of extracts from the Spanish journals; of private correspondence, principally with sir Robert Wilson; and of minutes of conversations held with various Spaniards distinguished for their official station and character. In this heterogeneous and disorderly miscellany, there are doubtless a few facts which may serve to rectify some of the mistaken ideas that commonly prevail in England, respecting the late events in the Peninsula. But on the whole, however, it is destitute of any literary merit, and disposes us to entertain no very great respect for the judgment or talents of the author. Mr. Steele will find his book obtain him credit for little more than good intentions; the few facts of interest to which we have alluded are not of that importance which would have induced the warmest friend of Spain to recommend this hasty exposure of the results of his University education.

Mr. Steele does not presume to give a picture of Spain, for

which, indeed, he could not collect sufficient materials during his short stay; but he describes what he thought he saw, and depicts objects as they appeared to him. To a mind full of enthusiasm for the cause which he went to defend, all those objects must have presented themselves through the prism of the imagination, and of this the book offers abundant proof. It does any thing but fall short of the truth. Mr. Steele occasionally sees somewhat more or somewhat better than the reality. Thus, in his fantastic description of Cadiz, while he attempts to depict that really beautiful city, he draws largely on his fancy, and sees groves and gardens—he beholds Jews with beards, where no Jews were admitted even without beards—Spanish cavalry with kettle-drums and trumpets, whereas the army defending Cadiz had scarcely any cavalry, and kettle-drums are not yet used in Spain; processions, with the ringing of bells (there were none during the siege, and bell-ringing was wisely prohibited); chesnut-trees and sycamores near the San Josef, on the dry sandy soil of the Land Port; and other things of that nature.*

* Mr. Steele is a sentimentalist, and we should not be surprised if he were to succeed in poetry better than in travels. He bestows the following judicious praise on sir Robert Wilson:—

‘ His humanity and attention to the wants of his soldiers (and very many there were in deep distress) were exercised without intermission: he relieved their wants, supplied them with shoes and other articles of clothing; and whenever an occasion was presented for the exercise of his benevolence, he never hesitated, that he might calculate whether it was compatible with prudence.’—p. 86.

Mr. Steele’s judgment is only equalled by the tenderness with which he refers to his residence in the University. He thus commemorates in the lump, a squad of his quondam seniors and tutors:—

‘ I had the pleasure of being introduced in Gibraltar to some of the officers of the 64th regiment, who had been educated at Cambridge; and when we took wine together the Rev. Professor Farish, the Rev. Mr. Crawley, the president of Magdalen, the Rev. Professor Sedgwick, and the Rev. Mr. Peacock, of Trinity, were not forgotten’!—p. 53.

ART. II.

An Appeal in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies. By W. Wilberforce, Esq. M.P. London, J. Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly. 1823. [A.]

A Counter Appeal, &c. By Sir Henry William Martin, Bart. London, C. & J. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard. 1823. [B.]

Negro Slavery, Or a View of some of the more prominent Features of that State of Society as it exists in the United States of America, and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica. London, J. Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly. 1823. [C.]

A Review of some of the Arguments which are commonly advanced against Parliamentary Interference in behalf of the Negro Slaves, &c. London, J. Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly. 1823. [D.]

A Letter to Mr. Jean Baptiste Say on the Comparative Expense of Free and Slave Labour. By Adam Hodgson, Liverpool. 1823. [E.]

Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons, on the 15th May, 1823, on a Motion for the mitigation and gradual Abolition of Slavery. London, J. Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly; and J. & A. Arch, Cornhill. 1823. [F.]

Letters to the Right Honourable W. Huskisson, on the present condition of the Slaves, and the means best adapted to promote the mitigation and final extinction of Slavery in the British Colonies. By John Ashton Yates. Liverpool, Harris and Co. 1824. [G.]

THEY who have the interest of their country really at heart, and who are actuated by a sincere spirit of patriotism and philanthropy, do not appear at first sight to meet with much encouragement. However important may be the benefit which they are striving to confer upon their fellow-creatures, a host of adversaries is sure to rise up and oppose them in putting their intentions in execution. If it is wished to relieve the community from the salt-tax, the kelp manufacturers are up in arms. If it is wished to feed the people with cheap corn, the landlords and farmers do all in their power to impede so desirable an object. If to free trade from the shackles with which it was encumbered during the *darker* ages—the cotton, woollen, and silk manufacturers, overlooking the benefit to be reaped by the public, in which they must have their full share, seek to impress others with the belief, ignorantly, though perhaps honestly, entertained by themselves, that their ruin must be the inevitable consequence. The same has been witnessed in the Beer question, the Coal question, and in many others that we might enumerate. Of no philanthropic undertaking, however, have the promoters had to encounter a more decided opposition than has been experienced by the friends of Negro Manumission.

At first sight such a spirit of opposition might be deplored,

and looked upon as tending to deter the well-disposed from exerting themselves in an apparently ungrateful task, and to preclude the public from the chance of deriving any benefit from their exertions. But if they will divest themselves of the feeling of mortification which all naturally experience on beholding the temporary failure of projects long and anxiously cherished, and look with the eye of a philosopher upon the difficulties which oppose all innovations, they will sometimes find that the delay is not unattended with its advantages.

The abolitionists, as they are termed, have been liable to fall into many errors from not attaching sufficient importance to the numerous obstacles and impediments that were presented in the short and royal road by which they wished to arrive at their destined end. They had fully convinced themselves of the injustice of holding the negroes in a state of bondage; and therefore, in their judgment, no time was to be lost in giving liberty to the oppressed. To obtain their purpose no means were left untried. The feelings of the public were appealed to in every possible manner, and there is no doubt that they would have carried their point hastily and unwisely, committing much destruction upon private property, with, perhaps, little ultimate benefit to the slaves, had it not been for the powerful and interested resistance of the West-India planters. No disinterested body of men would have persisted in so continued and systematic an opposition. By the collision of interests and opinions, every argument on either side has been exhausted. The existing laws have in no instance given way but before the openly-expressed opinions of a well-informed public, who otherwise might have remained incompetent judges of the actual merits of either party. Thus we see that innovating measures must go through a fiery ordeal, from which, if they come out at all, they come tempered and refined.

The abolitionists have been uniformly stimulated in all their exertions by a wish to do good, and have evinced a spirit of patience and perseverance under the virulent personal attacks levelled against them, which does them the highest credit. The approbation and esteem of the good of all classes, owing to the known uprightness of their intentions, have been sufficient to cheer them in moments of despondency. As a reward for their unremitted toils in so arduous an undertaking, they have witnessed the abolition of the slave trade, and many consequent improvements in the condition of the negroes. On the other hand they are much indebted to the West-India planters, for the mass of information which has been called into light by animated and repeated discussion. This information has enabled an

impartial public to form a correct judgment upon the merits of the various plans for emancipating and improving the negroes which have been hitherto laid before them, and will continue to guide them in their decisions upon what may be proposed hereafter.

It is not our intention to enter into a detailed review of all the tracts at the head of this article. We have thus arranged them before our readers because most of our observations will be drawn from their contents. On great political questions it is the more peculiar province of a review, to weigh the different merits of the various plans proposed, to point out absurdities, expose the exaggerations of party, and examine into the utility of any proposed modifications. We wish, if possible, after having carefully investigated the great subject of negro slavery, and having duly considered all the arguments that have been brought forward by all parties, both interested and disinterested, to lay before our readers a clear view of the whole question as it now stands, and to suggest such modifications and improvements in the present system as might be adopted without a shadow of injustice to any party.

The traffic in negroes had been permitted by Parliament for so long a course of years, and encouragement had been so repeatedly held out to its extension, that whatever blame may attach to it on the ground of humanity, must attach to the nation at large, and not to any individual or body of individuals. The injustice of depriving our fellow-creatures of their liberty and reducing them to a state of deplorable misery, was committed by the government; and it is for the government to atone for its injustice, by measuring back its steps, and making all possible reparation to the miserable sufferers with due and prudent speed, and without injuring any one, or making inroads on private property. As well might the different parishes be allowed to charge the feeding of their poor upon the butchers and bakers, and the attending them in sickness upon the apothecaries, as that the government of this country should impose the charge of manumitting the slaves upon their masters.

This being premised, the first subject for consideration will naturally be, how the government of this country is to interfere with the legislatures of the different West-India colonies, and whether the right of interference is limited or not. We are decidedly of opinion that *by law* it is not limited. The West-India islands, like our other colonies, are directly and immediately subject to the crown of Great Britain, and are as liable to direct control as any part of the kingdom. Blackstone

speaks of our plantations and colonies in the following terms:—

“ They are subject to the control of the parliament: though (like Ireland, Man, and the rest) not bound by any acts of parliament unless particularly named. With respect to their interior polity, our colonies are properly of three sorts. 1. Provincial establishments, the constitutions of which depend on the respective commissions issued by the crown to the governors, and the instructions which usually accompany those commissions; under the authority of which, provincial assemblies are constituted, with the power of making local ordinances, not repugnant to the laws of England. 2. Proprietary governments, granted out by the crown to individuals, in the nature of feudatory principalities, with all the inferior regalities and subordinate powers of legislation which formerly belonged to the owners of counties palatine: yet still with these express conditions, that the ends for which the grant is made be substantially pursued, and that nothing be attempted which may derogate from the sovereignty of the mother country. 3. Charter governments, in the nature of civil corporations, with the power of making bye-laws for their own interior regulation, not contrary to the laws of England; and with such rights and authorities as are specially given them in their several charters of incorporation. The form of government in most of them is borrowed from that of England. They have a governor named by the king (or in some proprietary colonies by the proprietor), who is his representative or deputy. They have courts of justice of their own, from whose decisions an appeal lies to the king and council here in England. Their general assemblies, which are their House of Commons, together with their council of state, being their upper house, with the concurrence of the king, or his representative the governor, make laws suited to their own emergencies. But it is particularly declared by statute, 7 & 8 W. 3, c. 22, that all laws, bye-laws, usages, and customs, which shall be in practice in any of the plantations, repugnant to any law made or to be made in this kingdom relative to the said plantations, shall be utterly void and of none effect.” (Intro. sec. 4, page 107.)

We have quoted this passage at length because the West Indians have attempted to throw doubts upon the right of direct interference, but this part of the question may, we think, under such a sanction, be considered as at rest for ever.

We come next to the *policy* of interference. The government of this country have allowed to most of the colonies legislative assemblies, conceiving, and justly, that a government

on the spot would be most likely to enact beneficial laws, and be most agreeable to the feelings of the people; since they would have the means of ascertaining, more immediately, what was conformable to the interest and wishes of the governed. There can hardly be two opinions upon the propriety of such a permission, but yet it has been granted on the express condition that no laws should be enacted "*repugnant to the laws of Great Britain.*" And "*That all laws, bye-laws, usages, and customs, which shall be in practice in any of the plantations, repugnant to any law, made or to be made in this kingdom, shall be utterly void and of none effect.*"

Now, in the words of Sir S. Romilly, "the negro slaves are the subjects of the king. They owe him allegiance, and he is bound to afford them protection. They are as much subjects as Englishmen are." The laws, it is true, have given the planters a right to certain services from the negroes, and have placed the means in their hands to enforce them. But these means are limited. It is of essential importance that the relative situation of master and slave should be clearly understood; because it seems to be the general notion among the West-India planters, that their slaves are as much their property as a landed estate is the property of its owner in this country. The law allows a man "the free use, enjoyment, and disposal, of all his acquisitions, without any control or diminution, save only by the laws of the land."* This applies to cattle, as well as any kind of property. A man may kill his horse or overwork it, without any magistrate's having a right to interfere, and in fact, till lately, he might have been guilty of the most wanton cruelty without being liable to any responsibility whatever. Not so with his negro: to kill *him* would be as much felony in the eye of the law as killing a white man; and more than ordinary cruelty would be indictable; for, as was observed above, a negro is the subject of the king, though shorn of his most valuable privileges. If parliament has thought proper to interfere, and protect brute animals from wanton ill-usage, these animals being the acknowledged, real, *bonâ fide* property of individuals, there can surely be no question as to the propriety of its protecting subjects of the king, subjects in whom no one can claim an acknowledged *bonâ fide* property, but merely a right to certain services, secured, it is true, by statutes, and with which we are far from advocating any interference, except *on the principle of a fair remuneration.* This principle is acted upon almost every day, whenever the

* Blackstone Comm. 14 ed. Book 1, Ch. 1, p. 138.

private property of individuals is injured, or in any way deteriorated for the public benefit; and with this principle of compensation in view, parliament never hesitates in forcing individuals to yield to the public benefit. Let this principle be acted upon by the legislature in whatever interference it may deem politic between the planters and their slaves: and then no parties can complain of injustice. Let fair and impartial men determine what compensation may be due for the invasion of acknowledged rights, and the West Indians themselves ought to be satisfied. This is indirectly admitted by Sir H. W. Martin :

‘ The legislature has the power, and has constitutionally exerted it, of preventing the future introduction of slaves into the colonies, by the abolition of that trade with Africa, *but it cannot take away, or (which is the same thing) emancipate those negroes which the planters do possess, WITHOUT SATISFACTORY REMUNERATION*; for both the slaves and the estates have been purchased by the planters, or their ancestors, under the continued encouragement, and sacred protection (for 150 years) of the British parliament and nation.’ (B. page 48.)

The right and policy of interference on the part of the legislature of this country appear to be silently acknowledged by this writer; and by so doing he shows his good sense. But, although we conceive that there can be no doubt on this point, still we shall not allow it to rest on our own authority alone; for some of our most eminent statesmen have taken the same view with regard to parliamentary interference, as ourselves.

‘ Mr. Burke (himself the great opposer of the taxation of the North American colonies) framed a plan for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, which was to be enacted and enforced by *the imperial parliament alone*, without the intervention, or even recognition, of the colonial legislatures.’

‘ Lord Grenville, in 1817, declared that he never could admit that a million of British subjects should be withdrawn from the control of the Imperial parliament.’

‘ Mr. Canning (in 1799), in answer to a speech of Sir W. Young, made the following observations, ‘ Let, then, the British House of Commons *do their part themselves*. Let them not delegate the *trust of doing it to those who, according to the honourable Baronet, cannot execute that trust fairly*. Let the evil be remedied by an assembly of free men, by the government of a free people, and not by those whom he represents as utterly unqualified for the undertaking, nor by the masters of slaves.’ (D. pages 18, 20, 24.)

The idea of leaving the improvement of the condition of the negroes to the legislatures of the different islands, we look upon as perfectly absurd. The legislative assemblies are composed entirely of masters, and are thereby incapacitated for

performing the duty of judges on questions between themselves and their own slaves. They may, for aught we know, be properly constituted and well adapted to legislate on questions concerning themselves alone ; but what can be expected from a number of individuals though meeting under the pretence, or even with the intention, of giving some greater portion of indulgence to their slaves,—conceiving at the same time, however erroneously, that their interest lies in retaining in their own hands as much power as possible over those very slaves. It is unnecessary to recall to our readers the well-known truism, that man is not to be trusted with irresponsible power. Yet, though the abuse of power is admitted to be universal, we all seek it with avidity, and, with a mis-placed confidence, rely upon ourselves for employing it properly. We all agree in the truth of the general proposition, but each believes himself to be an exception. No man, or number of men, in short, can be competent judges in their own cause. This principle is founded on reason, proved by experience, and followed in practice. Would not the House of Commons be looked upon as composed of madmen, if, in a bill for making a new road to pass through one hundred different estates, they left the quantum of compensation on the part of the public, to be determined by a majority of the proprietors of these one hundred estates. The West-India planters may say, perhaps, that on the grounds of common humanity they might be depended upon for acting impartially. The same plea might be used in the case we have just stated, on the grounds of common honesty, and with greater appearance of reason ; for in this country the parties would know that they were directly amenable to the bar of public opinion, through the medium of a free press—free, at least, as far as they are concerned—which would deter them, at all events, from committing any very flagrant act of injustice. But with the planters there can be no check of this description—they have the press in their own hands, and they themselves constitute the public. And if any statements of their misconduct happen to find their way into this country, their friends here lose no time in denying their accuracy, and in charging the authors with laying before the public highly-coloured pictures and exaggerated accounts, for the purpose of rousing their feelings and warping their judgment ; or in affirming them to be statements of insulated cases, and exceptions to the general rule. Without considering the West Indians to be worse, but only not to be better, than other men, we think that no impartial person after a full consideration of this question, can feel the least doubt that parliament ought itself to undertake whatever it may deem advisable towards the amelioration of the negroes.

Another grand and leading objection to the agitation of this question, and one that has been invariably brought forward by the anti-abolitionists, is the danger of insurrection, and of the destruction of their persons and property; and probably there is hardly one that has had more weight in the scale against the negroes. Many disinterested persons, and many who were sincere friends to emancipation, have been withheld from supporting it by their fears. We may safely refer those who still entertain alarm on this head, to past experience, and to the opinions expressed by many of our most enlightened statesmen, who unite in showing the groundlessness of all apprehensions concerning danger from the discussion of plans for the amelioration and gradual emancipation of the slaves. Can there be so much danger in teaching the slaves to look forward to a period, however distant, when their emancipation, or that of their children, will be accomplished, and in making them as comfortable in the interim as circumstances will permit, as in forcing them to look upon their situation as hopeless, and their slavery as interminable? The latter course of conduct must inevitably tend to nourish in them the inclination to resist, and at last goad them to the attempt, by teaching them "resolution from despair."

An attempt has been made in some of the colonial newspapers to alarm this country by warm descriptions of the irritated state of the negro mind, in consequence of Mr. Buxton's motion; and to excite sympathy for the dangerous and precarious situation in which the white population are placed. All this they attribute to the abolitionists, who, according to the planters, are guilty of continually directing the attention of the slaves to the ideal enjoyment of liberty and idleness. If the planters, however, could be brought to reason coolly for a moment or two, it would be no difficult task for them to discover, that danger of insurrection is inseparable from a state of slavery, where the slaves are in the proportion of 50 to 1 to their masters. They complain that the general impression among the negroes is, that king George wishes to give them their liberty, but that their masters oppose it. This they lay to the charge of others; but to men not blinded with passion, it would be easy to see that they have only themselves to blame. In Jamaica, for instance, how did they treat Lord Bathurst's circular? They heaped abuse upon him—they heaped abuse upon the ministers—and proceeded to repeal the registry act. Their speeches are one tissue of violence—their newspapers are filled with matter no less inflammatory—and after this, they affect to be surprised that the negroes should entertain feelings so fully warranted by their own folly.

The policy of government's taking upon itself to legislate for the colonies on every point connected with the immediate relation of master and slave, and the fear of danger from the agitation of the question, being now disposed of; we will proceed to examine in detail the various improvements of which the condition of the negro is susceptible, without prejudice to the just claims of the planters.

It appears from the best evidence, that in most of our colonies, Sunday is, during the greater part of the year, the only day allotted to the negroes for attending the markets, and for the cultivation of their provision-grounds. The planters admit that one day in the week is absolutely necessary for these purposes at all times, and another day is usually allowed in addition, when they are not employed in getting in the crop, or in other urgent business on the estate. Working on the Sabbath is illegal by the laws of this country, and we are not aware that any contrary enactment is in existence in any of our colonies. If, then, the spirit of the law is so habitually disregarded, that the slaves are forced to work for themselves, although not so openly for their masters as on the other days, no one can find the least injustice in the legislature's enforcing the observance of it. If, on the contrary, the planters have any positive law (which we do not believe), the propriety of its repeal is manifest. The West Indians claim all the privileges of "free-born Englishmen," and they must submit to the restraints attached to the enjoyment of those privileges. The most simple and efficient way of giving the negroes the benefit of this holy ordinance, is by requiring the planters to set apart some other day in the week for the negroes to cultivate their provision-ground and attend the markets, and by abolishing Sunday markets altogether. It is clear that this will be an advantage of considerable importance to the negroes. It is one that they are already legally entitled to, and therefore the planters can have no just ground of complaint. One of the great impediments in the way of extending to the slaves the blessings of those rights which we enjoy, and without which we should consider existence intolerable, is their ignorance. We cannot give a better idea of the consequences likely to result from securing to the negroes the benefit of the Sabbath, than by extracting the following faithful description of the effect of withholding from them the blessings of that day, in depriving them of the chance of receiving any advantage from the humane and philanthropic exertions of those who are willing to instruct them.

' In the year 1817, Robert Hibbert, Esq., of East Hide, near Luton,

Bedfordshire, engaged the Rev. Thomas Cooper to go over to Jamaica, for the express purpose of ascertaining the practicability of improving, by means of religious instruction, the condition of the negroes on his estate of Georgia, in the parish of Hanover, in that Island. With a view to render his task as agreeable as possible, Mr. Cooper was authorized to adopt his own plans of tuition, 'provided they should in no respect be found incompatible with the order and management of the plantation.' A house was provided for him, pleasantly situated about a mile from the negro village, and he was made quite independent of the other white people connected with the slaves. He reached the estate on Christmas day, 1817, and continued upon it for upwards of three years, after which he returned to England, where he now resides.

The owner of this estate, who himself resides in England, is, as may be inferred from his proceedings in this very instance, a man of great benevolence. He was at the entire expense of Mr. Cooper's mission, and he seemed disposed to spare no outlay which he thought likely to contribute to the comfort of his slaves, of whom there were about 400 attached to the estate. The estates had formerly been made to produce 400 hogsheads of sugar; but Mr. Hibbert, considering that the labour required for the production of so large a quantity, pressed too heavily upon his slaves, directed that only 300 hogsheads should be made, and it is to this moderated scale of employment, and to a gang of negroes thus favourably circumstanced, in relation to their proprietor, that Mr. Cooper's information refers.

One great obstacle to his success, as a religious instructor, which Mr. Cooper had to encounter at the very outset of his undertaking, was this, that the slaves had no time to attend upon him. This will require a somewhat lengthened explanation, which will serve at the same time, to throw light incidentally on several material features of the slave system.

The season of crop, in other words, the sugar harvest, commenced about the time of Mr. Cooper's arrival in Jamaica, and continued for about five months. During that period, the general plan is (and that plan was followed on Georgia estate), to begin the manufacture of sugar on Sunday evening, and to continue it generally, without intermission, either day or night, till about midnight of the following Saturday, when the work stops for about eighteen or twenty hours, to commence again on the Sunday evening.* In order to prevent any interruption of this process during the week, the slaves capable of labour, are, with some necessary exceptions, divided into two gangs or spells, which, besides being both fully occupied in the various occupations of the plantation during the day, are engaged the whole of the night, on alternate nights, in the business of sugar-making.† Their labour during crop

* By an act of the Jamaica legislature, of Dec. 1816, it is forbidden to set the sugar mills to work before five on Monday morning. But this regulation appears to have been practically disregarded in this instance.

Since the publication of the first edition of this pamphlet, an order has been sent out by Mr. Hibbert to prevent the sugar-mill being set to work till Monday morning.

† On many estates the two gangs or spells, instead of alternating the whole of the night, labour half of each night, the one being replaced by the other at midnight.

time is thus equal to six days and three nights in the week. And in the exaction of this labour, no distinction is made between men and women: both are subject to the same unvarying rule.

'The canes are carried on the backs of mules, or in carts, from the field to the mill. The men employed in this part of the work have no regular time of rest, either night or day. Their task is, to keep the mill regularly supplied with canes, and it is only when they have been able, by exertion, to accumulate a quantity there, that they can venture to take rest. It seldom happens that they get a whole night's rest at one time. Besides the alternate night of rest allowed to the other slaves, that portion of them who were not attending the sugar-works had half an hour allowed them to sit down in the field to eat their breakfast, and two hours further interval of labour allowed them in the middle of the day, generally from one to three. The same allowance of time for breakfast and dinner was continued to the labouring slaves the whole year round.*

'During the five months of crop, therefore, it is pretty evident, that it would have been found 'incompatible with the order and management of the plantation,' to allot any portion of time for religious instruction, unless it were on Sunday.

'But here it will be said, that Sunday was the very day on which that instruction might most conveniently and appropriately have been given; and that it could hardly be alleged, with any fairness, that the negroes have no time to attend to religious instruction, when the middle of that day might have been set apart for the purpose. To this arrangement, however, Mr. Cooper found there were insuperable objections; it was wholly 'incompatible with the order and management of the plantation.' In the first place, the persons who had been toiling for six days and three nights in the preceding week, many of whom had continued that toil till past midnight on Saturday, could not be expected voluntarily to assemble, at a very early hour, to listen to lessons which they had not learned to appreciate. In the next place, Sunday was the *only* day which was allowed them, during the five months of crop, for cultivating their provision-grounds; for bringing thence the food requisite for their sustenance during the week; and for going to market.

'It may not be generally understood, that not only is Sunday a market day in Jamaica, but that, for the negroes, whether as venders of the fruit, or vegetables, or poultry, or other articles of food they may have to dispose of, or as purchasers of the little necessaries or comforts they may wish to buy in return, *Sunday is the only market day.* Such, however, is the fact.

'The distance of the place of market, varying from one to five, ten, and even more miles, and which must be twice traversed by such slaves as go to it, and who have generally heavy loads to carry thither, tends fur-

* The law referred to above specifies these periods of half an hour and two hours as the proper intervals of labour during the day; and it adds, that except in crop-time, the slaves are not to be obliged to work before five in the morning, or after seven in the evening.

ther, independently of the time required for their sales and purchases, to abridge the hours which could, by any possibility, be given to religious worship on the Sunday.

‘ It is some labour even to fetch on that day from their provision-grounds the plantains, or yams, or eddoes, or other food which they may require, to feed themselves and any children they may have, during the succeeding week ; a labour which is often aggravated by the distance of those provision-grounds from the home-stall of the plantation ; a distance often extending to six, and sometimes even to ten miles. The distance of the provision-grounds on Georgia estate was about three miles from the negro village, which was thought moderate. Still the very walk, thither and back, was sufficient to diminish, by two hours, the brief respite from plantation labour which Sunday afforded to the slaves.

‘ But besides these different uses to which the Sunday was necessarily appropriated, there remained another of a still more engrossing nature. Sunday was *the only day which was allowed to the slaves during crop, for cultivating and keeping in order their provision-grounds, from which provision-grounds their sole means of subsistence was derived,* if we except a weekly allowance of seven or eight herrings to each adult, and half that number to each child, and a small present of a pound or two of salt-fish at Christmas. If, therefore, they neglected to employ in their provision-grounds a sufficient portion of the Sunday, to secure to them an adequate supply of food, they might be reduced to absolute want ; and although the want might be supplied, yet the neglect would not fail to be punished.

‘ When all these circumstances are weighed, we shall have no difficulty in comprehending how it was that Mr. Cooper, during the first five or six months of his residence on Georgia estate, could find no time for the religious instruction of the slaves, which was *compatible with its order and management.*

“ The Sunday shone no sabbath day to them.”

Nor was their case, in this respect, on Mr. Hibbert’s estate at all peculiar. It was the common lot of the plantation slaves generally throughout the island.

‘ Crop-time, however, lasted only for five, or at most, six months of the year. How did Mr. Cooper succeed during the remaining six or seven months ? During those months, as well as during crop-time, the Sunday was wholly and exclusively applied, in the case of the slaves, to the various secular objects already mentioned ; but chiefly, and above all, Sunday being the day especially appropriated for the cultivation of their provision-grounds, which were the allotted source of subsistence for themselves and their families, while engaged in the weekly labours of the plantation, it was felt to be impossible to require that a portion of it should be given to attendance on religious instruction, at least, unless an equivalent portion of time had been given them during the week for the purpose of cultivating their grounds. But, even then, to have enforced such attendance on the Sunday would have proved a grievous imposition. It would have operated as an interdict from attending

market on the only day on which there was any market to attend. Under these circumstances, even Mr. Cooper was forced to admit that it would have been the greatest cruelty to compel the slaves to attend Divine worship on Sundays.

‘ But, it may be asked, whether no time, except Sunday, is given to the slaves for the raising of food. The law of the island requires that one day in a fortnight, except during the time of crop, should be allowed to the slaves, *exclusive of Sunday*, for cultivating their provision-grounds. This would amount to fourteen or sixteen days in the year. The proprietor of Georgia was, however, more liberal than the law. There the slaves were allowed for this purpose (and other proprietors in that quarter, Mr. Cooper thinks, may have been equally liberal,) every Saturday, after crop, until they began to dig the land into holes for the fall plant, when they are allowed only every second Saturday. By this arrangement the negroes belonging to Georgia had about twenty-eight days in the year allowed them for the cultivation of their grounds, besides Sundays.

‘ As this time, however, had been given them for the express purpose of raising their food, it would have been unjust to the slaves, and would have placed both religion and its ministers in an odious light, had any part of it been authoritatively diverted from its original destination, with a view to attendance upon him. Accordingly, it was agreed, that out of crop, an afternoon every fortnight should be allowed for religious worship and instruction. Mr. Cooper had thus an opportunity of preaching to the slaves about eleven or twelve times in the year. But the moment crop began there was an entire cessation for five or six months of all meetings of the kind.

‘ After remaining in this unsatisfactory state for upwards of three years, Mr. Cooper, as has been already remarked, quitted Jamaica and returned to Great Britain. He justly observes, that it could, perhaps, hardly be expected that he should have consented to consume his time amongst a people to whom he could preach only twelve times in the year.’ (C. page 46, 53.)

Another great evil complained of by the abolitionists, and one that may likewise be easily remedied without any injustice to the planters, is, that the laws of the islands are not only silent with regard to any means by which the negroes can obtain their liberty, but actually impose manumission fines on those masters who are inclined to liberate their slaves. The following plausible answer has been given to this complaint :

‘ In page 42. Mr. Wilberforce accuses the colonial assemblies for imposing fines on the manumission of slaves, by which I infer that he is ignorant of their object, viz. to prevent unfeeling persons from emancipating old and crippled slaves, merely to elude the expense of their care, maintenance, and taxation ; for by this act the owners must pay into the treasury a sufficient sum to support the freed person, or give a bond to that effect, in case they should become a burthen upon the community.’ (B. page 15.)

An alteration in this law suggests itself immediately on reading the accusation and the answer. Let the fine be abolished, but let the power of imposing one upon particular occasions be vested, under due restrictions, in a responsible officer, who would thus be enabled to prevent unfeeling persons from taking advantage of the law.*

Amidst all the aggravated ill-treatment of the negroes, however, there is nothing more startling, more difficult of belief to a person uninformed concerning West-India affairs, and who has his mind imbued with English ideas of justice, than that the colour of the negro should be admitted as *prima facie* evidence of his servile condition.

'As the law at present stands, if a white person asserts a right to hold his fellow-creature in perpetual slavery, the burthen of proof lies, not on the asserted owner, but on the alleged bondsman. He is required, at the peril of the most severe personal affliction to which man can be subjected in this world, to prove a negative; to show that he is *not* a slave. In making this proof, he is, by another most iniquitous principle of law, excluded from producing as evidence in his favour, the testimony of any of that class of society, the black or coloured slave population, to whom alone his right to freedom and the grounds of it may often be known.' (C. page 89.)

Surely it cannot be pretended by the planters themselves that such a law is founded on principles of justice. We are persuaded that no one would have the assurance openly to oppose its repeal. More regard is paid to a public criminal in this country; he is presumed in law to be innocent until proved to be guilty; whenever the smallest link is wanting in the chain of proof, although every body may be morally certain of his guilt, the jury are always directed to construe the doubts in his favour.† Very different is the situation of the unfortunate negro. The laws seem completely inverted in the West Indies; the prosecutor, for so he may be called, is relieved from the *onus probandi*—he is not bound to make out his own case as he would in this or any other country. No, he brings his charge, and the defendant is called upon to disprove it. Should he miraculously succeed in so doing, no penalty is at-

* Indeed it must, in all cases, be unnecessary to impose a fine, since, by the admission of Sir H. Martin, the exaction of a bond is sufficient.

† The law carries its indulgence even to an injudicious excess, for a criminal may escape when his guilt is undoubted, merely because there is a trifling informality in the indictment. We are far from recommending that this part of our law should be extended to the negro, but we cannot conceal from ourselves that as things stand at present, he is deprived of the most essential securities against injustice.

tached to this attempt on the part of the would-be-master, at what is worse than assassination. All the means and facilities of procuring evidence are on the side of the planter, and more than ordinary difficulties are opposed to the negro. In this country where the defendant has, beyond all calculation, greater means of procuring evidence, the *onus probandi* is invariably laid upon the plaintiff. If A lays claim to the estate of B, he must prove his title: when he has brought forward his proof, then, and then only, B is called upon for counter-evidence. If, on the contrary, it were sufficient for A merely to put in his claim, and in default of B's being able to produce a clear title, the estate were adjudged to A, the law would be assimilated to that of the West Indies; except that in this country, an estate would be the object in dispute, in the West Indies, a man's personal liberty.

The colonial laws, in our opinion, should not only protect the blacks when free, but should be so framed as to give them every opportunity of obtaining their freedom, when it can be done without injustice to individual planters: the laws at present are directed to a precisely contrary end. The framers of them seem to have proposed to themselves, as the *grand desideratum*, that our settlements should never contain a free black population. When a black, whose freedom is doubtful, is apprehended, he is first committed as a run-away; if he has no means of proving his liberty, and is not claimed by any master, he is advertised in the following manner:

‘ ——— Workhouse, ——— ——— ’

‘ Notice is hereby given, that unless the undermentioned *slave* is taken out of this workhouse, prior to ——— the ——— next, he will on that day, between the hours of ten and twelve in the forenoon, be put up to public sale, and sold to the best bidder at ———, agreeably to the workhouse law now in force, for payment of his fees.

‘ Ordered, that the above be published in the newspapers’ appointed by law, for eight weeks.’

The pamphlet from which we have already made several extracts, gives the following (taken from the Jamaica Gazette of September, 1822), as specimens of the names and descriptions appended to such advertisements:—

‘ John Williams, five feet, nine inches and a half high, no brand mark; says he is a maroon of Charles-town, whereof John March, esq. is superintendant, but which is *supposed to be false*, as he is apparently a foreigner by his speech. He had for some time been skulking near Glasgow estate, in this parish.’

‘ Mary Johnson, an aged Creole; no brand-mark; says she belonged to William Johnson, a Maroon, who has been dead eight years; since which she has maintained herself.’

‘ Joe, a French creole ; no brand ; very black ; says he belongs to his father and mother, in St. Mary’s.’

‘ Robert, an Eboe, elderly ; belonged to Mr. Macbean, who died some time ago ; has no owner at present.’ (C. page 95.)

A Jamaica gazette generally contains from ten to twenty such advertisements. We have ourselves looked over a file of them, but will be content with giving one more (taken from a number for June, 1823), in addition to those above :—

‘ Philip Marge, a Creole ; five feet nine inches and a quarter high ; no mark ; says he formerly belonged to Mr. Marge, who lived in Port Royal, but is now dead, since which he has never been claimed.’

That when a slave, or even a presumed slave, is found roving about, he should be detained and advertised may be very proper, but it does not follow in case he should not be owned, or his master neglect to claim him, that he should be sold for payment of his fees. He is detained on suspicion—he is advertised according to law, to enable his master to claim the property which he has lost. If his master (supposing him to have one) neglects to do so, he is similarly situated, as far as the public are concerned, with a man who in this country is arrested on suspicion, but against whom no evidence is brought. This man, however, is discharged and allowed to go at large ; and the public are obliged to pay all the expenses of his detention, since they are incurred for the public safety. The very law which orders the negro to be sold, implies that he may be liberated without a shadow of injustice to any individual. With regard to his fees, and the expense of his maintenance, they may be borne by the parish. The burthen would be light in comparison with what every parish in this country is obliged to submit to in the maintenance of its poor. But even should this be thought intolerable, the negroes so liberated might be hired out for a limited space of time for the benefit of the parish, in payment of the charges incurred, or might be employed during their detention in repairing the roads, or in other public works. It has been urged in objection to this plan, that the negroes, if allowed to go at large, instead of employing themselves usefully, would continue to rove about the island, committing depredations, perhaps, upon the plantations. We state this objection because it has been made, but it can hardly be considered worth an answer. It might be proved by the same process of reasoning, that incorrigible vagabonds in this country should be sold as slaves. There are laws in the colonies, severe enough too, and they can be put in force against those who break them. The planters have stated only one

difficulty worth mentioning, in the way of bringing about this wholesome reform; they say that if the negroes, instead of being sold, as they are under the present law, were manumitted, it would act as an incitement to all slaves in the island to try their luck as runaways in a similar manner; and that, in consequence, no planter could be secure of retaining his property. To attach its due weight to this plausible objection, we must explain the whole process and form of proceeding against a runaway. In the first place, the master offers a reward for his detention the moment he is missed; secondly, every negro who cannot give a good account of himself is lodged immediately in a neighbouring workhouse, and regular lists and descriptions of those detained are published in the weekly gazettes; and thirdly, if unclaimed after a certain time, he is advertised to be sold, as we have already shown. Now, in Jamaica, the proportion of those taken up to those advertised to be sold is about six to one. The number of runaways in one gazette vary from 80 to 100; and the number advertised to be sold from 10 to 20; which proves how large a proportion of those detained are claimed by their masters. So much for the chance of a negro being a successful runaway! In addition let us remark the severity of the colonial laws, in order to guard against attempts of this kind. We give the following from the Jamaica Courant of 21st of July, 1823, the last paper we have seen, as instances of what is continually taking place:—

‘ At a general court of quarter-sessions, held at the courthouse, Manning’s-town, on Tuesday the 10th instant, the following trials took place:

‘ Thomas Bloomfield, to the estate of Hugh Walker, mason, for harbouring a runaway belonging to Cromwell estate; transported, value £.50.

‘ Edinburgh, to Francis Bowen, esq., for running away upwards of six months; sentenced to hard labour in the workhouse for life, value £.50.’

The planter will only have recourse to the public law, as stated above, when the negro is incorrigible, as it clearly entails upon him the loss of his services. For minor offences, for running away for short intervals, or for unsuccessful attempts at doing so, the law provides him with ample powers of punishment; he or his overseer may inflict 39 lashes of the cart-whip whenever they deem it expedient, without any form of trial whatever. The proprietor, we think, therefore, need not be alarmed for the security of property so well guarded.

It is astonishing how much might be done towards gradually increasing the free black population, and wearing out slavery,

as it were, if details were not so completely despised. The many lesser means of emancipation are allowed to pass by unnoticed, while attention has been exclusively directed to the accomplishment of it *en masse*. As an instance of this, we may observe that the number of slaves escheated to the crown in Jamaica during 15 years, from 1807 to 1821 is 948, or on an average about 63 annually. (See papers relating to Slave population, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 14 May, 1823.) These slaves appear to escheat to the crown on the demise of illegitimate persons dying intestate, aliens and others, and are disposed of by letters of preference being granted to the escheator, who prosecutes the right of the crown, entering into bond to pay over two-thirds of their value, to be applied to the use of his Majesty's revenue in the island; the remaining third belongs to the escheator. Had the colonial government been anxious to bring about a gradual abolition of slavery, one would think so fine an opportunity would not have been lost. The more natural course, with a truly paternal government, would have been to give these slaves their liberty, instead of producing so large a mass of misery for the sake of an almost imperceptible increase of the revenue. It may be observed here, that the proceeds of the unclaimed slaves are applied in a similar manner after the payment of the fees. There is no point of view in which the colonial legislatures are exhibited in a more pitiful light: here, too, they have every thing in their hands to assist them in finding employment for the negroes they might emancipate; land is frequently escheated with the slaves; some portion of this might surely be divided among them, and the proper superintendence would make them useful and industrious subjects.

All the changes we have suggested would necessarily make a wonderful improvement in the condition of the slaves, and tend to increase gradually the number of free negroes; and they can be carried into execution without injuring any body. The planters themselves would desire them if they knew their own interests. By evincing a wish, and coming forward with readiness, to do justice to their slaves, they might prevent more hasty and less politic measures from being carried into effect by the outraged feelings of the other classes of the community.

Hitherto we have confined ourselves to stating what may be done towards ameliorating the condition of the negroes, and increasing the number of freemen, without any interference with the property of the planters. The alterations for the benefit of the slaves that we have hitherto recommended, require no corresponding compensation to the masters; they can,

therefore, be easily carried into execution. The next point for consideration will, perhaps, be attended with greater difficulties; we mean the question of manumission.

Were the government of this country determined to give the negroes their liberty immediately at all hazards, without indulging a fore-thought for the evil consequences that might ensue to the slaves themselves—were they inclined, in short, to act up to the spirit of the axiom placed so prominently in the foreground by the abolitionists, “that the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution, and of the Christian religion”^{*}—were they to listen to their feelings alone, and excluding the voice of reason from their councils, to come to the conclusion that, since an act of injustice and barbarity had been committed, it was the duty of the nation to retrace its steps, hastily and inadvisedly; the course presenting the fewest disadvantages would be, not to invade the property of the planters but to purchase all the negroes in the colonies, and give them their liberty at once. The West Indians could not, in fact they do not, dispute the justice of this measure; they merely question, and as we think, reasonably, its policy.

‘I have now,’ says Sir H. W. Martin, towards the conclusion of his pamphlet, ‘as a last resource, to implore the friendly aid of the gentlemen of England (*our legislators*), and beg them to extend the hand of friendship, by giving us their powerful assistance during the ensuing struggle in the House of Commons; and I request them, also, as conservators of the national purse, to consider the enormous expense that would be thrown upon Great Britain, by remunerating the West-India planters for the loss of their property, for without indemnity it is impossible to seize upon private property for any public purpose, without a breach of the most solemn and sacred rights. Remuneration for the whole property of the West-India proprietors would amount to one hundred millions, and for the slaves only, about thirty-five millions: whether the country is prepared to come forward with that sum, I must leave to the decision of others! But the right of protection or remuneration cannot be doubted.’ (B. page 43.)

Dismissing, however, the question of propriety, let us consider how we should proceed to ascertain the quantum of remuneration due to the planters. They would not, we presume, claim a right to estimate their own damages. There are precedents in abundance as to the proper course to be pursued. None but impartial persons would be fitted to assess the amount of loss to be made good to the proprietors, and these might be appointed by the House of Commons. The same principle would apply,

^{*} See Resolution moved by Mr. Buxton in the House of Commons, 15th May, 1823.

supposing parliament chose to purchase not the whole, but a part, of the planter's rights: and again, supposing they chose to allow the slaves to purchase their own liberty, or individuals disposed to bestow their alms in that direction, to purchase it for them. The value of an able-bodied negro in the prime of life, we have reason to believe is about 80*l.* in most of the islands; but we will put it at 100*l.* sterling. What impediment then can there be to parliament's fixing one of these sums, or a larger one, if nearer the truth, as the *maximum* of a negro's value, and smaller sums according to the age or sex of the slave: and when this is accomplished, making it incumbent upon the master to take such value for him, whether offered by the slave himself, or by a third party proposing to manumit him! The plan usually adopted in this country, when it is required that private rights should yield to the public good, is conformable to this principle. In making a new street, commissioners are appointed to estimate the value of private property which it becomes necessary to invade. If any individual is dissatisfied with the award, he may appeal, it is true, to a jury; but, in the present case the power of appeal would be unnecessary, in consequence of parliament's fixing the maximum value before-hand, leaving the slave to make a better bargain if possible. This process is simple, for there is only one species of property to estimate: when a new street is to be made it is more complex, owing to the variety of interests and property that may be affected. Private individuals are forced to give up their rights for an equitable compensation; they are not left to make their own bargains, for that would be to give them the power of dictating their own terms. The greater the urgency of the case the higher would be their claims. Were no maximum fixed, in proportion as the slaves were able or willing to pay for their freedom, or others were disposed to purchase it for them, the demands of their masters would increase.

'Very great difficulty is experienced by negroes in obtaining their freedom, even when they are able to pay for it, because those who, by their industry and frugality have realized the means of purchasing their freedom, and who, therefore, are most worthy of it, and also likely to employ it most beneficially, are the most valuable hands. Mr. Cooper knew three valuable men who wished to purchase their freedom. They had long applied in vain to the agents of the proprietor resident on the spot. They at length, however, obtained their end by an application to the proprietor himself, then in England. After this, a fourth made many efforts to obtain his freedom by purchase, but they proved unavailing, and he sunk, in consequence, into a state of despondency, and became of comparatively little value.'* (C. page 67.)

* Mr. Cooper knew two or three other cases of this description.

This reference to the cruel operation of the existing law is sufficient alone to justify its immediate amendment. To justify, do we say? To make it imperative upon parliament not to lose a moment in blotting out so crying an injustice. A slave having struggled to obtain the means of purchasing his liberty, having proved himself in a state fit to appreciate its blessings, making the application, and failing, must be as heart-rending a picture of human misery as can well be imagined. The iron may truly be said to enter into the soul of a being with expectations so cruelly blighted. Many will say, perhaps, that instances of slaves having a wish and possessing the means of acquiring their own liberty, must be very rare. That may be, but it is in no man's power to say how far the will and means are checked by the known operation of the law. We have it in our power, fortunately, to prove, by a reference to facts, that the emancipation of slaves, through the medium of a third person, is considerably checked by the difficulties which the law has opposed, or at least left in the way. We have only to make choice of the numerous extracts from wills given in the official returns from Jamaica, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons:—

‘ It is my will that my executors do, *if possible*, at a moderate price, purchase the said negro woman slave free.’

‘ My executors to *endeavour* to obtain her freedom for *whatever* sum her proprietor will take for her.’

‘ A slave now belonging to Hopewell estate. My executors to use all their *influence* and *power* to get her manumized.’

We are accustomed in this country to look upon ourselves as superior to the rest of the world in our civil institutions, and in morality and knowledge. If we are entitled to pride ourselves upon this alleged superiority, with what shame must we cast our eyes upon the colonial institutions of Spain, deservedly reckoned the most bigoted and ignorant among European nations.

‘ In the Spanish American possessions it has always been the established practice to encourage manumissions. A slave had a right, by law, to his freedom, as soon as he could repay to his master the sum he had cost. In order to enable the slave to do this, he was not only allowed the undisturbed enjoyment of the sabbath, either for rest or for religious purposes, or for his own emolument, as he might like best, but he was allowed also one day in the week for the cultivation of his provision-grounds, his master being entitled to the labour of the other five. As soon, however, as the slave, by his industry and frugality, had accumulated the fifth part of his value, it was usual for the master, on being paid that amount, to relinquish to the slave another day of the

week, and so on until he had repaid the whole of his original cost, and thus became altogether free. He continued, however, in some cases, during the days which were his own, and even after his complete emancipation, to labour for hire in his master's service. By this process, not only was the master's capital replaced without loss, but a peasantry was formed around him, which had learned by experience the happy effects of industry and frugality, and were, therefore, industrious and provident. Notwithstanding this liberal policy, the enfranchised slaves have never been known in the Spanish possessions to rise against their former masters, or to excite those who were still slaves to seek any other method of deliverance than they themselves had pursued; whilst they formed, by their number and hardihood, a valuable means of defence from foreign aggression. In consequence of this admirable system, the whole negro population of the Spanish possessions were so rapidly approximating to emancipation, that about the year 1790, the number of free blacks and people of colour somewhat exceeded, in all of them, the number of slaves. Since that time, in Cuba alone, in consequence of the immense importations from Africa into that island, has this proportion been diminished; but even there the free black and coloured population amounts to from a third to a half of the number of the slaves. In the other Trans-Atlantic possessions of Spain their number has gone on progressively increasing, until now slavery can hardly be said to have any existence there. And this happy consummation has been effected without any commotion, and with the ready concurrence of the master, who has not only not been a loser, but a gainer by the change. How opprobrious to Great Britain is the contrast which this system exhibits to that of our colonies!

' The happy effects of this admirable mode of manumission are well illustrated in the following extract from Humboldt's Travels:—

' We observed with a lively interest the great number of scattered
' houses in the valley inhabited by freedmen. In the Spanish colonies
' the institutions and the manners are more favourable to the liberty of
' the blacks than in the other European settlements. In all these excursions
' we were agreeably surprised, not only at the progress of agriculture,
' but the increase of a free, laborious population, accustomed to toil,
' and too poor to rely on the assistance of slaves. White and black
' farmers had every where small separate establishments. Our host,
' whose father had a revenue of 40,000 piastres, possessing more lands
' than he could clear, he distributed them in the valley of Aragua,
' among poor families who chose to apply themselves to the cultivation
' of cotton. He endeavoured to surround his ample plantations with
' freemen, who, working as they chose, either on their own land, or in
' the neighbouring plantations, supplied him with day-labourers at the
' time of harvest. Nobly occupied on the means best adapted gradually
' to extinguish the slavery of the blacks in these colonies, Count Torur
' flattered himself with the double hope of rendering slaves less necessary
' to the landholders, and furnishing the freedmen with opportunities
' of becoming farmers. On departing for Europe he had parcelled
' out and let a part of the lands of Cura. Four years after, at his
' return to America, he found on this spot, finely cultivated in cotton,

‘ a little hamlet of thirty or forty houses, which is called Punta Zamuro, and which we afterwards visited with him. The inhabitants of this hamlet are nearly all mulattoes, Zumboes, or free blacks. This example of letting out land has been happily followed by other great proprietors. The rent is ten piastres for a vanega of ground, and is paid in money or in cotton. As the small farmers are often in want, they sell their cotton at a very moderate price. They sell it even before the harvest; and the advances thus made by rich neighbours, place the debtor in a state of dependance which frequently obliges him to offer his services as a labourer. The price of labour is cheaper here than in France. A freeman working as a day-labourer (peor) is paid in the valleys of Aragua, and in the Llanos, four or five piastres a month, not including food, which is very cheap, on account of the abundance of meat and vegetables. I love to dwell on these details of colonial industry, because they prove to the inhabitants of Europe what to the enlightened inhabitants of the colonies has long ceased to be doubtful, that the continent of Spanish America can produce sugar and indigo by free hands, and that the unhappy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and landholders.’ (C. page 109.)

It is impossible to read these two quotations without being struck with the dissimilarity of the colonial systems of Spain and England; without reflecting how greatly superior the condition of the slaves must necessarily be in the Spanish colonies. This difference has arisen partly, perhaps, from the non-residence of the planters in our colonies, and from their entrusting the management of their plantations to agents with fixed salaries, who have no immediate interest in the well-being of the slaves. We may easily account for this non-residence when we consider how few attractions the colonies must present to an Englishman, accustomed to the company of learned and enlightened men, and all the enjoyments of civilized life. The contrast is not so great between Spain and her colonies. The original settlers in all colonies must, in general, be drawn from the middling classes of the mother country, and from persons possessing moderate capitals. In this and other countries, with any pretensions to free institutions, or where freedom of thought and conversation are not entirely prohibited, these classes, while residing at home, have all the advantages we have mentioned. These advantages they must lose, as a matter of course, when they quit it to live in countries where they can meet but few of their own rank and station in society, and where those few are so much engaged in the pursuit of riches as to spare little or no time for social pleasures. The Dutch were the first people who carried on the system of colonization with much spirit. They early got a reputation for dreadful cruelty in the treatment of their slaves. Regardless of means,

their object was, to amass as much wealth as possible with the least loss of time, and return to their native country. In the French colonies the same excesses of cruelty are not quite so observable. There are, or at least there were, more resident proprietors among them, and the slaves of these were secure of that portion of good treatment which flows from a desire, on the part of their masters, of not destroying or depreciating their property. In Spain, however, about the time when she was at the zenith of her power, and when she was extending her empire in the New World, the government was fast destroying every thing with the appearance of freedom in her institutions. Not only was political freedom abolished, but the Inquisition, with all its attendant horrors, and with a system of espionage regardless of the privacies of domestic life, and unchecked by any barrier of public opinion, was intent upon making itself master and controller of the inmost thoughts as well as of the words and actions of all. All the more enlightened and enterprising inhabitants, too happy to escape from such torments, rendered more galling in proportion as their mental attainments surpassed those of others, submitted readily to the pangs of separation from their friends and country, in order to secure some little peace of mind. A superior class of men, accordingly, including some of the nobility, were early resident in the numerous Spanish settlements in the New World. The more northern colonies of the United States were first founded under similar circumstances. A race of intelligent men, seeking refuge from persecution, impressed the institutions they established with the marks of their own free and unsubdued spirits. Slavery never existed under so horrible a form in the Northern States as in those of the South, which were settled under the same circumstances as other English colonies. The distinguishing features stamped originally are still discernible, and we have no doubt will long continue to be so, although the first causes have for some time ceased to be in active operation.

The possession of land in our colonies, as has been justly observed, partakes more of the nature of a speculation in goods than a territorial possession. The proprietor residing in a distant country, has all his feelings detached from the land and from the beings through whom he derives his income. His power and rights are entrusted to an agent, with instructions to make this income as large as possible. If these instructions are not literally given, the agent cannot fail to learn, that by such means alone he can expect to give satisfaction to his employer. He thus holds all the master's power in his hands

with every temptation to abuse it. And the slaves are deprived of the saving influence of a master's interested feelings. More than one half of the estates are mortgaged to West-India merchants, who not unfrequently have the entire control of the mortgaged property; at all events, they have the nomination or appointment of the attorney and manager. The merchant looks for his remuneration to the commission on the sales of the sugar; the ultimate prosperity of the estate is of secondary importance to him. What he requires of the manager is, the production of a large number of hogsheads of sugar, that he may get *a large amount of commission*. He orders, no doubt, at the same time, in general terms, that the slaves should not be over-worked; but as the exact line of what constitutes over-working cannot be drawn, it is clear that the manager's interest lies more in producing much sugar, than in paying particular attention to the health and increase of the negroes.

We should infer, of course, from this style of management, that the West-India merchants and managers were those who really prospered, and it is so in fact. Merchants, managers, and attorneys, become possessed, if they meet with tolerable success, of large properties, actually earned out of the planters. They all stand in the relation of *hired servants* to the proprietors, their nominal masters. The management of estates by hired servants is proverbial, and from what we have observed of West-India concerns, we see no reason to doubt the truth of the proverb.* To apologize for speaking in these terms would be ridiculous, for the very description we have given carries conviction with it.

With society constituted as it is in the West Indies, it is visionary and absurd to expect any change for the better in the treatment of the slaves, unless the government of this country will undertake to legislate for them. We have suggested various laws, by which the moral, political, and physical condition of the negroes may be improved, and against which the planters can have no just ground of complaint. There may be a few more suggestions worthy of consideration, but none occur to us at present, excepting that in the choice of

* The principal West-India merchants are ship owners: the planters may be supposed, therefore, to pay *full freights* on the sugar and other produce consigned to England. They are likewise underwriters, and they insure the property consigned to them *inter se*.• Monopoly, of course, has the same effect upon charges of freight and insurance as upon every thing else. We heard an instance the other day, where a West-India merchant was his own underwriter, and charged the planter with 10s. per cent for guarantecing *his own security*.

governors, judges, and law-officers, care should be taken that they are *not slave owners*. The propriety of making this condition a *sine quâ non* of their appointment is so apparent, that the bare mention of it is sufficient. They will always sympathise too much with the whites, for they will always be whites themselves: but at least, they ought not to be exposed to an additional misleading motive. The general charge against the abolitionists is, that they are blinded by enthusiasm. That charge we think will not apply to us. We have purposely avoided an appeal to the feelings of our readers by an unnecessary mention of, or allusion to, cases of cruelty and oppression. Such cases may or may not be exceptions to the general mode of treatment. We hope and believe that they are exceptions. We have contented ourselves with calling attention to the real state of the law as it exists at present, and to the mode in which it may be improved. Firmly convinced of the justice, propriety, and feasibility of all that we have urged, we have sought their concurrence and approbation by addressing ourselves to their reason alone.

There is a plan for the more hasty liberation of the negroes, supported by numerous and weighty authorities, which we must not entirely overlook. It is proposed to declare all children born after a certain day to be free. No one can be more anxious than we are to see slavery extinguished altogether, but we wish, if possible, to avoid committing a fresh act of injustice with one hand, while we are atoning for an old one with the other. In this plan no compensation to the planters is alluded to, and therefore it never will meet with our approbation until *the utter impossibility of achieving the same object by safer and juster means is clearly proved*. To assert that the plantations would be cultivated cheaper with free labor, and to support this assertion by the strongest probable evidence, is not sufficient.* We believe that they could, but until this shall be positively established, to legislate upon its assumption would be making an impolitic experiment, at the sole risk of a particular class.

Let the abolitionists continue their praise-worthy exertions, but let them do so in the spirit of moderation. Let them refrain from catching at what is beyond their reach, and thereby run the risk of losing the whole. Instead of injudiciously attacking the whole front of their adversaries, and sustaining a total defeat, let them direct their attention to those

* See letter E, a very clever pamphlet, which almost destroys all our doubts upon that subject.

unguarded positions which are half admitted to be untenable, and for the surrender of which a willingness has been already half expressed. His Majesty's ministers have declared themselves ready, nay anxious, to adopt any judicious measure for the gradual improvement and ultimate manumission of the slaves.

Mr. Canning is very clear upon that point. In his speech upon Mr. Buxton's motion (15th May last), he says—

‘ The question to be decided is, how civil rights, moral improvements, and general happiness, are to be communicated to this overpowering multitude of slaves, with safety to the lives, and security to the interests, of the white population, our fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens. Is it possible that there can be a difference of opinion upon this question? Is it possible that those most nearly concerned in the present state of property in the West Indies, and those who contemplate the great subject with the eye of the philosopher and the moralist, should look at it in any other than one point of view? Is it possible for a member of parliament, still more for a member of the government, to say, that he does not wish, so far as is consistent with other great considerations necessarily involved, to impart every improvement which may tend to raise in the scale of being the unfortunate creatures now in a state of servitude and ignorance? Undoubtedly, sacrifices ought to be made for the attainment of so great a good; but would I, on this account, strike at the root of the system—a system the growth of ages—and, unhesitatingly and rashly, level it at a blow? Are we not all aware that there are knots which cannot be suddenly disentangled, and must not be cut; difficulties which, if solved at all, must be solved by patient consideration and impartial attention, in order that we may not do the most flagrant injustice, by aiming at justice itself.” (F. p. 24.)

The following Resolutions have been agreed to by the House of Commons :

“ That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the slave population of his Majesty's colonies.

“ That, through a determined and vigorous, but at the same time, judicious and temperate, enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

“ That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of these purposes at the earliest period that may be, consistently with the welfare of the slaves themselves, the well-being of the colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the state of property therein.”

These resolutions are, upon the whole, as favourable as could

be expected. Their defect is vagueness. They pledge the government to nothing. They are *vox et præterea nihil*. The first resolution, upon which the other two are founded, is little better than an identical proposition. "It is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the slaves." Nobody doubts that effectual and decisive measures of melioration must be expedient. The problem is, *what are* effectual and decisive measures? And here we are met by that which meets us at every turn, even when we least expect it—the imperfect representation of the people in the House of Commons. A parliament really responsible to the people would neither have delayed so long before declaring for emancipation, nor would at last have been satisfied with *such* a declaration. But what is to be expected from a parliament habitually yielding itself up to the dictation of the ministry, or from a ministry cramped, even when its intentions are good, by the necessity of paying court to this or that section of the aristocracy—to the landed interest, to the mercantile interest, to the colonial interest, to the shipping interest, and to we know not how many more squads of aristocrats, of which any two or three, sometimes any one, by deserting the ministry, could ensure their downfall! A simple despotism, could we be certain that the ministers would be men of education and men of business, were the preferable alternative. We can never hope for a plain, manly, open course, at the hands of our rulers, chosen as they now are. Something must be sacrificed to one "interest," something to another: when two "interests" are opposed, a little must be yielded to both sides, all measures of improvement must be carefully pared down, and every thing which any section of the aristocracy can dislike, must be cut off; until, at length, parliament, in its anxiety to steer a middle course, and to offend nobody, pleases nobody, and ends by leaving matters precisely as they stand.

To appreciate fully the good effects likely to result from the improvements we have been recommending, it is necessary to take a survey of the colonial population as it is at present, relatively to what it was immediately after the abolition of the slave trade. Previous to the passing of that law, the threshold of amelioration was completely blocked up, and benevolence and philanthropy were obstructed at every step. As long as an idea was generally entertained, that it was cheaper to import than to rear slaves, and there were means at hand to put that doctrine in practice, any thing like a prevalence of common humanity was next to impossible. With the law for the abolition of the slave trade rigidly enforced, and we believe it to be

so, it is no very romantic idea to suppose, that slavery would gradually die away of itself, without any further legislative interference, although the period of this happy event might be far buried in the womb of futurity. There is a small annual increase in the number of free coloured people compared with that of the slaves. This fact throws a ray of hope which will serve to guide and enlighten us in what it may be advisable to do hereafter, and save us from all feelings of gloom and despondency as we contemplate the chances of ultimate manumission by gradual steps. By the papers laid before the House of Commons last session, it appears that the number of manumissions in Jamaica during 15 years, from 1808 to 1822, was 7055, equal to about one-fiftieth part of the slave population; in Dominica, during 14 years, 867, or about one-twentieth; in Grenada 703, or one-fortieth; in Trinidad 1331, or one-eighteenth. A considerable number of those manumitted are natural children of the whites; but we have great pleasure in stating that we have no doubt, from looking over the returns, that the far larger proportion of them are not so. The returns from many of the islands are incomplete, and therefore we cannot give a comparative statement of the population of all the settlements. The following statements, however, which we have drawn up from the returns we have, imperfect as they may be, contain so much valuable information as to the present and future prospects of the slave population, that we will not withhold them from our readers.

Coloured Population.

JAMAICA.

Parish of Portland.				Parish of St. Thomas.				Parish of Westmoreland.			
free.	slaves.	propor.		free.	slaves.	proportion.		free.	slaves.	propor.	
1812.	183	7500	1 to 42	136	26,341	1 to 194		897	21,019	1 to 23	
1822.	217	7950	1 to 37	215	25,112	1 to 117		1150	22,215	1 to 19	

BARBADOES.

Parish of St. James.				St. Phillip.			St. Thomas & Christ-church.			St. Peter.		
free.	slaves.	propor.		free.	slaves.	propor.	free.	slaves.	propor.	free.	slaves.	propor.
1812.	33	4238	1 to 128	125	9181	1 to 73	137	13,942	1 to 102	230	5798	1 to 25
1820.	44	4479	1 to 102	257	9352	1 to 36	189	15,223	1 to 81	263	6062	1 to 23

DOMINICA.

	free.	slaves.	propor.
1813.	3141	20,652	1 to 6½
1821.	2932	15,646	1 to 5½

GRENADA.

	free.	slaves.	propor.
1819.	1688	28,791	1 to 17
1820.	2742	26,910	1 to 9½

TOBAGO.

	free.	slaves.	propor.
1815.	62	16,076	1 to 259
1820.	156	14,842	1 to 98

TRINIDAD.

	free.	slaves.	propor.
1816.	10,655	24,846	1 to 2½
1821.	13,382	21,719	1 to 1½

Two very agreeable inferences may be drawn from this table.

First, that the general treatment of the slaves, although sufficiently severe, is not *quite* so barbarous as has been represented; for how could their numbers be possibly kept up in the way they are, if the hardship of being over-worked and under-fed, were super-added to the two great checks to population, promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, and badness of climate. That promiscuous intercourse does exist there to a great and dreadful extent, nobody attempts to deny. The planters themselves admit it. And the unwholesomeness of the climate, especially where there is any uncleared land, is equally notorious. The second inference is, that the emancipated negroes are willing to work and support themselves, and that they do so in fact. How otherwise could their numbers increase as they seem to have done, independently of fresh manumissions. In Grenada, for instance, the increase in the number of free coloured people between 1812 and 1820, appears to be 1,054, while the manumissions during that period were only 617.* The increase by births was, therefore, 437; which, in a population of not much more than 2,000 proves them to be living in a state of ease and happiness, compared with that of their brethren in slavery. And it is evident that they could not be in this state, unless they were at the same time frugal and industrious. It disproves the absurd notion so sedulously fostered, that when a negro is left to himself, and is not absolutely forced to work, he would sooner perish by starvation than support himself by a little exertion. The fact is that a negro, like every other human being, is very reluctant to work for the profit of others, but not at all loth to benefit himself. If people will be so intent upon their own immediate profit, and so blind to the consequences of their actions, as to require the whole of the fruits of a slave's industry and leave him no share of the profit derived from his own exertions, there is only one stimulus left by which he can be made to work—that of fear. The other and greater one of hope, is totally lost. The planter in the West Indies is like a man, who, with a choice of two means, refuses the one upon which he can safely depend, but employs the more uncertain one, and when it fails, instead of blaming himself, vents his spleen upon the innocent object of his mis-calculations. In other words, by the mode of treatment he adopts towards his slaves, he decides upon taking the whole of two hogsheads of sugar instead of three quarters of four, and then is vexed at having made so bad a choice.

* See Papers relating to slave population, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, March 4, 1823.

In Trinidad the increase of free coloured people, between 1816 and 1821, was 2,733, and the number of manumissions during that period, 607;* leaving an increase of 2,126 by births, from a population of little more than 10,000, in the short space of 5 years. This rapid increase, coupled with the manumissions, so much more numerous in proportion to the population than those which have taken place in the other islands, leads us to think that in Trinidad, at least, the planters are beginning to learn the superiority of free to slave labor, and that slavery in this island will be shortly extinguished.

The principal object in view, after paying the due attention to the well-being of the *slaves*, should be to *increase the ratio* at which the *free blacks* are increasing, by giving the slaves every fair opportunity of procuring their emancipation. The foregoing table shows that the means of future emancipation *are* in operation—to add to them is all that is required; and the desired event will take place sooner, perhaps, than the warmest well-wishers of the slaves imagine. When once *a body* of free labor is called into existence, slavery must vanish before it, as Trinidad is exemplifying at this moment, and as Grenada, Dominica, and the other islands, will speedily prove in their turn.

We cannot quit this subject without noticing a very prominent feature, observable in almost all the writings and discussions on the negro question, and which, in our opinion, has done much harm to the cause of manumission. The abolitionists have endeavoured to press religion into their service exclusively. Not content with depending upon it as a shield of defence, behind which they might retire for security and consolation in their numerous difficulties, they have striven hard to pervert it into a weapon of mischief and attack. Like some modern preachers, not satisfied with explaining and unfolding to the admiration of their listeners, the charities, the mercies, and the goodness of the Creator, as exemplified in the gospel; they have dealt out anathemas, and quoted abundantly from the Old Testament to serve their purpose. They seem to have entirely forgotten or over-looked the evil ends to which the Scriptures have been employed by some of our ancestors, and not to notice that the world in general, who so often observe the *Word* introduced and the *Spirit* disregarded, are led to view with an eye of suspicion every thing connected with it. In this age, when our ears have been so often dunned with the clamours of *soi-disant* pious people, and when we have been

* See the same papers.

called upon to believe that this rapidly improving land is filled with blasphemy and irreligion, it would be well if its apparently warmest supporters would beware, lest they themselves should inflict greater injury upon real Christian piety than all the pretended blasphemers, by coupling it with the idea of hypocrisy in the minds of the people. We think that religion should never be mixed up with political discussions. We know that the measure which is most conducive to the happiness of mankind is most grateful to a benevolent Providence. This is enough for us. Let us avoid, then, the fruitless labour of questioning texts of Scripture, which can often be met by other texts equally conclusive on the other side.

Some of the tracts before us furnish instances of the truth of our remarks. The first objects that strike the eye on opening Mr. Wilberforce's pamphlet, are two quotations from Scripture, in the title page.

‘Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work.’ *Jeremiah.*

‘Do justice, and love Mercy.’ *Micah.*

Now let the consequences be attended to. Sir H. W. Martin gives in his Counter-appeal no less than eight quotations from the Scriptures, of which we will merely give two, to show to what purposes they may be perverted.

Leviticus, Chap. 25, ver. 44, 45. ‘Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.’

‘Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families which are with you, which they begat in your land, and they shall be your possession, and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession, and they shall be your bondmen for ever.’

It is unnecessary to make any further remarks on this subject. The impropriety and inutility of the above quotations are self-evident; and the Appeal and Counter-appeal would have attracted just as much attention without them. If either party is benefited, it is not Mr. Wilberforce. For although he has every advantage in the argument, his adversary's quotations, supposing the question to be decided by them alone, are certainly the most convincing.

We most cordially subscribe to the opinions of Mr. Canning on this subject, and will, therefore, conclude this article with his words:—

‘God forbid that I should contend that the Christian religion is

favourable to slavery. But I confess I feel a strong objection to the introduction of the name of Christianity, as it were bodily, into any parliamentary question. Religion ought to control the acts, and to regulate the consciences, of governments, as well as of individuals; but when it is put forward to serve a political purpose, however laudable, it is done, I think, after the example of ill times, and I cannot but remember the ill objects to which, in those times, such a practice was applied.' (F. page 26.)

[Since the foregoing article was printed off, the Slavery Question has been again discussed in the House of Commons. Our readers will have noticed the remarks which we made on the Resolutions moved by Mr. Canning on the 16th May, 1823. We little thought, however, when we penned them, that it was Mr. Canning's intention to verify their truth so woefully. The grand object with ministers, it seems, is, as usual, to pass quietly through another session. In order to accomplish this purpose, they have contrived to introduce a discussion, as it were, indirectly, on bringing in a bill to make trading in slaves piracy. Mr. Canning made a long, and what is vulgarly called an eloquent speech; that is to say, a speech full of brilliancy, metaphor, and sarcasm, and in which every question was plausibly begged. He menaced and cajoled the West-India planters and the abolitionists by turns. The former submitted to his views with well-feigned sulkiness, having gained what they sought by their violence; while the latter appeared absolutely thunderstruck at the boldness of the *charlatanerie* with which he reconciled his new plans with his last year's professions. A plan for an amelioration of the condition of the negroes is chalked out, and a determination that it should be enforced and put in execution, is expressed. The plan, however, is rejected by those for whose adoption it was intended, with the most daring effrontery. But instead of that plain, intelligible, straightforward course which would have been pursued under such circumstances by a body of national representatives, the House of Commons are content to retract their own pledges, and to conceal their mortification by listening to and laughing at a bitter invective pronounced against those who so successfully defy their authority.

All the boasted plans for bettering the condition of the negroes are then to dwindle down to an experiment of their success upon one island. Their final success is stated to be certain. And when that certainty is made manifest, it is assumed that the other colonies will gladly follow so bright an example. Will the friends of emancipation permit themselves to be duped by a manœuvre so ill contrived? If they do—if

they allow the session to pass over without attempting to record their opinion of such conduct, they deserve to be hooted and pointed at by every schoolboy in the kingdom. We hope and trust most sincerely, that they at least will be consistent — that they will consent to no delay, and that they will never cease to agitate the question, until effectual measures are taken to bring about that which is really for the interest of all parties.]

ART. III. *Memoirs of GOËTHER*. Written by himself. 2 vols. 8vo. Colburn, 1824.

“**WORKS** of pure auto-biography are written, either by those whose nerves are diseased, and whose own *self* is their torment (and Rousseau belongs to this class); or by those who have a romantic or artist-like love for themselves, like that of Benvenuto Cellini; or by innate historians, who find in themselves a mere subject for their historic art; or by women who would coquet even with posterity; or by provident minds who, before their deaths, would have every trifle settled, nor go out of the world till every thing about them has been properly explained; or they are to be considered as mere *plaidoyers* before the public. A great class among the auto-biographers are the self-deceivers (*αὐτοψεύστης*).” When this sentence was published by the Schlegels in their *Athenæum* of 1798, it was scarcely foreseen by them that the great poet, whose reputation and genius their acute and metaphysical criticism had been so frequently employed to advance and explain, would terminate the series of original works by which he had enriched the literature of his country and of Europe, by a memoir of himself as curious and remarkable as any of those referred to, and not to be included in any of the enumerated species. In the years 1811-14, Göthe published three volumes under the quaint and enigmatical title “*Aus meinem Leben Dichtung und Wahrheit*” — “From my life, Fiction (or Poetry) and Truth.” He has not thought proper to interpret his meaning, but it cannot be supposed, that he meant to give his readers notice that parts of his narrative only were true, and parts fictitious. Probably he wished to intimate, that in making the incidents of his own life the subject of his composition, and while he adhered to the truth in his narrative, he still observed those rules of art which regulate the poet: having in view the end of poetry, instruction through delight, and selecting and arranging his materials with a conscious reference to that unity of design and purpose, which is the first and perhaps the only indispensable

principle of every work of art. Or did he possibly mean to insinuate, that in recording the occurrences of his youth (and this is all that he has yet effected) when he had already attained his grand climacteric, he found that the lapse of years had thrown around the events of his early life so great obscurity, and that he was conscious to so great a degree, that his imagination and his memory were called alike into exercise, that he owed it to himself and the world to confess, that his work possessed equally the character of fiction and truth? This latter suggestion is not that which we prefer. The reader of the book itself may make his choice between our solutions of the riddle, or he will do well to find a better.

We have said that no one of the characters ascribed by the Schlegels to works of auto-biography applies properly to this: nor is it easy to give a character to it, that shall comprehend the various qualities which it exhibits. The prominent feature which it presents, is that of metaphysical or rather psychological contemplation. With the coolness, and seemingly with the indifference, of a philosophic spectator, he has narrated the leading incidents of his early life, always dwelling with greatest delight upon those by which his poetical talents were stimulated, his poetical taste directed, and his philosophical and religious opinions formed. He has expatiated with something of the diffuseness of old age, on the character of his father, his relations, his companions, the distinguished persons of his native city, the eminent public characters of his time, the books he read, the opinions he formed, the adventures he passed through, his favourite studies and his pleasures. And all this he has brought down to that period of life, when most novelists get rid of their hero by marrying him. Goethe was married only to the arts till late in life, but as the incidents by which character is formed, are of deeper interest and curiosity than those by which the formed character develops itself, because those of the first class are usually secret, and those of the second are of necessity public, hence it follows, that in a work of this description, as well as in a common novel, the youth of the subject naturally receives the most attention from the author; he had besides a more definite object, which he thus states. "This book is not announced as complete in itself. It is rather destined to fill up the chasms in a life of authorship," (meaning the life that is contained in his works), "finish several fragments, and preserve the memory of certain vain attempts, the sound of which has passed away-*

* The import of this passage escaped the translator, who, as usual, has

For the facts—the events which this narrative records—a very few words will suffice. Göthe was born at Frankfurth on the Maine, 1749, the son of a wealthy citizen, from whom he enjoyed all the benefits of a liberal and indulgent education; his father who seems to have been a man of great worth, but of ordinary intellect, had, however, the merit of early discerning the rare qualities of his son. He insisted on his pursuing the law as a profession, but tolerated, and even encouraged, him in very diversified pursuits and studies. He was himself a sort of dilettanti in the fine arts, and he allowed his son without restraint, from his early youth, to indulge his taste in drawing, in natural history and the sciences, in the drama and in poetry. At a very early age he ventured to speculate, and freely too, in theology, and in short, seems even before he went to a university, to have anticipated the usual studies of an academic life. He attended successively the universities of Leipsick and Strasburg, and Wetzlar, the seat of a high court of justice for the empire of Germany; and at all of these, he continued the desultory pursuits of his boyhood. His book is as multifarious as the objects which came before him; and accordingly it comprehends an immense variety of topics. All the poets of his own language, and a large proportion of those of other countries, are introduced; the professors of the universities, and the philosophers and the scholars of the age; as well those who were then passing away after a life of exertion and influence, as those who were then commencing their career, and laying a foundation of future fame, but in which they were all to be outstripped and eclipsed by the singular and universal genius, which in this work, has recorded his own transient connection with them.

But as we have already said, the book terminates with the commencement of his own literary life. He has narrated the circumstances under which a few of his earlier works were written, including his *Werter*, *Götz von Berlichingen*, &c., &c. To the former of which he owes, strangely enough, his reputation throughout Europe. He barely introduces to the reader, the princely patron whose early connection with him fixed his fortune for life. It was while he was still a youth, that the Duke of Saxe Weimar, himself also a young man, had the good taste to discern his merits, and the good fortune to attach him to himself. But the work does not even record the actual connection between the poet and his patron. They travelled, how-

supplied the place of what he did not understand, by what the author never thought of. "My intention was rather to supply a few blanks in the history of my life, to rectify some *errors*" &c.

ever, together into Italy; and, after their return, Goethe, continuing attached to the duke by office and title, devoted himself to the nobler service of philosophy and poetry. During a long life he has been uninterruptedly employed in the production of a succession of acknowledged master-pieces of poetry and romance, and also, but with pretensions which his contemporaries have refused to admit, of bold and original speculations in science. These voluminous works, and, in his old age, a generous patronage of youthful genius and talent in all the arts and in literature, have at last obtained for him a reputation, so decidedly beyond that of every other man, that no one ventures to compare him with any living author of his own or any other country. He has been classed by the metaphysical critics of Germany with the master-minds of modern Europe, with Shakespear, with Dante, and with Cervantes, not as possessing powers of a similar kind, but as enjoying like those great men, the reputation of being beyond all comparison the first of his age and country. But most of the great works which have obtained for the author so high a character, lie beyond the period to which this piece of youthful biography is confined; which, therefore, disappoints the expectations of those who open it to gratify an ordinary matter-of-fact curiosity. With respect also to the eminent persons whose names occur, and to the public events incidentally noticed—which *elsewhere* deserve and obtain the inquisitive reader's attention, they are presented to his notice, in this work, chiefly with a reference to their influence on the mind of the author. Properly understood, it is not the reproach, but the charm, of this work, that it has a character of unity which scarcely any of the author's works possesses in an equal degree. It treats of Wieland, but chiefly as the object of the author's youthful and wanton satire; of Herder as the associate of his early studies and the rival of his early reputation; of the French irreligious philosophy and its apostle Voltaire, the object of his passionate hatred; of the heretic theology of Bahrtd and Basedow, who, professing Christianity, departed further from received opinions than even the revived Socinianism which Priestley re-established in England. Of Lavater, the Moravians, and other pietists, with whom his affections and taste closely connected him, till he was violently repelled by irreconcilable diversities of metaphysic speculation; of the Hermetic and cabalistic philosophy; and of the ill-understood and calumniated pantheism of Spinosà; of all these as also of the literary schools and sects; the French and the English drama and of a great variety of interesting subjects—he treats at length; but always in sub-

ordination to the object of his book, the developement of his own character, over which they could not but have a powerful influence.

The life of Göthe, like that of every other man, was exposed to influences from trivial accidents, and seemingly very ordinary persons. Whoever, at a certain age, looks back on the determining incidents of his life, will remark with a smile or a sigh, according to his own then character, the low and trivial events which have decided his fate, and the insignificance of the characters by which he has been surrounded and influenced—he will wonder, too, to find his memory occupied by so many frivolities, and unable to account for the place they hold there. Göthe has not disdained to record both persons and things, in themselves of ordinary occurrence, but he has embalmed them in a rich spirit of contemplative wisdom: and that which constitutes the peculiar excellence of the book is; that he has scattered over his volumes a copious treasure of psychological observation, the tone of which is purely explanatory, not critical or judicial. He seldom stops to praise or censure himself or others. He leaves the appreciation of what he relates, to his reader; and like a naturalist is content with ascertaining the character of what he describes, without commenting on its beauty or utility, its deformity or pernicious qualities. The author being relieved from all temptation to apologize or to excuse, the book is written with an impartiality and absence of ordinary passion, of which we know no example in any similar work. The tone of reflection; however, is as strongly marked by national as personal peculiarities. The book is pre-eminently qualified to afford a notion of German speculation to the inquisitive student, but it is also as peculiarly unfitted to give immediate satisfaction: especially to foreigners, and to those who take it up as they would Benvenuto Cellini, for entertainment. With the exception of the *Elective Affinities* (*Die Wahlverwandtschaften*), we know none of the author's works so little fitted for translation; and none which requires in the translator so much previous knowledge; so great familiarity with German literature and philosophy; and such practised skill in the use of our own language. It was, therefore, with anxiety that we opened the volumes which are the subject of this article; and with mingled disgust and resentment that we laid them down. It required but the observation of a moment, to perceive, that the writer of the English book knew not one word of the German language, and that the thing is no translation at all.

It would seem as if the writer, when he penned his title, had

some little shame, for it is not, as usual, said, "translated from the German." His conscience, however, is short-lived, for the first words of the preface contain as manifest a falsehood as was ever made apparent by internal evidence. "*The original publication from which the following translation is executed.*" Now the book is not a translation, but an abridgment of the worst description—the veriest *caput mortuum* ever extracted from a work of genius; and it is not executed from the original language, of which the pretended translator is so ignorant, that he does not even know the alphabet.

We are induced, by our veneration for the great man whose sentiments and character have been thus calumniously misrepresented, to expose some few of the very flagrant falsehoods of the *translation*. In so doing we may incidently afford some specimens of the original, though we beg our readers to bear in mind, that we do not pretend to review the original, for which we want at this moment space and leisure.

That the writer knows not the German alphabet the very title-page proves, which has on its face, what certainly was never seen on the title-page of a German book—GOËTHE—that is Goeethe for the dots (· ·) when placed over the *ü* or *ö*, in order to form the diphthong *ue* or *œ* supply the place of the *e*; and in Germany it is usual to print it so, but the *e* may be used, and always is when capital letters are employed. There is no shame in ignorance of this kind, but there is, in the impudence which has not taken a warning from the consciousness of ignorance. In fact, this book must have been translated from the French, and this is demonstrated by a single sentence.

'The warehouse, or rather manufactory, of the books which afterwards became so celebrated, under the title of *Contes Bleus*, was at Frankfort. It was a great happiness to us to be able to exchange a few pieces of coin daily at a book-stall for those inestimable relics of the middle ages. *It was, however, impossible for us to feel their actual interest*: but that did not prevent our being delighted with the book of *Facetiæ*, the *Quatre-fils Aimon*, the *Fair Melusine*, the *Fair Maguelonne*, the *Emperor Octavian*, *Fortunatus*, and the *Wandering Jew*.'

Now these books are spoken of in the original as "*Volksbücher*," that is *popular* books, or books for the people. It is only in France that the tales of *Mother Bunch*, &c. are called *Contes Bleus*. The unmeaning words, which we have printed in *Italics*, are altogether unauthorised by the original, which, in the enumeration of the books, begins with *Eulenspiegel*. Now, a scholar, familiar with our old English literature, would have recognised at once his old friend "*Owle-glasse*," which, though it has ceased to be a popular book here, still

survives in Germany. The French translator, not daring perhaps to print in Paris so monstrous a combination as "Hibou-miroir" or "Miroir d'hibou," would be very likely to write "livre de faceties," for the book does consist of the dirty and vulgar jests of a clown, half knave, half fool. Then the German has "*Die vier Haimonskinder*," which had the original been in his hands, the translator would naturally have rendered "The four Sons of Haimon," instead of inadvertently copying the French "*Quatre-fils d'Aimon*."

Another proof, but not less satisfactory, is found in an anecdote:—Goethe, when a very boy, was inveigled into a connexion with some young fellows of bad character, for whom he wrote copies of verses on marriages and deaths, for their profit. Unknown to him, they became objects of suspicion, and he was himself interrogated by a friend of his father who was also a magistrate.

'At first I spoke with calmness; but as I proceeded in describing persons, things, and circumstances, so many innocent pleasures, so much harmless enjoyment ending in a criminal proceeding, the emotions of grief which I felt became so powerful, that I at length burst into tears.'

Now the real sense of this passage in the original is:—"At first I spoke with composure, but the more I had to bring back to my mind persons, objects, and incidents, and *as it were before a court of criminal judicature*, to relate on oath, the history of my innocent pleasures and calm enjoyments, the more my painful sensations increased," &c. Every one acquainted with the French language will refer the equivocal expression "ending in a criminal proceeding," which might be mistaken for a consciousness of guilt, to the law term "*procedure criminelle*."

Those of our readers who are acquainted with the opposite character of French and German literature, will be aware what sort of translation that must be which is derived from the French, even supposing in the English translator consummate skill and knowledge. In fact, French taste is at a further distance from the German than even ours. The antipathy to metaphysical speculation is still stronger. Their contempt is even more extensive and more openly avowed. One of their popular journals, the *Minerve*, we recollect, commences a review of one of Schiller's greatest tragedies, in these words:—"Though the English literature does not contain a single good tragedy, it must be acknowledged that it has some good scenes and some good characters. We cannot say so much of the German theatre." And another popular critic (we write from

memory) has a sentence to this effect. "We are told that Mr. Goethe has written a pretty poem called *Herman and Dorothea*—*Nous verrons*—We shall see! at all events M. Bitaubé has done the author the honour of putting it into French, and we think that M. Goethe cannot in gratitude do less than translate in return his fine poem—*Joseph*." Such being the general and current opinion in France of German literature; (though, indeed, we ought to add, that there is a small and zealous party springing up in France who are advocating the cause of English and German poetry) the character of this French translation might be guessed. In fact, it is a mere abridgment, the parts being selected according to the real ignorance of the translator and the supposed taste of his readers. To how great an extent the abridgment is carried, is apparent from the quantity of letter press, 1626 pages of German, 12mo. being compressed into only 631 wide pages of English 8vo. *What* has been omitted we do not pretend accurately to state, but, generally speaking, nearly all the most significant and pregnant passages: for instance, several original tales; a very instructive and curious dissertation on gothic architecture; a somewhat mystical, but still very characteristic, apology, for the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church; and, which we are less able to account for than the rest, some amusing adventures, arising out of Goethe's youthful fondness for masquerading; he was fond of assuming the dress and character of a *poor* student, and winning the esteem of persons of distinction, whom he had the means of knowing in his own person. Not one of the many disquisitions on religion and philosophy is given entire; and in the most interesting of these, when a difficult passage occurs, the translator has substituted some egregious commonplace or idle frivolity in the place of an original remark, which remark, indeed, probably enough to a *French* reader, might have been less acceptable. And, in some instances, he has, seemingly out of kindness to his author, altogether reversed his sense. We proceed now to present a few specimens, as chance may bring them before us.

Goethe, when a child, had been (as all children of sensibility are) deeply interested by the Old Testament: and full of those mystical sensations which the account of Jewish sacrifices is so well calculated to excite, and in which the first vague feelings of religion consist, and in that spirit of imitation so common to children, but which, in a poetic child, must have been unusually strong—he must e'en himself (he was then it seems between 6 and 7 years of age) perform a sacrifice; and collecting his little treasures of natural objects, flowers and

gums, he made a burnt offering, by means of a lens, which collected the rays of the morning sun. The conclusion of the narrative is thus related :—

‘ Every thing succeeded according to my wishes. My piety was satisfied. My altar became the principal ornament of the apartment in which it stood. Others perceived in it nothing but a collection of natural curiosities, distributed with regularity and elegance: I alone knew its real intention. I wished to repeat my pious ceremony. Unluckily, when the sun appeared I had no porcelain cup at hand; I placed my grains of incense on the top of the desk: I lighted them; but I was so absorbed in my contemplations, that I did not perceive the mischief which my sacrifice had done, until it was too late to remedy it. The grains of incense, in burning, had covered the fine red lacquer, and the gold flowers, with black spots: as if the evil spirit, driven away by my prayers, had left the indelible traces of his feet on the desk. The young pontiff now found himself in sad perplexity. He succeeded in concealing the damage by means of his pile of natural curiosities; but he never afterwards had the courage to attempt to repeat his sacrifice, and he *thought* he saw in this accident, a warning of the danger of attempting to approach the Deity *in any manner whatsoever*.’—p. 30.

The concluding sentence, besides, ascribing to a child the reflexion of a man, falsifies the thought, which instead of being, as here, an insinuation that *all* intercourse with the Deity is dangerous, consists in a remark certainly not original or profound, on the peril of such external worship. “The young priest was now extremely embarrassed. He lost all courage to renew his sacrifice; and we might almost consider this accident as a warning and a hint how dangerous, in general, it is, to be desirous of approaching the Divinity *by such ways* (auf dergleichen Wegen).” We add a still more egregious blunder, because also connected with religious feeling. Goethe’s father conceived a great antipathy to Klopstock, then an innovator in German literature, and the children were forced to read the Messiah in secret. It happened, however, that he and his sister, declaiming some of the really frightful lines of the Messiah, were overheard by the barber, in the act of shaving the old gentleman, who, in his terror, dropped his bason of soap-suds, by which the children were detected in their secret pleasure.

‘ To avoid all suspicion, we were obliged to confess the secret of our infernal drama. It is unnecessary to add, that the unlucky hexameters which had caused this accident were again accursed and condemned. Thus do children, like the populace, often turn the grand and sublime into subjects of ridicule and buffoonery. How was it possible for us, at our age, to keep up with the elevation of the author we were reading?’—p. 50.

We need scarcely point out to our readers the want of all

sense in the concluding reflexion. That the meaning of the original should have escaped the French translator, does not surprise us; the thought might not have occurred to an Englishman, but he will at least comprehend it. "To turn from us the suspicion of any personal violence, we were forced to confess that we were acting devils, and the mischief produced by the hexameters was too apparent that they should not be again condemned and banished. Thus do children and nations turn the great, the sublime, into sport, aye, into farce. And how, indeed, could they otherwise sustain and endure it?" With the entire correctness of the sentiment, which needs developement, we have nothing to do, but with the ludicrous blunder of one or the other of the translators.

As a further specimen of the author's inadequacy to render a philosophical sentiment, we extract the following on the generation of feelings of sublimity. We premise, that the author's sensibility having been excited by the disappointment of his first juvenile attachment, he is taken by a sympathising friend into a forest. Having indulged in a burst of enthusiastic admiration, he adds—

' My feelings at that moment are still fresh in my memory; but I cannot now recollect the expressions I made use of. The sentiments of youth, free and powerful as those of uncivilized men, easily rise to the level of the sublime. When this enthusiasm is excited in us by the contemplation of *grand* objects, and particularly when we can scarcely conceive its vague and ideal forms, we spring up to a height for which we do not seem destined by nature.

' That internal voice of the soul which transports us into a sphere above our own, speaks more or less distinctly to all men. All seek by various means to gratify this noble thirst for exaltation; but as the dimness of twilight and the obscurity of night, which seem to unite and confound objects, are favourable to the sublime; daylight, on the contrary, dispels it by distinguishing and separating the same objects. Every idea which has a tendency to become insulated and fixed, would soon annihilate the sublime, were we not fortunately enabled to take refuge in the truly beautiful, and unite our souls with it in so intimate manner that the result is an immortal and indivisible whole.'—p. 163

We add our own version: "What I then felt is still present to me; what I said I could not possibly recall. But thus much is certain, that the undefined and widely-expanded feelings of youth, and of uncultivated nations, are alone fitted to the sublime; which, when excited by external things, shapeless, or subsisting in forms which we cannot embrace, surrounds us by a greatness to which we are not grown. Such a tone of the soul is felt by all men, more or less, who seek, in various ways, to satisfy this noble craving. But as the sublime is easily

generated in twilight and darkness, which blend all forms, so it is scared away by day, which distinguishes and separates all things. In like manner it cannot but be annihilated by all increasing civilization, where it is not fortunate enough to take refuge in beauty and be closely united to it, by means of which they become alike imperishable and immortal." They whose love of clear ideas may lead them possibly to turn with aversion from a sentiment so obscure and even mystical, will at least perceive how imperfectly the translator must have comprehended the author.

It is sometimes interesting to observe how near a delicate sentiment may lie to a common-place truth. From mere inattention to a happy image, a beautiful thought is thus emasculated and vulgarised. Speaking of his first departure from home, Goethe adds this sentiment:—

'Thus, at certain periods of life do children separate from parents, servants from masters, and friends from friends; and whatever may be the success of their efforts to make their own way in the world, become independent, and live a life of their own; they are in the course of nature.'—p. 179.

It might well excite surprise, if the writer of such unmeaning trivialities were placed at the head of his country's literature. Goethe, in fact, had said, using an image derived from the moulting of feathers by a bird, or that separation of parts in organized bodies which takes place when a new being is formed: "Thus, at certain epochs do children *fall off* from their parents, servants from their masters, and dependents from their patrons; and this effort to stand alone, acquire independence, and live for itself, whether it succeed or not, is always conformable to the will of nature." Not comprehending the nature of that delicate and amiable frame of mind so congenial with religious enthusiasm, of which the American, John Woolman, is the finest masculine specimen we are acquainted with; and which Goethe has so exquisitely portrayed in the confessions *Einer schönen Seele*, taken from a Moravian lady, his kinswoman; our translator has not the courage to say, with the French *une belle ame*, a *beautiful soul*, an epithet which perhaps might be deemed rash, but renders it a NOBLE MIND!

Among the most interesting parts of the work is the account given of the circumstance that occasioned the composition of Werter. The author was so overpowered by disease and melancholy, that it required the utmost exertion of his fortitude to endure life. To so great a height had the disease arisen, that he slept with a naked dagger by his side. In spite of this, the translator has rendered a sentence which merely imports,

that Göthe's good genius impelled him, in the strength of his youth, and in a happy moment, to pourtray his past sensations, by, "this genius gave him courage to present the picture of the *happiest* period of his life." In treating of the cause of suicide, Göthe adverts to that class of amiable men whose diseased and scrupulous conscience drives them to despair; "their life being embittered by the excessive demands they impose on themselves." Our translator, in utter misconception of the meaning, says merely, that such persons "are led astray by excessive desire," which may be, therefore, of money, or power, or sensual enjoyment. It is indeed worthy of remark, that a precisely similar misconception was formed by lord Byron in his *Manfred*. That poem is throughout an imitation of the *Faust* of Göthe, but in borrowing the situation of the hero, his lordship overlooked its peculiar circumstance. *Faust* having exhausted all pleasures and all knowledge, is, by the fatal thrift of superhuman acquirements, driven to unholy magic, and this character presents an awful and instructive lesson. The hero of Lord Byron practises the same arts, that he may commit incest with his sister—a vulgar and puerile horror.

Göthe's *Werther* was assailed by various lampoons. Among these the most efficient was Nicolai's "*Joys of Werther*." Göthe revenged himself by a satire, of which the translator thus speaks:—

'A tone of good humour pervaded the whole work. Nicolai's presumptuous and unsuccessful attempts to handle subjects beyond his grasp, were painted in faithful colours. This little production vexed Nicolai exceedingly; and in spite of his undeniable merit, it deprived him of all literary consideration. I never made a fair copy of the original manuscript, which was destroyed several years ago.'—vol. ii. p. 54.

That an unprinted squib should have such powerful effects, excited our surprise. On reference to the original, however, we found it thus:—"The whole was written with good humour, and described, by anticipation, the bungling and conceited labours of Nicolai, in busying himself about matters beyond his reach, by which he, in the sequel, occasioned so many troubles to himself and others, and which, in the end, with all his indisputable merit, lost him entirely all literary respect."

It would be an endless task were we to expose the minor blunders which arise out of the translator's entire ignorance, not of the German language merely, but of the history, customs, and institutions of the country, which, nevertheless, are among the first requisites of a translator. Not acquainted with the practice of the wealthier German students to *repeat* the lectures they hear with some elder and less affluent student, who like

the lecturer, has his honorarium, where Goethe speaks of his *repetent*, the translator dubs him private tutor; and where Goethe speaks of the *hefte*, that is the MS. notes of the lectures, it is called a *book*. Having never heard of that singular craft, the *mastersingers*, of which Hans Sachs is the most distinguished ornament, when in allusion to it Goethe says, "The German poets since they ceased as members of a guild to stand all for one man, had enjoyed none even of the least benefits of social life:" the translator contents himself with saying, that their situation was in the highest degree insignificant; and not aware how universal in Germany was the practice of composing poems on particular occasions, such as elegies, epithalamia &c. he altogether misrepresents a curious incidental remark of Goethe, who speaking of the *Gelegenheits gedicht* (that is a poem on particular occasions) adds "the earliest and *most genuine* of all forms of poetry." The English book has it, "Occasional poems, the most ancient and *free!!!* of all the poetical arts, &c." In the same spirit, speaking of Zacharia's, *Renommist*, a celebrated satirical poem, on that harmless but troublesome character an academical blood; the translator, very gravely terms him *robber*. With reference to the same subject, the manners of the German universities, Goethe observing that in Jena *Roheit* (rudeness or coarseness) was arrived at its highest pitch, our translator, with ludicrous and unmeaning exaggeration, renders this term by "*savage ferocity*."

But we fear that we shall have exhausted our readers patience as well as our own by this detailed exposure of a publication, really disgraceful to our literature. We well know by what hands and under what circumstances translations are manufactured. And while nothing better than a flashy tale, or sentimental drama is thus mangled for the service of the circulating library it matters little; but the reputation of Goethe belongs to all Europe, and in the full persuasion that the original work will be resorted to after the lapse of ages, on account both of its wisdom and its beauty, as a curious record of the spirit of the age, and especially for the skill and effect with which the secret history of a mind of rare powers and singular structure is developed; we regret that a pseudo-version, so thoroughly unworthy of the subject, should tend to shut out the original from the knowledge of the English reader. And we the more seriously lament this, on account of the singular mishap which has befallen this book in our country. It is now about seven years since a pretended criticism on the original was published here, the reviewer exercising about as much honesty as the translator has evinced capacity. It was an entertaining

article, and displayed a great deal of that talent which an honourable mind rejoices not to possess. The writer sat down deliberately to select all those parts which having a reference to the peculiarities of German manners might be easily made to appear odd and ridiculous and absurd to a mere English reader; and culling not sentences but phrases, and interlarding his extracts with burlesque images, he succeeded in producing a series of ludicrous pictures. Adopting an inverse ratio, the Edinburgh reviewer dwelt at length on the insignificant passages, and in proportion to their insignificance, and passed over altogether the serious and important topics, or alluded to them in such a way, that the uninformed reader would necessarily suppose they resembled those of which so distorted a representation was at the same time given. Even the statements which were true had the effect of falsehood,

“ For with the cunning, truth itself's a lie.”

All who sat down with a conviction that German literature and philosophy are unworthy the attention of a man of taste and wisdom, hugged themselves in their self-complacency, and rejoiced in the fresh confirmation of their preconceived opinion. The article excited some attention in Germany. It was literally translated, and published with these words as comment and answer—“ Das heisst in England recensiren.”—“ This is called in England reviewing.” The volumes which have occasioned the present article will probably never cross the channel—it is a pity they should pass the publisher's counter; but whether ever seen abroad or not, it is an equally mortifying and discreditable fact. “ This is what the English call translating.”

ART. IV. *A Greek and English Lexicon; in which are explained all the Words used by the best Greek Writers of Prose and Verse, &c.*
By John Jones, LL.D., Author of *the Greek Grammar*. Longman & Co. 8vo., pp. 870.

WHEN we consider the numerous and ample endowments which the liberality of former ages has provided in this country for the support of learning, and especially classical learning, it seems extraordinary that our schools have remained so long almost wholly destitute of books properly adapted for facilitating its acquisition. In numerous instances is this want observable; but in none is it more strikingly apparent, or more injurious in its effects, than in the instance of *Lexicons*. Every competent judge, acquainted with the state of scholastic education in

England, is aware that the Lexicons generally used in our schools, for teaching both the Greek and Latin languages, are grossly and scandalously defective, utterly inadequate to afford that critical aid to the learner which a Lexicon ought to supply.

We have sometimes been inclined to think that it would be a fair and expedient object of legislative enactment, to apply some of the literary funds which exist in the country to the purpose of providing for our classical schools—what may be called—suitable *classical furniture*. In this we include Grammars, Exercise-books, Lexicons, and editions of the classic authors.

The most elementary works ought always to be drawn up by the most advanced scholars. But other qualifications, besides profound scholarship, would be essentially requisite in the persons engaged to undertake the task which we point out. It would be requisite especially that they should have *good sense*; that they should have the faculty of taking a clear view of the end to be proposed, and of the means by which it is to be attained. They should be well acquainted with the kind of aid which a school-boy needs and ought to be furnished with; and they should aim at supplying that aid with all the brevity that is consistent with clearness, and not suffer themselves to be diverted from the singleness of this object by any of the literary vanity, which prompts to a display of erudition.

Such men, though they are not met with every day, yet surely might be found, and engaged in the work: nor do we see how the work is likely to be effected without some national interference, such as we suggest. It is vain to look to our Universities for stirring in it. They seem to think, with the bishops, that things go on very well *as they are*. Yet, even if this were admitted, it might be worth considering *how long* they are likely to go on as they are. All who know what passes in the world, know that the tide of public opinion has for some time been setting most strongly against classical learning. We are persuaded that it will be decried only by those who possess it not. We therefore consider the prevailing dis-esteem in which it is held as one of the indications, that our numerous public seminaries founded for its advancement are sadly inefficient; and we confess that, in the present unsettled state of Europe, we apprehend that all institutions ineffective, but costly, are of a very precarious duration.

It is, however, with great caution that the legislature ought to be desired to take a part in providing for the wants of the literary consumer (in this case the schoolmaster, tutor, &c.) who is generally the best judge of them, and who will sooner

or later procure the object of his wishes. We have never seen the co-operation of literary bodies patronized by the state, attended with such advantages as to make us much lament the absence of that kind of assistance. The Delphin Classics may serve as a warning against empowering a government to appoint and pay individuals for remedying deficiencies in books designed for the purposes of instruction; the fact is, that had even a society for such a purpose been formed, we should have had nothing better than a revision of the old books, or perhaps more cumbrous and inefficient new ones upon the old bad plan. Neither literary individuals, competent to the duty of composing really good books, have been wanting, nor yet have *the trade* been backward in adopting the suggestions of such men. The backwardness has been on the part of the bodies who have hitherto monopolized the public education, and has arisen from the general mass of ignorance and prejudice in which the whole subject has for centuries been immersed, and which that monopoly was calculated to perpetuate. In the instances in which good books have been proposed to *them*, they have not been adopted; and it is *now* only, when these prejudices are beginning to disperse, that such good books are coming into favour, and many more into being: now, that there is some chance of *sale* to the trade—and some hope of reward to the scholar. It never could be expected that the *trade* would produce books to rot in their warehouses, or that competent individuals would expend their labour on works which were met with no other reception than that of neglect—or if not neglect, ridicule.

If in any case national funds are appropriated for the advancement of either literature or science, it ought to be especially provided, that they should be distributed in the way of compensation: and not after the manner too generally established. To give a man a place or sum of money to induce him to perform any given task, is to take away the principal motive to accomplish it; and generally, to change an active and vigorous promoter of knowledge, into a lazy, and often dissatisfied, spectator of improvement.

But the more we lament the want which we have noticed in our schools, the more must any of the attempts to supply it, which are occasionally made by literary individuals, be commended to our favourable acceptance; and the more disposed are we to extend to such attempts all the encouragement that we can *honestly* afford. In the work, which now claims our attention, Dr. Jones has made a commendable exertion, to furnish our schools with a Greek Lexicon of a moderate size

and critical character. He states that it has cost him "three years hard labour in composing and printing." We can readily believe it: and we know not many—may we say—*operative* scholars, οἱ νῦν βρότοι εἰσὶ, who could labour so hard. In former ages, indeed, one scholar would bring out as many learned works well executed, as we should think sufficient to employ the lives, and task the powers, of many.

Dr. Jones describes himself as engaged in preparing a larger and more general Lexicon of the Greek language, to finish which, he calculates, will cost him "the labour of five or six years more." Would that we could infuse the doctor's active industry into a dozen of the crack scholars of Oxford or Cambridge! And, as we are wishing, we may as well add—would that we could infuse all their knowledge of Greek into Dr. Jones! and then—would that he might *live a thousand years!*

We cannot, however, flatter Dr. J. with having succeeded, in producing such a work as is wanted in our schools. The plan of giving the interpretations in English, instead of Latin, we decidedly approve; and we think it likely that this circumstance alone will give his Lexicon a considerable currency, in a certain class of academies in this country. We expect, therefore, that a new edition will be called for: and as he promises to spare no pains in the revisal, and to give attention to "the suggestions of enlightened and candid criticism," we shall proceed the more freely to offer some strictures on the general plan, and on the execution of the work. Our author tells us, that he is "sufficiently sensible of its errors and imperfections." We hope it will not be between him and us, as it was with the facetious Rowland Hill, and the woman who came to him, complaining that she was a *great sinner*. "Indeed, I know you are," said his reverence drily, "a very great sinner." "What!" exclaimed the humble complainant, breaking out into a rage, "what bad have you ever known of me, or can any one say of me with truth?" Seriously, we assure the doctor, that it is with no hostile feelings we have examined his publication; and that we should much rather have found occasion to speak of it in the language of strong commendation, than of critical animadversion.

We must remark, in the first place, that the Lexicon might have been much more useful, if, in forming the plan, Dr. Jones had fixed upon one class of students, to whose use it should be adapted; and if he had not extended his view beyond school-boys. That they principally were in his view in this publication is evident, even from its size and form; as well as from the fact, that our author is actually preparing a more extensive

work, in a large quarto volume, for more advanced scholars. But he tells us in the title-page, and repeats it in his preface, that the present work is "intended, not only for the use of learners in private and in the public schools, but also for those, who, after the usual periods of education, seek to acquire a more accurate and extensive acquaintance with the language," &c. From his aiming at the two objects at once, we may in some degree account for his missing both.

In a School-Lexicon, of such confined limits, why should Dr. Jones admit words, for which he could adduce no authority but that of the obscurest writers, of whose works a few fragments alone have come down to us, and whose names are scarcely known even to many advanced scholars? In two consecutive pages,* beginning with the word *εὐρύπρεδος*, and ending with the word *εὐράκτως*, we are referred for authority, four times to "Leon. Tar.;" three times to "Antip. Sid.;" once to "Theodorid.;" to "*Anyte*;" to "Jul. Aeg.;" and to "Crinag." Perhaps, unless the reader has the Greek Anthology at hand, he may be at a loss to guess what names the learned doctor intends by some of his abbreviations. Most of them certainly might be in vain searched for in Harles's copious Introduction to the History of the Greek Language.

But may we not ask, of what use to schoolboys is the great mass of Dr. Jones's references even to the best known Greek writers? He refers, for instance, but without *quoting the passages*, to the book, section, and line of Schweighæuser's Polybius in nine volumes, or to the volume and page of Reiske's Plutarch in twelve volumes, or of Hemsterhuis's Lucian in four volumes, &c. &c. where a passage may be found containing the word, and in the sense, which he supports by this authority. Now, are we to suppose a schoolboy possessed of a Greek library, affording, not only these authors, but these particular editions of them? Or, if we should suppose any thing so improbable, are we to suppose that the schoolboy will verify the doctor's reference and interpretation, by turning to the passage?

If our author reply, that this part of his work was intended not for boys, but for men; we must say that to the man, as much as to the boy, it is useless, unless he possess the authors and editions referred to; and is it to be supposed that

* Before we close the two pages to which we refer, we would incidentally suggest to Dr. Jones, that although *εὐρυχαρής* might be formed from *χαίρω*, *εὐρυχαδής* cannot. This must be considered as formed from *χάζω*, to contain.

the adult scholar, who has any such collection of Greek classics, is unprovided with even that knave Scapula's compilation, or with some Greek Lexicon, which must supersede the use of Dr. Jones's? In a Lexicon otherwise adapted to the use of advanced scholars, we should by no means undervalue the bare reference to the pages of specified editions, even though unaccompanied with any quotation of the passages. For ourselves, we should rather that Stephens, for instance, had given such precise references without the quotations, than the quotations without such precise references. But we confess, that the latter alone seem to us very useless in such a work as that now before us.

But there is no volume to which Dr. Jones makes such numerous references, as to the sacred Scriptures; the version of the Seventy, and the writers of the New Testament: and in citing from the latter, he is too frequently tempted to enlarge in the way of comment. Now, for what class of readers was this part of the work designed? Biblical scholars have Biel, Schleusner, and a tribe of subordinate lexicographers in this department. In our schools, we believe, the New Testament is made a kind of *first* Greek book; and perhaps to some of them, Dr. Jones's copiousness here may commend his work. But, for our parts, we have too great a reverence for the Scriptures, not to reprobate any such use of them; and we should have considered Dr. Jones as acting much more judiciously, if he had not admitted into his work a single reference to either the Septuagint or the New Testament.

This would have been quite consistent with his professed object, of explaining "all the words used by the *best* Greek writers." To say nothing at present of the Seventy, it surely is not a matter of controversy at this day, that the writers of the New Testament do not write in classical Greek; but, as might be expected, in a style abounding with Hebraisms and Latinisms, as well as variously affected by the peculiar nature of the subject which they treat. Are such writings fit to be employed for teaching boys Greek?

The shortness, indeed, of many sentences in the narratives of the Evangelists, and the simplicity of their structure, seem to have induced teachers to mis-employ that volume so grossly, as if it were not easy to select from the classic writers plenty of sentences as short and as simple. But we are bold to affirm, that the New Testament, so far from being a book suited to the youngest learners of the Greek language, is one which cannot, with any advantage, be studied in the original but by those who have otherwise attained a manly acquaintance with

the language. The smattering, upon which many set up to spell, and parse, and criticize, the text of the evangelists and apostles, by the aid of some of the numerous lexicons manufactured for the purpose of assisting them, is commonly but the occasion of making them dupes to their own vanity, and to the ignorance or the dishonesty of others.

But allowing that Dr. Jones, from whatever cause, might have thought it necessary not to exclude altogether the sacred writers from the number of the Greek classics, we must still urge the question—why should he be so extraordinarily copious in his comments on them? And why should he so needlessly multiply references to them in cases where numerous classical authorities were at hand? Did he think that there is any dearth of lexicographers and commentators on the New Testament? *Above all, why should he make such references the occasion of bringing forward, we might say of smuggling in, his own theological sentiments and favourite interpretations?* It may be needful to adduce some examples to vindicate the justice of our censure.

‘ ΜΟΡΦΗ, ης, ἡ, a form, shape, figure, beauty, ἐν μορφῇ Θεῶ ὑπέστων, being in the form of God, in a splendid form, alluding, seemingly, to our Lord's transfiguration, Matth. 17.*

‘ Χρησολογία, ας, ἡ, flattery, or gentleness of language, opposed to guile in the heart. *This word occurs only in Rom. 16, 18, and, in truth, the composition of it is Χρησὸς λόγια, i. e. λόγια περὶ τῷ Χρησῷ, oracles concerning Chrestus; that is, oracles which certain impostors in the church at Rome propagated concerning Christ, Χριστὸς being changed by them into Χρησὸς, the usual name given him by the Gnostics, and even by unbelievers.*

‘ Ἀνάθεμα, ατος, τὸ, that which is set apart for holy purposes, a victim—ἠύχόμην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ (rather ὑπὸ) τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Rom. ix. 3, I too (*i. e.* I too, as well as Peter) would have gloried in being separated, *i. e.* appointed by Christ, for converting my brethren, and to be sacrificed as a victim in their cause.

‘ Ἰλασμός, οῦ, ὁ, atonement, sacrifice for sin—the means of expiating sin, or of forsaking a sinful life, and thus reconciling man to God; and this is said of Christ, who is the author of salvation to mankind, and said of him in reference to the sacrifices of the law, with a view to withdraw the attention of the Jewish believers from the Levitical code, to which they were prone, and fix it on repentance and reformation through Christ, as the only means of acceptance with God, 1 John, ii. 2; iv. 10.’

* Dr. Jones's book is printed without accents. He will pardon us for disfiguring his Greek with those vain marks.

Now if these theological interpretations were as indisputably excellent as the author conceives, may we not ask, what business have they in such a lexicon as the present? Was Dr. Jones at a loss for classical examples of the words *μορφῆ* and *ἰλασμὸς*, that he turned aside to those passages of theological controversy in the New Testament? No such thing: but he wished to take the opportunity of throwing the weight of his authority into one of the controversial scales, against the divinity or pre-existence of Christ, and against his atonement. The doctor ought not to be allowed to compile a Greek lexicon for the use of schools without being *bound over to keep the peace* theologically.

But are his comments of such value as might apologize for his stepping out of the way to introduce them? He must excuse us for holding them very cheap. Whatever any one may suppose to be the precise meaning of the words *ἐν μορφῇ Θεῆ ὑπάρχων* in Phil. ii. 6, no candid and competent reader of the passage can deny, that they evidently denote a state of the person spoken of *antecedent* to that in which it is said that *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γενόμενος*. And will Dr. Jones pretend to say that Christ took not on him the form of a servant, nor was made in the likeness of men, till after his *transfiguration* on the mount? It would be amusing to follow our author into his *chaotic* interpretation of *ἰλασμὸς*: but the subject would lead us further into theological disquisition than the nature and limits of the present article allow.

As to Dr. Jones's whim about *χρησολογία*, one can but smile at the oracular confidence with which it is put forward, in opposition (we believe we may say) to all lexicographers, commentators, and translators, ancient and modern. Dr. J. remarks that "the word occurs only in Rom. xvi. 18;" and we believe the remark was designed to convey a justification of himself for departing so strangely from the received interpretation. We wonder how he could venture to pen that article without even looking at Henry Stephens, who would have furnished him with a passage from Chrysostom, in which the word occurs; as well as with the word *χρησολογος* from Julius Capitolinus. Wetstein, on the passage, would have furnished him with other examples of the word, as well as with citations which decide its meaning, if there were any doubt about it. *E. gr.* Anthol. 71. 4. *χρησὸν λόγοισι, πολέμιον δὲ τοῖς τρόποις*. Herodian, viii. 3, 10. *χρηστοῖς λόγοις δελεασθέντας*. But, in truth, a Greek scholar can be at no loss or uncertainty about the formation of the word; the analogy is so obvious between

it and εὐλογία (which occurs in immediate juxta-position with it in the passage), as well as a numerous tribe of similar compounds, βραχυλογία, παλιλογία, πολυλογία, ψευδολογία, ψυχρολογία, &c. &c. And how Dr. Jones could dream that the word was formed from λόγια, *oracles* (a neuter-plural), would be unaccountable, but that it made part of a dream about the Gnostics, and Chrestus, and oracles concerning Chrestus.

With respect to our author's interpretation of Rom. ix. 3, it is needless to state the objections to it, since an interpretation altogether different has been assigned, which we conceive at once commends itself as unquestionably true. Dr. Jones may see what we allude to in Mr. Belsham's late work on the Epistles of Paul; though Mr. B. is quite mistaken in assigning the interpretation to Mr. Wakefield as its author.

When the doctor interprets μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε (Luke xii. 29) "do not, through anxiety about the future, *imitate those who go to the stars for the knowledge of future events*," he ought to have been guarded against this idle fancy, by attending to one of the significations which he himself has just before assigned to μετέωρος, "anxious, suspended, Nub. 263." Demosthenes and Thucydides employ the word in the same sense; which seems borrowed from the agitation of a ship riding at anchor.

We thought that the meaning and origin of the name *Pharisee* had been perfectly ascertained and generally known; but Dr. Jones informs, us that the Pharisees were "a sect among the Jews, who professed to explain the law of Moses from פָּרֹשׁ, to expound, or unfold!"*

This leads us to notice another circumstance, in which we think Dr. Jones's lexicon, in its present state, ill-adapted to boys, and nothing the more adapted to men—we mean his eastern etymologies. He informs us, that "whenever the primary sense of a simple term has been overlooked, or mistaken, the origin of that term is pointed out in one of the oriental tongues;" and in this part of his work our author seems to take peculiar pride. It must be inferred that Dr. Jones could, with equal certainty, assign the oriental origin of every simple term in the Greek tongue, and we really think that he could. But while some may regret that he has not done so, we confess that this profession in his title-page and preface did

* On examination, we find that Joh. Drusius long ago offered the same account, in which, however, we believe he has not been followed by any scholar since. The proposed etymology, and the misinterpretation on which it proceeds, obviously confound the Pharisees with the scribes and lawyers, from whom they were altogether distinct.

not raise in us any high expectations. We have known a good deal of the vagaries of etymologists, and of their empty parade of oriental learning. We formerly knew one of them whose works abound so with etymologies from the Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persic, &c. &c. and with words exhibited in every variety of oriental character, that many admired him as a prodigy of eastern learning. But he was more honest than most; for he has frequently acknowledged to his confidential friends, that of all these languages with which he made so fine a show, he knew nothing beyond their alphabets, and what he learned from indexes and glossaries. In short, nothing is more easy, or requires a smaller stock of philological knowledge, than either to collect or to invent etymologies from the oriental tongues.

We are very far from undervaluing etymological researches, in their proper place, and soberly conducted: but, unfortunately, the subject affords so many allurements to the indulgence of the imagination, and such easy means for indulging it, that it is more rare to find *sobriety* in an etymologist than in any other class of writers. We were not, therefore, much surprised at finding Dr. Jones very extravagant and fanciful in many of his eastern etymologies; as well as very ignorant, not only of the eastern languages in general, but even of Hebrew.

Into the evidence of this ignorance we shall not at present go, inviting as the field is which the subject opens to us; because our immediate business is with the doctor's knowledge of Greek, and competence for compiling a lexicon of that language for the use of schools. And to school-boys we do think it very useless to trace Greek words to oriental roots, and very likely to mislead them from the real etymology to which their attention ought to be directed, as well as from the real meaning also of the word, whenever the etymologist ventures to deduce its meaning from its supposed oriental derivation.

Few etymologies bear a more plausible aspect at first view than that which Parkhurst (and Dr. J. after him) assigns for the Greek word *μυστήριον*, viz. from the Hebrew root *מָרַר* to *conceal*, with a formative *מ*; or, as the doctor says, "from the Hebrew *מָרַר mustar*." Suppose the school-boy attends to this. He is not much the wiser for it if it were true: but we say that he is misled from the real etymology. When we observe the words *μύω, μύσης, μυστήριον*, can there be any reasonable doubt that the two latter are formed from the same theme, and that this theme is the verb *μύω, to close the lips*? And has that verb any connexion with the Hebrew root *מָרַר*? This is one of the

examples of a very plausible etymology, which we yet think decisively false; while we are well aware that there are instances of etymologies decisively true, which yet appear at first view the most extravagant.

But our author boasts that by his oriental etymologies he ascertains the primary sense of a term, and thence its secondary senses, "whenever the primary sense of a simple term has been overlooked or mistaken." This is professing a great deal; and to do our author all justice, and enable our readers to form a fair estimate how far he has advantageously employed his *oriental learning* for the purpose, we shall quote at length one of those articles which he appears to have most laboured, and which we do believe he would himself be most ambitious of presenting, as a specimen of his work.

‘ ΓΑΡ, (a conjunction) in fact, indeed, truly, then—for, because, wherefore.

‘ The real signification of this particle is supplied only by its origin, which is the Persian, *kur-dan*, to do, and which is the parent also of the Latin *cur*, and the French *car*. Hence the primary notion of γὰρ is, IN FACT, INDEED, TRULY, THEN. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐμαρτύρησεν, John iv. 44, and in fact, indeed, Jesus himself bore testimony. ὡς γὰρ ὑπαγεῖς μετὰ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου σου, Luke xii. 58, while you are indeed going with your adversary to the judge. τῷ γὰρ Μωσῆ λέγει, in fact, to Moses he says, or to Moses, indeed, he says, Rom. ix. 15. εὐδόκησαν γὰρ, xv. 27, they have indeed thought fit. ἡ γὰρ ὑπανδρος γυνή, Rom. vii. 2, the wife is in fact, is indeed or assuredly, bound by the law to her husband while living. οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραάμ, Rom. iv. 13, in fact the promise was made to Abraham not by the law. τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν; Mat. xxvii. 23, and what evil in fact hath he done? ἀλλὰ γὰρ τίς εἶς, Acharn. 594, but who in fact are you? who then are you?

‘ From signifying *in fact* γὰρ came to express the cause of some circumstance preceding it—FOR, BECAUSE, THEREFORE, just as ἔργω,* in fact, means in Latin (*ergo*) therefore. But it is to be remarked, that the sentence in such cases is very often elliptical. “Do you not know, brethren, for (γὰρ) I speak to them that know the law,” Rom. vii. 1. Here γὰρ refers to a clause understood “Do you not know, brethren.” I put this question because I speak to them who know the law. πῶς γὰρ τοῖς δύσουσι γέρας, Il. a. 123.

* Deducing the Latin *ergo* (as is very fair) from the Greek ἔργω, we should interpret the latter, not *in fact*, but *by the effect of, in consequence of*. What happens, or is *by the effect* of something else, is *therefore, or on account of* that thing.

“Thou, Atrides, art most avaricious, and thy avarice has prompted thee to make an impracticable request, for how shall the Greeks give thee a reward?” Sometimes, in the rapidity of association, the writer gives his reason for a thing which he has not yet expressed; and the force of γὰρ is to be observed only by new modelling the sentence, see Il. η. 328. Sometimes γὰρ refers to a circumstance preceding at some distance. “And they said to themselves,* who will roll away the stone from the mouth of the monument? for (γὰρ) it was very large,” Mark xvi. 4. The writer, giving way to the impulse of his ideas, interposes the clause, “and having lifted up their eyes, they saw that the stone was rolled away.” It is to be observed that the lexicographers, Damm, Schleusner, and Sturzius included, from not knowing the primary and genuine sense of this particle, have assigned it a variety of senses which do not belong to it.

Now, certainly, any lexicographers are mistaken, who assign a variety of senses to γὰρ. It is exactly equivalent with the Latin *enim*; and opening Stephens's Thesaurus, we find this to be the only sense, which he assigns it: so far from founded is our author's charge against all the lexicographers, who were *ignorant* that “the Persian *kar-dan*, to do,” is the origin of the word. (By-the-bye, the word is plainly a combination of the two Greek particles γε and αρ). But the fact is, it is our author

* Dr. Jones is quite mistaken here, in his supposed correction of the received version, “they said *among themselves*.” It is very true that πρὸς is *to*, and that ἑαυτὰς is *themselves* fem. And it is this kind of knowledge of Greek which we say is worse than absolute ignorance of the language, especially when applied to the sacred writings. Our translators were men of learning, and had good reason for rendering these plain words “*among themselves*,” instead of “*to themselves*.” Dr. J.'s version would import that they said it in their own minds (ἐν ἑαυταῖς), but without expressing it in words. The common version imports that they said it *to each other*. And this is the real meaning of the original. The writers continually use ἑαυτέρας in the same sense as ἀλλήλας, though it is a meaning of the word which our author wholly omits in his Lexicon. See Eph. iv. 32, v. 19. Col. iii. 13, 16. Hebr. iii. 13. 1 Pet. iv. 8, 10, &c.—This is not the only occasion on which Dr. J. exposes himself by attempting to improve the common translation of the New Testament. On the word οὐκᾶν he quotes from John xviii. 37, οὐκᾶν βασιλεὺς εἰ σὺ, and gives this version, “thou art *not* then a king?” in place of the common version, “art thou a king then?” Is it possible that Dr. J. is ignorant that οὐκᾶν has not a negative signification? His *improvement*, indeed, makes nonsense of the passage, as well as mis-translates the Greek. If any change were made to express more closely the force of οὐκᾶν in this and similar constructions, it should be only the following, “So then, thou art a king, art thou?”

who multiplies the meanings, not only needlessly, but erroneously. "*In fact, indeed, truly, then.*"—"For, because, *therefore.*" To say nothing now of the first set of meanings deduced from "the Persian *kar-dan*;" we venture to assert that γὰρ never means *therefore*. We are aware that γὰρ οὖν often signifies *therefore*. But in that combination the *causal* force of γὰρ is lost, and the *illative* force of οὖν alone retained.

Diffuse and redundant as the article is, and injudicious in the quantity of citation from the New Testament, it is yet materially defective, and fails of affording the information, which it ought to convey, of the other particles which enter into combination with γὰρ, of the position which it holds, &c. But we may ask Dr. Jones, has "the primary sense" of this conjunction been "overlooked or mistaken," that he resorted to the Persian *kar-dan* to establish it? Or, was it from his knowledge of that which he so confidently delivers as its etymology, that he discovered that γὰρ means *for*? Or, does he seriously expect, that any Greek scholar will assign to it any other meaning in any of those passages, where he informs us that it means—*in fact, indeed, truly, then*? Or, will any Greek scholars credit his assertion, that the primary sense of φιλέω is *to marry*? an assertion, for which he offers no other proof, but his fancy that the word is derived from the Hebrew לָבַד. We fear that we must have Dr. Jones bound over to keep the peace etymologically, as well as theologically.

We have remarked that Dr. J. needlessly multiplies the significations of γὰρ; and we could adduce many instances of the same fault. One, that immediately presents itself to us, is rather amusing. Among the other significations of πίπτω or πέτω, he assigns the following:—"fall *into the world*, am born," II. τ. 110. Our classical readers no doubt recollect the passage:—"Ὅς κεν ἐπ' ἡματι τῷδε πέσῃ μετὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός." The doctor must look for another example to justify his interpretation; for we can assure him, that in the passage to which he refers, the verb imports literally and simply—to *fall* or *drop*.

Our author is very ambitious, to "preserve the same original idea through the several ramifications" of meaning annexed to a word; and he carries to an extravagant length this plausible, but often impracticable, notion. In assigning the original idea, also, he has often no ground to support him, but some whimsical conjecture that strikes his fancy. Thus, "the particle ἄρα," he says, "seems to have the same common origin with ὁράω;" and from this seeming, he concludes, that "its primary signification is that of *LO BEHOLD*;" and he then

proceeds to dance this idea through two columns for the edification of the student.

“It is,” he tells us, “a common notion, that many words in all languages convey a variety of significations. But in strict propriety, a term has but one sense, or at most but two, a literal and analogical sense. Every word, on every occasion, presents the same idea; and it conveys different ideas only, because it stands in different connexions.”—After all, then, although the same word “on every occasion *presents* the same idea,” yet it does not on every occasion *convey* the same idea. We are rather bewildered.—“Thus, in one connexion, ἀκτὴ may mean *bread*; in another, *a shore*; and with an accidental change of termination (ἀκτῖς) it denotes *a ray of the sun*. But in every place the word still means the same thing. For ἀκτὴ is ἀγερὴ, *broken*; from ἄγω, *to break*; *corn broken is meal*; *broken ground or rock is a shore*; and *the broken, scattered light of the sun is its rays*. So λέγω, *to speak*; and λέγομαι, *to lie down*, are still the self-same word. For it is the Hebrew קָבַל, *to assemble or gather: to gather letters, or words, is to utter them; to gather myself for repose, is to lie down.*”

We acknowledge that we hold such fancies very cheap. It is nothing new certainly to derive ἀκτὴ and ἀκτῖς, from ἄγω, *frango*; and we are not disposed to dispute it, though we confess that we know not what is meant by calling a sunbeam, the *broken* light of the sun. But if Dr. Jones holds ἀκτὴ and ἀκτῖς (or ἀκτῖν) for the same word, notwithstanding “the *accidental* change of termination,” we beg to know why he considers ἄγω and ἄγω as different words, on account of the accidental change of quantity: why he does not trace the two ideas of *breaking* and *leading* to some one common stock? We think it would not be difficult to a writer of the doctor’s lively imagination. But what if we find the doctor assigning to the self-same word, two senses, not only different, but directly *contrary* to each other; and this, in opposition (as far as we know) to all Greek lexicographers, ancient and modern? *e. gr.*

‘Ἀπαρτίζω, *f. ἴσω* (ἀπὸ ἄριστος) I make a thing even with a design or model, *i. e.* complete—make uneven or unequal, σπουδῇ καὶ τοῦδε οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει πόδα, *Septem 376*, haste makes his step not uneven with that man, *i. e.* an urgent business makes him come with speed equal to this man—*Eteocles and the scout hastily come on the stage the same moment.*’

Here our author forgets the canon he laid down in his preface; and after assigning to the word the sense of *making even*, he coins for it the contrary sense of *making uneven*, in order

to bring forward a pet interpretation of a line in Æschylus. The expression of the poet, we conceive, evidently denotes the hurried and irregular movement of each. A man walking leisurely plants his foot steadily, so as to make a *perfect* step; but this their hurry did not allow.

We seriously, and with the most friendly intention, advise Dr. Jones to withdraw all the *original* matter from his Lexicon, and to be content with the humbler office of a mere compiler. The existing materials for a useful Greek Lexicon are ample, but widely scattered. To select judiciously, to collect, and to abridge, would task the powers, and employ many years of the life of the ablest scholar; and the ablest scholar need not be ashamed of the employment, even under the restriction which we should think it necessary to impose on our author.

We are disposed to account for his doing so imperfectly and incorrectly, that which we must suppose to be within his powers, from his attention being so much occupied by the seductions of other, and, as he conceives, higher objects. Dr. Jones almost entirely neglects that needful labour, which, in his title-page and preface, he professes to have employed—the marking of the quantity of doubtful vowels. Of the few instances in which he has marked it, a majority are of that kind in which we should be disposed to omit it; *e. gr.* the penultimate of verbs in *υνω*—of the future verbs in *ζω*, &c. where the youngest scholar ought to be familiar with the common rule of prosody, which determines the quantity. But the student will in vain seek in this Lexicon the quantity of such words, as, *ἀκριβής*, *κίνδυνος*, *κριθῆ*, *μάλα*, *θύμῶς*, and a whole tribe of its derivatives and compounds, *ζάθεος* and all the words compounded with the particle *ζά*, &c. &c. And we complain of the omission only in those cases, in which Dr. Jones could have found no difficulty in supplying it, at least with the aid of Dr. Maltby's' edition of Morell.

Useless also to school-boys as we think his mere references to this and that passage in the Greek classics, without citing the words, yet, for ourselves, we could wish that he had better fulfilled his engagement of authenticating each word, and the senses assigned, even by such references. For instance, we are somewhat curious to know on what authority Dr. J. assigns to *ἄραξ* the meaning of, *as soon as*. We believe he is singular in that interpretation of the word: and we confess that, until we see a decisive classical example of such an application of it, we must remain incredulous, notwithstanding the weight of the doctor's authority. There must have been some passage under his view, in which he thought the word had this meaning; and

had he referred to it, we should probably be able to trace the origin of his mistake, as in other instances.

Thus, on the verb *γνωρίζω*, our author assigns to the passive *γνωρίζομαι* the meaning, *I am reconciled*; and refers to a passage in Demosthenes, p. 1390. ed. Reisk. We were very certain that the verb never had this meaning; and accordingly on examining the page referred to, we found the words *τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντες, αἷς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν γένει γνωρίζονται*—"titles, by which they are distinguished by those belonging to the family." As no blundering of translation could introduce the idea of *being reconciled* here, we were still at a loss to account for Dr. J.'s interpretation and reference; till at length we examined "Reiske's Index Gr. Demosth." under the word *γνωρίζειν*, which immediately cleared up our author's mistake. There, immediately before the passage to which Dr. J. referred, Reiske cites (from p. 925), the words *ὀπόθεν δήποθεν ἐγνωρισμένοι*, and adds the following interpretation: "*quacunq̄ tandem ratione cum eo conciliati.*" Now it becomes evident that our author hastily consulted this Index alone, without examining the text of Demosthenes; accidentally referred to the words in p. 1390, instead of to those in p. 925, and mistook the meaning of Reiske's Latin, *cum eo conciliati*. The words *ὀπόθεν δήποθεν ἐγνωρισμένοι τούτῳ* simply mean, "from whatever circumstance they had become acquainted with this man,"—without the slightest intimation of any previous enmity between the parties, or any *reconciliation*. To justify our assertion it may be well to quote the context.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐδ' ὀπωσιῶν ἐγνώριζον τὰς ἀνθρώπους τέττες. Θρασυμήδης δὲ . . . , καὶ Μελανωπὸς, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆ, ἐπιτήδειοι μοί εἰσι, καὶ χρῶμεθα ἀλλήλοις, ὡς οἶοντε μάλιστα. οὗτοι προσῆλθόν μοι μετὰ Λακρίτς τῆςτῆ, ὀπόθεν δήποθεν ἐγνωρισμένοι τῆτῳ· ἢ γὰρ οἶδα· καὶ ἐδέοντό με κ. τ. λ.—We have insisted the more at large on this example, in order to press upon our author the importance of examining the original of each passage which he cites.

It must surely be to haste and inattention, that we should attribute Dr. Jones's gross mistranslation of a very simple, passage, which he adduces from Xenophon (K. Π. i. 6.) under the particle *ἄν*.—*φρόνιμος δὲ περὶ τοῦ συνοίσειν μέλλοντος πῶς ἄν τις τῷ ὄντι γένοιτο; δαλονότι, ὧ παῖ, ἔφη, ὅσα μὲν ἐστὶ μαθόντα εἰδέναι, μαθὼν ἄν; i. e.* "plainly he may by being taught, as far as matters can be known by teaching." Instead of which the Doctor renders the words—"whatever things *it is lawful* to know *after having* learnt them." If he had read on to the end of the sentence, he must have seen that *ἄ ἐστὶ μαθόντα*

εἰδέναι is equivalent with μαθητά.—We may remark also, that when Dr. J. on the same particle informs us, that ἐπισχῶν ἄν, in the beginning of the first Philippic, “means ἐπίσχοιμι ἄν,” (the Dr. means ἐπέσχον ἄν) his language is calculated to lead a school-boy into a great mistake. Taking the words in connexion with the following, they may, indeed, advantageously be translated as if they ran—ἐπέσχον ἄν ἕως . . . καὶ, εἰ μὲν . . . ἡσυχίαν ἄν ἦγον. But when we so resolve the sentence, the necessity of inserting a copulative particle shows, that ἐπισχῶν retains its proper participial meaning. We almost blush, while we are obliged to pen an observation so puerile.

Our author, indeed, often seems more anxious about teaching a boy to *translate* a phrase into English, than about explaining the construction. Thus, after interpreting μέλω—“I am a subject of concern, a matter of care or attention to,” he adds, “But this verb is used impersonally with the person in the dative, which requires to be in the nom. in English, οἷς ἔτι μέλει πολεμῆια ἔργα, Il. B. 338.” Used *impersonally*! Not a whit more so in such a construction, than in the expression ἀνθρώποισι μέλω. Indeed, the construction in both expressions is identically the same. We have to complain of the same *negligence* in Dr. Jones on the cognate word ἐὰν. Among the other significations, which he assigns to this conjunction, we stared at finding, “except, unless;” our author carelessly giving to ἐὰν the meaning of ἐὰν μή.

But what shall we say of such remarks as the following? That they originate in oscitancy? or in what else? On the neuter participle ἐξόν, put absolutely, our author says—“ἔστι with this participle seems understood, ἐξόν αὐτοῖς, scil. ἔστι, it is lawful to them, it is in their power, Thuc. 4, 65. It is almost superfluous to quote the historian's words; but here they are, ὡς, ἐξόν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ καταστρέψασθαι, δώροις πεισθέντες ἀναχωρήσαν. Is it possible, that Dr. J. really conceives ἐξόν there to be put for ἐξόν ἔστι, or ἔξεστι? Does he think that the sentence would be commonly grammatical or intelligible, if the latter were substituted for ἐξόν? Curiosity led us to turn to δέον: but the Doctor takes no notice of the similar and equally frequent use of that participle.

In all the editions of Hederic which we have examined, (except the edition of 1766), after the interpretation of ἐξόν—*cum liceat*,—the following words are subjoined in a parenthesis. “Tota dictio hæc est, ἐκποδών ἔστι, via plana, aperta est, obstantibus amotis, *Ern*” This remark of Ernesti, in its present connexion, appears to us utterly unintelligible. It has been misplaced, we conceive, by the blunder of a printer originally:

though we have searched in vain for the passage, to which it ought to be transferred. But we are not without suspicion, that with this blunder Dr. Jones's has some ludicrous connexion.

Frequently, as we have already intimated, his errors can be accounted for only from his eagerness to establish a favourite fancy, which seems so to engross his mind, that he has no eyes for things the most plain before him. Thus in a long diatribe on the participle ὦν, he is anxious to prove that it has commonly a greater emphasis than merely *being*,—that it includes in its signification the idea of ὄντως *in reality*. (We turned to the verb εἶμι, to try whether he said the same of it; but we were disappointed; for he dismisses the word, without any interpretation, with “see Sturz. in εἶναι, Damm. 832.” Very instructive to a school-boy.) So much is he occupied with this fancy, that he grossly mistranslates at least four passages, which he adduces to establish it. “When ὦν is joined with τυγχάνω, as is often the case, its real force is best expressed in English by really, true; φίλος τυγχάνει ὦν, he is really a friend. ὄσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, *Ag. 2,2.* as many of them as were then real slaves.” To do our author justice, we must add that he immediately subjoins, “or happened to be slaves,” [exiles], as if the two interpretations were equivalent. But again:—

“Εἰ μὲν ἐλάττης ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ’ ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ’ ἂν εἰδείκνυεν ὄν, *Dem. 305, 11,*—if I diminished the resources of the state, wrong being on my side, he would have proved so—he would have proved that wrong actually existed on my part.’ Instead of, *he would have proved that the wrong was with me—lay at my door.*

Again,

‘Εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἔχοῃν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλεσμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔσαν ὀφθῆναι, ζώντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὄντων, περιείροισμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰπὼν, *Dem. 248, 25,* if indeed it was not fit that Greece, while really *Greece*, should appear what is called a Mysian prey, (*i. e.* an easy unresisting prey to Philip) while the Athenians lived and were really so (and were really worthy of that name), I have trifled in speaking of these things.’

Here, along with every thing else that is extraordinary, our author makes the orator say exactly the contrary of what he really says. He had proposed the indignant question—“ought there, or ought there not, to have appeared some of the Greeks, to oppose him in these proceedings?” He immediately adds, *If there ought not, but Greece ought to have been seen the*

prey (as is said) of Mysians . . . then indeed I have been over-busy in speaking about such matters ; and you, &c.

As to the words ζώντων Ἀθ. καὶ ὄντων, Dr. Jones is more excuseable for assigning some emphasis to ὄντων there. Yet we confess that we are disposed to think it one of those pleonastic expressions which occur in all languages : as we say, *while I live and breathe*. Perhaps, however, the words may import, *while Athenians lived, and the Athenian state subsisted ; the city and commonwealth undestroyed*.

Demosthenes is one of those prose-writers whom Dr. Jones professes to explain in this Lexicon ; and strongly should we recommend that classic to his most assiduous study, before he brings out another edition of the work. At present, certainly, the student, who should sit down to read Demosthenes with the aid of this Lexicon, would not only be absolutely led astray upon many passages, but would continually find himself left in the lurch, without any of that assistance and information which a young student must need ; and this, even in cases, in which the commonest lexicons afford it. A few examples will explain and illustrate our meaning.

The Greek Orator continually uses the expression οἱ παριόντες, for those who *come forward* to address the people. But Dr. Jones furnishes the student with no other meanings for the verb, but to “ pass by, withdraw, neglect :” assigning, in fact, to πάρειμι the significations of παρήμι, as well as its two participles παρῆς and παρεθείς. The verb παρελθεῖν is employed in the same sense (Dem. 169, 559, and Luc. Menipp.) But of this also no notice is taken by our author : though in both instances, even Hederic's Lexicon would supply his deficiency.

As totally would Dr. Jones's guidance fail the student upon the Orator's expression (pp. 36, 174) ἀλλ' ὅσης ἀπαντες ὄρατε ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι—where ἐρημία is used for “ an open field, in which there are no antagonists to oppose us.” And upon that passage (p. 90) ἡ μὲν ἔν σπυδῇ περὶ τῶν ἐν χερρόνησφ πραγμάτων ἐστὶ . . . τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ πλεῖστοι, περὶ κ. τ. λ., where σπυδῇ is used for the real business, and proper subject of deliberation, in opposition to the talk of the orators. And upon the force of δύνασθαι in all such passages as the following (p. 95) ὁ, τι τοίνυν δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐνίσς ὑμῶν μαθεῖν διῖ (p. 103) τῶν αὐτοῖς δύναται τὸ λέγειν ὡς κ. τ. λ., where δύνασθαι imports the *real tendency* of a thing, what it is really adapted to effect.

Almost all the instances, which we have hitherto adduced, of defect or error in Dr. Jones's Lexicon, are of such a nature, that we must suppose he could have easily avoided them, had

he but carefully availed himself of the labours of his predecessors. There are other instances, in which he has been led astray by preceding interpreters. Thus, when Minerva (E. 831) calls Mars *τυκτὸν κακὸν*, the Latin version renders it, "*præternaturam-ascitum malum*;" and Dr. Jones therefore interprets *τυκτὸς*—"made, and not natural, artificial." Now we conceive, that *τυκτὸν κακὸν* imports—"constitutionally evil, evil in the constitution of his nature." And the epithet may be illustrated by the expression in v. 901—*οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητός γ' ἐτέτυκτο*—"in the constitution of his nature he was not mortal."

Thus, again, under *φθάνω*, our author quotes the following passage from Lucian's Dialogue between Menippus and Tantalus: *Οὐ φθάνω βρέξας ἄκρον τὸ χεῖλος, καὶ διὰ τῶν δακτύλων διαρρύνειν, ἀπολείπει ξηρὰν τὴν χεῖρά μου*—and thus interprets the words, "I no sooner wet the top of my lips, than escaping through my fingers it left [leaves] my hand dry." This would import that Tantalus succeeded in wetting the top of his lips; which certainly is contrary to Lucian's meaning. The proper import of the Greek words is, "I do not succeed in wetting the top of my lips, before it runs through my fingers," &c. The Latin interpreter, however, renders the words, "*simul ac rigavi extrema labia, statim per digitos dilapsa*," &c. And we freely acknowledge, that in many instances the phrase may very justly be rendered as Dr. Jones proposes. Thus, the other example of it, which he quotes—*οὐκ ἔφθη ἔλθων, καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐνεδείξατο*, may fairly be translated, "he no sooner came than he showed his ambition." Yet the strict and proper import of it is, "he had not arrived before he showed his ambition." And the quotation from Lucian proves, that the two expressions are not always equivalent.

But for all inaccuracies, into which he has been led by former lexicographers and interpreters, we hold our author perfectly excusable. For the others, which are truly and properly his own, and of which we have given but a very small specimen, we have been as lenient in our censure, as justice and honesty to the public would allow. We are willing, as far as possible, to impute some of them to haste; others to a vain pursuit of novelty of interpretation; and many of them to a fondness for hobbyhorsical etymologies.

Some of them are of a description, for which it is hard to account, but from a supposition, which we are reluctant to admit; because it would be conclusive against Dr. Jones's capacity for the task which he has undertaken. Whatever may be thought upon this point, we should hope he must now be sensible that he published much too soon; and that his

Lexicon needs to be re-composed, in order to be useful either to boys or men.

In preparing it anew for the press, we should strongly advise him to arrange the words either alphabetically or radically. The former arrangement, though not the most useful, is the least troublesome to schoolboys. The latter alone is adapted to the scholar. But the *disarrangement*, which our author has at present adopted, forfeits alike the advantages of both.

Before we close this article, we wish briefly to justify some opinions which we expressed in the beginning of it. We have unequivocally avowed our approbation of Dr. Jones's giving his interpretations in English, rather than in Latin; and we have also strongly declared our conviction, that a new Greek Lexicon for the use of schools is deeply wanted;—that those at present in use in this country are scandalously bad;—and that Dr. Jones's attempt to supply their deficiency is therefore in itself commendable.

Upon the first of these topics it is the less necessary to enlarge, because the remarks in our last number, on the absurdity of teaching boys the rules of Latin grammar in the Latin language, are mostly applicable to the Latin interpretations in a Greek Lexicon for schools. If any, after having had their attention called to the subject, continue to maintain the expediency of such Latino-Latin grammars, we conceive, that with them, reasoning can be of little avail to remove the *veteres avias*,* which have possession of their minds. And we shall only recommend to these gentlemen one improvement on their system; and that is, to teach boys the rules of the *Greek* grammar in the *Greek* language.

But some, who give up as indefensible the idea of conveying the rules of Latin grammar in Latin, may yet be disposed to vindicate the propriety of making that language the medium of teaching schoolboys the Greek grammar, and the meaning of Greek words;—inasmuch as their acquaintance with a language, in which they are supposed to have made some progress, is thus increased, while they learn another language. But may we not ask, in the first place, why it should be made necessary to learn Latin before we learn Greek? The inverse order would seem the more natural of the two; though we conceive that the two languages may be most advantageously studied together.

But, waving this, we would ask in the next place, whether *clearness* and *intelligibility* be not the most essential requisite in all explanations afforded to a learner? whether the object of

the interpretations given in a Lexicon ought not to be, to *explain* the meaning of the words or phrases with as much clearness and precision as possible? and, whether this object can be as effectually attained by Latin interpretations, as by English, in the period of their progress at which boys commence the study of Greek?

We believe, this will not be asserted by any. It will be admitted, that the boy commonly finds a difficulty in understanding the assigned interpretations in a Greek and Latin Lexicon, which he would not find if they were given in his native tongue. Why, then, should we sacrifice *clearness* of explanation to another object? Is it because the latter object cannot otherwise be attained? Assuredly not. Nay, it may be more effectually attained otherwise; namely, by exercising the schoolboy in translating his Greek lessons into Latin. Indeed, it ought to be sufficient to remark, that the time which he now loses in surmounting needless difficulties—in finding out an *explanation of the explanations* in his Greek Lexicon—might be much more advantageously employed in studying *classical* latinity.

In short, if it be admitted, that the interpretation of a Greek word is less *clear* and *intelligible* to a schoolboy, when proposed in Latin, we think it decided that the interpretation ought to be afforded him in English: and we conceive that common sense and sound reason must allow the inevitable force of the conclusion. On the other hand, *we* are ready to allow, that if—to the boy or to the man—Latin interpretations be as clearly intelligible as English, it must be a matter of great indifference which language is employed: though we are of opinion that the English language is, in some respects, better adapted than Latin to the interpretation of Greek.

But is the information conveyed to boys, in our school Lexicons and Grammars, so correct, and suited to the occasions of the student, as to redeem the absurdity of the form in which it is conveyed? Certainly those, who preside over the literature of the country, seem to think so. Their utter indifference about providing any better literary aids for our youth would appear to argue that they are quite satisfied with the present. And yet, we can scarcely reconcile this with the high estimate which we are bound to form of their critical knowledge. Is it possible, for instance, that the head of Eton College, in the 19th century, conceives that the relative in Latin has any different rule of concord from the adjective? or, that in such a construction as

fratris mei est hicce liber, the genitive *fratris* is governed by the verb substantive *est* ?

But we must refrain at present from exposing the crude absurdities, with which the Eton Grammars are filled ; and confine our attention to the Greek Lexicons in common use. It is very seldom, we believe, that any other is used in our schools, than Schrevelius's or Hederic's. Upon the former we need say little. It is a very unpretending work ; a meagre vocabulary, professedly designed by the compiler for the interpretation of only Isocrates and Æsop among the prose classics ; Homer, Hesiod, and a few of the minor writers, among the poets, along with the New Testament, and Septuagint version of the Old. It would be a waste of criticism, to show proof that any such compilation must be utterly inadequate to the interpretation of Greek : and it is the less necessary, because (if we mistake not) the work is generally considered to be decisively inferior to Hederic's ; and because every instance of deficiency, or error, which we shall proceed to notice in the latter, is to be understood by our readers as common to the former.

The work of Hederic has come to us with the improvements of Patrick, Ernesti, Morell, and Larcher. But it was bad in the first concoction. Ernesti, in his Preface, justly expresses himself thus, of the original compiler :—“ Non libenter dico, quod præsens institutum dicere cogit : Hedericum illum, virum bonum cetera et laboriosum, at Græce doctum, et ad tale Lexicon rite conficiendum satis a lectione Græcorum scriptorum instructum non fuisse. Totus ille, id quod per totum opus observare licuit, e Scapula, aliisque vulgaribus Lexicis, pendebat ; tot præclaras doctorum hominum de verbis plurimis, post Stephanum et Scapulam, observationes ignorabat, nec ipse e lectione ipsorum scriptorum meliora didicerat.” Now, we say, that a Greek Lexicon, compiled by such a man, must have that radical unsoundness in all its frame, which no sanative process can remove.

To the booksellers of this city we seem to be indebted for the last—and not the least—improvement of it : the insertion of numerous additions and corrections from the papers of the learned Larcher ; which they purchased at the sale of his library in Paris, and submitted for revisal to an eminent scholar of this country. We could wish that the editor had distinguished Larcher's additions by the first letter of his name, or some other mark. They can now be ascertained only by comparison with the former editions ; though they may often be *conjectured* from the verdure of certain spots, amidst surrounding sterility. But after all the attempts that have been made to supply the defi-

ciencies, and correct the errors, of the work, it still remains so erroneously, defective, and utterly unscholarlike, that we do consider the continued use of it in our schools disgraceful to the literature of this country. Let us adduce a few examples to justify our opinions.

Longinus (§ 24), marking the beauty of that expression in Herodotus, ἐς δάκρυα ἔπρεσε τὸ θέητρον, says, τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν διηρημένων εἰς τὰ ἡνωμένα ἐπισυρέψαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, σωματοειδέσθρον. Here it is plain, that ἐπισυρέψαι means *conglobare*, to collect, or incorporate into one; according to the common import of the verb *συρέφω*. But let the student consult Hederic on the word, and what does he find for the interpretation of ἐπισυρέφω? “*Una converto ad aliquid suscipiendum contra aliquem!*”

Now, this stuff passed from Stephens to Scapula, from Scapula to Schrevelius, and so on to Hederic; in whose Lexicon, it is carefully retained to this day, for the instruction of our English youth in the Greek language. We beg pardon of Stephens's memory, for having mentioned him in such company. Longinus is not among the classics to whose authority he refers, or with whom he appears to have been familiar (Pseudo-Longinus is frequently cited by Stephens.) On this word he evidently was at a loss for classical authority; endeavoured to conjecture its meaning from its composition; and ultimately wavered in his judgment. For, after giving the interpretation which alone Hederic has retained, he adds—“*vel, Colligo, seu cogo ad aliquid, &c. [i. e. suscipiendum contra aliquem] ea nimirum signif. qua aliquis dicitur factiosam catervam cogere. Sed affertur ex Maccab. l. i. c. 14 ἐπισυρέψαι συσροφὴν pro convocare conventum.*” Here it is plain that Stephens was led astray by wanting a classical example of the word, and by endeavouring to give some peculiar force to the preposition ἐπὶ in its composition. There is none; no more than in ἐπισυναγόμενα* at the beginning of the same section. But Hederic omits all that *approached* towards the right meaning in Stephens; and retains only the interpretation, in which he furthest departed from the true.

Lucian, in his treatise on the composition of history (§ 45), says, δεήσει γὰρ τότε ποιητικῆ τινὸς ἀνέμου ἐπηρειάσοντος τὰ ἀκάτια, καὶ συνδιόλσοντος ὑψηλὴν . . . τὴν ναῦν, where it is evident that

* We are far from meaning that Longinus had *no reason* for employing, in this passage, the compounds ἐπισυναγόμενα and ἐπισυρέψαι, rather than the simpler forms συναγόμενα and συρέψαι. We think the construction εἰς τὰ ἐνικὰ ἐπισυναγόμενα, and εἰς τὰ ἡνωμένα ἐπισυρέψαι is very parallel with ἐπάγειν, ἐπιβαίνειν, ἐπιβάλλειν, ἐπιτιθίναί—ἐπὶ, &c.

ἀκάτια means the *sails*. (See Xen. Hell. 6. 2, 27. Ed. Schneider.) But the only interpretation of the word which the student will find in Hederic, is, "*parvi navigii genus, genus naviculæ piscatoriæ, cymba:*" in which sense certainly the word occurs in Thuc. l. 4. c. 67. and elsewhere. Stephens, though he complains of wanting a classical example of the word, supplies the other meaning; but Scapula, upon whom Hederic depended, deserted him.

A few lines after the passage we have last quoted from Lucian, that writer urges the importance of the historian's examining most carefully what he relates as facts, and adds *καὶ μάλιστα μὲν παρόντα καὶ ἐφορῶντα, εἰ δὲ μὴ κ. τ. λ.* "if possible, from his own personal presence and inspection: but if that cannot be," &c. This use of *μάλιστα μὲν . . . εἰ δὲ μὴ* is common in the Greek classics, and perfectly analogous to a corresponding use of *maxime* in Latin. Sall. B. Jug. c. 46.—*maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum*. We observe that Stephens largely illustrates the phrase; but in vain would the student look for any notice of it in Hederic.

Upon another equally common use of *μάλιστα*, and noticed by Stephens, Hederic is equally silent; *ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐνδόκιμος* (Luc. Som. § 2.) which Hemsterhuis illustrates with his usual copiousness of learning. We need scarcely add, that Hederic appears to have been equally a stranger to the similar use of *ἐν ὀλίγοις*, as *ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοισι μέγαν* (Her. iv. 52.) But why should we proceed in the disgusting task of collecting particular instances of error and defect in Hederic? When the general texture of his work is, as we have said, utterly unscholarlike. An example will illustrate our meaning.

"*Σαθρὸς, ρὰ ρὸν, putris, flaccidus, marcidus, vietus; (2) debilis, fragilis, quassus, futilis, frivolus; (3) vitio aliquo occulto laborans, et in neutro vitium ipsum. Α σήπω.*"

We shall not pause to examine the accuracy of these several interpretations. He seems just to have collected together, without any examination, all the Latin expressions which he could find for *σαθρὸς*, in the former Lexicons: and he flings them in a mass before the student, to take his choice from among them, in whatever connexion or application the epithet may occur. We would ask any scholar, is this the way in which the meaning of *σαθρὸς* should be illustrated for our youth? In the same compass it would have been easy to mark distinctly the literal meaning of the word *decayed, unsound*; and then to enumerate various substantives, to which it is figuratively applied, with brief references to classical authorities.

The reader, who wishes more examples of such interpreta-

tion, may examine Hederic's ten meanings for ἀνάπαισις, ten for ἐπίπαισις, eleven for κατάπαισις, nine for παράπαισις, ten for περιπαισις, ten for σύπαισις, &c. thrown out without any quoted authorities or examples, except one from Larcher's papers, at the close of the article on ἐπίπαισις. And when we mention so many different meanings, it is to be observed that he is commonly very liberal under each. For instance, the second meaning assigned to σύπαισις is expressed by six different Latin words: *coagmentatio, compositio, coagmentum, concrementum, crassitudo, concretio*. Surely the student must be fastidious, who cannot please himself, and find something suitable to his wants, in such a copious assortment of explanations as is spread before him.

Some may have imagined that the necessary limits of size and price, within which a School-Lexicon must be confined, are inconsistent with the critical character, which we contend it ought to possess. But is it not evident, even from the examples which we have adduced, that the most vague and indistinct interpretations are the most diffuse and wordy? Those which are accurate and critical, may commonly be proposed in the briefest form. Again, let it be observed that a considerable portion of Hederic's pages is occupied with the merely grammatical analysis of words, which ought to present no difficulty to a boy, even moderately disciplined in his grammar. We have opened the volume at random; and in the first column which has presented itself to our eye, we find ten lines occupied with the analysis of the following forms: *θολῆντα, θόρε, θορυβεῦσιν, θορυβήση, θορούεισθαι, θούρμαιον*. And perhaps there is scarcely one of these words, in which any such assistance ought to be afforded to the student.

But again, we remark that many thousands of words have place in Hederic, which might, without any loss, be omitted in a Greek Lexicon compiled for the use of schools; words, of which many are of no classical authority, and many others are found only in writers the most obscure, or most out of the line of a school-boy's reading. We must add, and we wish Dr. Jones particularly to attend to the remark, that there is a class of words, which not only may well be omitted, but which ought never to appear in the pages of a School Lexicon. Begging pardon of the *reverend* gentlemen, to whose care the education of our youth has been for ages almost exclusively committed in this country, we must confess that we know not what legitimate business a school-boy can have with studying the filthiest obscenities of Aristophanes; and we know not why a Greek Lexicon, compiled for the use of schools, should afford him any interpretation of them.

The considerations which we have suggested, convince us, that in a volume not much larger than Dr. Jones's, and nothing more costly, all the Greek words which a young student will meet with, in an extended course of school-reading, might be critically interpreted, classically authenticated, and by brief quotations illustrated in their several connexions and applications. At the same time we are aware, that to execute such a work, however humble some may think it, would require several years of laborious application, sound judgment, and good sense, extensive reading, and a critical acquaintance with the Greek language.

ART. V.—*A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject of Church Property.* By a Clergyman. London, 1824.

Remarks on the Consumption of Public Wealth by the Clergy, &c. 4th Ed. London, 1822.

THERE is scarcely any subject which has been more industriously misrepresented by the enemies of economical government, than the provision set apart for the maintenance of the English clergy in the form of tithes. From this, or some other cause, misunderstanding on this subject has hitherto been extensive. It is worthy of notice, that although the committee of the House of Commons on the agriculture of the United Kingdom, sat for several months during the session of 1822, and examined a great number of witnesses, not one of those witnesses, from anything that appears in the Minutes of Evidence, understood the nature of tithes. In the opinion of Mr. Harvey, a considerable farmer and miller, and one of the principal witnesses, tithes reduce the landlord's rent. Mr. Ellman, sen. supposed that they were paid principally by the farmer; Mr. Ellman, jun., by the landlord. Mr. Curwen, the member for Cumberland, imagined them to be in some way divided between the landlord, the farmer, and the consumer. None of them had any clear ideas as to the real nature of tithes, and the same may be said of some, if not most, of the members of the committee, if we may be allowed to judge from the questions put to the witnesses.

Just as a spirit of inquiry is beginning to manifest itself on this subject, a writer in the *Quarterly Review** steps in, and attempts, by an elaborate piece of sophistry, to prevent

opinions from clearing up, and to re-involve them in a thicker mist than ever.

To reconcile the reflecting part of the community to an institution at once so extravagant and ineffective by asserting its necessity for the welfare and existence of the Church, has ever been a hopeless task. This, however, was for a long time the only plea of the proprietors and expectants of church preferment, for a continuance of the system. They who received could give no other answer to the complaints of those who paid the tithe, than by repeating the cry of "the Church in danger," should any interference be attempted in its established rights. The Quarterly Reviewer has suggested a more palatable answer. He avers that tithe is no charge at all, either upon the occupier of land or consumer of produce, but merely a portion of the rent, fixed in amount by law, but received by the parson in quality of co-proprietor with the landlord of the soil itself. Compared with this, to allege that tithes are of divine right, is rational doctrine. Bold and decisive as it seems, it is the last plea in favour of that system which levies a tenth part of the yearly produce from nearly every acre in England, for the support of a clergy whose doctrines are not recognised by one half of the population, and as such, is worthy of a full and serious reply. This we shall endeavour to make; and shall prove, if we are not much mistaken, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind, that tithes are a tax on the gross produce of the soil, which falls equally on every man, whether churchman or dissenter, rich or poor, in proportion to his consumption of the articles on which they are levied.

We must first observe, that they who support the proposition that tithes are no tax, but a portion of the rent of land, are driven to deny the doctrine of *rent*, as promulgated by Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Mill, and Mr. Malthus, and the whole of the new school of political economists. It is worthy of remark, that by none of its opponents has that doctrine been fairly stated. It has been attacked in turn by landlord and tithe-owner; by the latter with more reason than the former, inasmuch as its conclusions are of fatal consequence to him, whereas they are of no such consequence to the landlord. Neither, however, has fairly entered the field, though each has claimed the victory in his turn. With the gradual rise of prices, the hostility of the landlord has subsided. Not so with the receiver of tithes. His is a very different case. The issue between him and the economists is permanent. He, therefore, still regards the theory of rent with implacable aversion. Considering his interest in the issue, we feel no surprise at his passion, and can

smile at the holy asperity with which he treats the political economists. The doctrine against which he strives is so plain and simple, that it cannot fail to bring conviction to every liberal and intelligent man. It is precisely the sort of demonstration, which, by leaving no means of successful misrepresentation, is more bitter than gall and wormwood to an interested opponent. We are sorry, at this time of day, to be called upon for a re-statement of that doctrine, when every school-boy has become acquainted with the elements of political economy. It seems, however, necessary for our purpose, and we proceed without further apology.

RENT, then, is that portion of the return on capital employed upon the land which exceeds the ordinary profits of stock, and is paid to the landlord for the use of the land. Supposing the most fertile soils in England to yield no more than the ordinary profits of stock, or those which might be made by the application of capital to other purposes, it is quite evident that no rent whatever would arise. For should the owner, in such a case, demand a consideration for the use of his land, the tenant would withdraw his capital and employ it in some other business. When, however, it happens as it does universally in old countries, that the ordinary profits of stock are returned by lands of inferior fertility, it will answer the tenant's purpose to pay the landlord the difference between those ordinary profits and the whole return to capital employed on the superior soils, for the liberty of cultivating the latter—and this difference is the rent. Hence it follows that rent will vary through all the gradations, from the most, to the least fertile soils in cultivation; and that the least fertile soil of all, or that which returns no more than the ordinary profits of stock, will return no rent whatever.

Of that rent arising from the successive applications of capital, with successively diminishing returns, to the same soil, it is useless to speak at present. The argument as to the nature of tithes, derived from that source, is in all respects the same with that which results from the preceding mode of stating the question.

To return. It would seem difficult to controvert so plain a statement. Something, however, was to be said in defence of tithes. As long as the doctrine of rent remained untouched, it was quite impossible, as will be seen hereafter, to suppose that they operated in any other way than as a tax on produce. Something, therefore, was to be alleged against that doctrine. An objection has accordingly been advanced. It is averred with much gravity and importance, that there is ac-

tually no land in England, from which rent in some proportion is not extracted by the landlord. Never was a frivolous objection put forth with an air of greater triumph. We shall venture to suggest an answer, in spite of the self-satisfied tone in which the objection is delivered.

Were the different soils in England arranged in a regular series from Sussex to Northumberland, beginning with the most, and ending with the least, productive, the fact would be exhibited of the lands on the southern coast yielding the greatest rent, whilst those next in succession northward, would gradually yield less and less, till some species was arrived at from which no more would be returned than the common profits of stock. Beyond this we should still find other soils, of which the best might feed a few head of northern cattle, but the lowest would be mere barren gravel, in which the thistle itself would scarcely vegetate. Although the various soils have not been distributed in this manner, a little patience is surely sufficient to enable any man of common capacity to unravel this problem—how it is that portions of the least productive soil returning the profits of stock, when intermixed with more fertile spots, although nominally yielding rent, in truth yield no such thing. The fact is undoubtedly true. When a landlord leases a farm, such a farm is generally composed of many species of soils, each of which if separately let, would return a different rent. The whole occupation in that case would present a similar spectacle to that which might have been exhibited by the whole island, had nature distributed the various kinds of soil in the order we have supposed, instead of huddling them together in small masses. From the circumstance of these various soils being let together in every single occupation, the rent is usually *averaged* at so much per acre; taking one acre with another without regard to the difference of fertility. From this circumstance, those persons, from whom we differ on this occasion, have unhappily concluded that every individual acre is in itself productive of its average portion of rent.

So much for this objection, which is dignified with the name of an argument drawn from experience, common sense and practice. All these will probably be thought at present to have changed sides, and to coincide in the proposition that the least fertile soils in cultivation, however from their situation they may appear to yield a rent to the landlord, in fact return no rent whatever.*

* The Reviewer having somehow admitted, that certain soils pay no landlord's rent, has undertaken to show that such soils produce no tithe.

We now come to the important conclusion. This may be stated in a few words. The lowest soil in cultivation pays no rent. Every soil from which produce is extracted pays tithe. Rent, therefore, and tithe are not identical, but altogether different. But tithe, not being a portion of the rent of land, can only be *a tax on produce*, and, in the language of Mr. Ricardo, "like all taxes on produce falls wholly on the consumer." Thus, whatever may be thought or said to the contrary, the established church of this country is supported by exactions levied alike on the dissenter and the churchman, the rich and the poor; and, whatever may be the case with its doctrine, it may truly boast of the Catholic uniformity with which its temporalities are supplied by all classes of the community.

We think, however, that there is a simpler mode of arriving at the same conclusion, which is the more appropriate from its brevity and its entire independence of theoretical principles. There are some who are either incompetent to understand, or obstinately determined to reject, the theory of rent, as explained in the preceding observations. Upon that theory depends the scientific proof of the real nature of tithes. Those, therefore, who reject the premises, may well be expected to deny the conclusion. Such persons may find the following demonstration somewhat more to their taste:

If tithes are not paid by the consumer, as it is contended, they are portion of the rent of land. This is admitted. It will also be granted, that every acre in England not specially exempted, whatever sum it may yield under the name of rent, returns to the clerical incumbent a tithe of its gross produce. It follows, that the lowest possible rent of land in England—for tithe is rent by the supposition—is a tenth of its gross annual produce. If this be the case in England, it must be so universally, wherever land is appropriated and brought into cultivation. It is well known that the farmer on the banks of the Ohio, so far from paying a tithe of his produce as rent, pays no rent at all. The same might no doubt be observed of lands much nearer home. But the instance we have taken is sufficient. The lowest rent of land, therefore, is not the tithe of its pro-

To prove this point, *a statute of Edward the Sixth* is alleged, by which all barren and waste ground requiring over and above the cost of enclosure, the additional expense of manure, before it can be made proper for agriculture, *is exempted from tithes for a period of seven years*. It is quite unnecessary to stickle for the seven years mentioned in the statute. We will wait till that period is elapsed. *Then*, we presume, the soil we speak of will pay tithes. But, although it pay tithes, it will never, as long as it continues the least fertile soil in cultivation, produce one farthing of rent.

duce ; and where such a portion is extracted by provision of law, that portion is not rent of land, but a tax on produce.

Again : Assuming, as before, that tithe is portion of the rent ; we will take, for the sake of argument, the case in which the tithe and the remainder of the rent, shall together amount to less than a fifth of the gross produce ; or, in other words, in which the portion of rent paid under the name of rent, shall be less than the portion paid under the name of tithe. Of land in this condition we will suppose two contiguous parcels. Such land will, of course, be all of the same fertility. If the legislature raise the tithe on one parcel to a fifth, but make no alteration on the other, it is plain that from the former parcel the church alone will extract a rent of a fifth of the gross produce ; whilst from the latter parcel, the landlord and the church together will receive something which will be less than a fifth. Here then we should have two parcels of equally fertile land, paying two different rents at one and the same period ; which is absurd. Tithe, therefore, as before, is not in the nature of rent, but of a tax on produce.*

To conclude, if tithe be rent, the American government by imposing it on the lands in the back settlements, which now yield no rent at all, or a nominal sum which is next to none, may at once *create* a rent equal to the tenth of the gross produce. Advancing another step, it may *create* rent to the amount of half, or even of the whole gross produce—a supposition too absurd to be insisted on. It is indeed astonishing into what a maze of contradiction we are led by confounding tithe with rent.

Those who have so confounded them, and confused themselves, have been chiefly misled by certain arithmetical calculations, which instead of simplifying, have a tendency in the hands of unwary arguers to perplex these subjects. It may be worth our while to expose, in a few words, the cause of their mistakes. Although utterly without merit in the eyes of a reflecting man, the apparent precision of these statements gives them currency amongst the uninformed, and procures them an undue consideration with all who are unable to perform, or unwilling to undergo the toil of profounder speculations.

“ Let us suppose,” it has been said, by one of the writers we allude to, “ that the produce of a given quantity of the least fertile soil, which is said to pay no rent, sells for 40*l.*, and that the claim of the tithe owner now amounting to 4*l.* were abo-

* By the requisite alteration in the other terms, this reasoning will apply, whatever be the proportion between the tithe and the landlord's rent.

lished, would the whole produce, which now sells for 40*l.*, be in that case sold for no more than 36*l.*? ‘Yes,’ say the political economists. ‘No,’ say common sense and experience; if the 4*l.* now received for tithes ceased to be exacted, another claimant to an equal amount would instantly start up in the person of the landlord.” This writer has been betrayed into an error in this instance, which it is not very difficult to expose. In the way in which he has put his case, so far from saying ‘Yes,’ the economists, whom he vituperates without an accurate acquaintance with their principles, would answer ‘No.’ In the way in which he should have put it to make it available to his purpose, they *would* have answered, ‘Yes.’

We have seen that the produce of the lowest soil in cultivation, is sufficient to pay the costs of produce and the ordinary profits of stock, and no more. It follows that the price of the produce of that soil is the regulating market price. Supposing then that the produce of a given quantity of that soil would fetch 40*l.*, an abolition of the tithe-owner’s claim, *if extended to that quantity of soil only*, would simply transfer the 4*l.* once paid in tithe, to the pocket of the landlord. The reason is obvious: tithe being still levied on every other portion of the same species of soil, the price of corn would remain unaltered. The produce of the given quantity of that soil on which the tithe had been remitted, being sold in the common market would fetch the market price, which is 40*l.* The remunerating price to the grower is 36*l.*; more than this the cultivator of the given quantity of soil we speak of, would not be permitted to receive. The surplus, therefore, which formerly went to the rector, would, in this case, go to the landlord. And this must be the consequence of all partial remissions of the tithe. So far from relieving the community, they merely transfer the profits of the tax from one individual to another.

But mark the difference of the result when the case is stated in proper terms: we still take the lowest soil in cultivation for the sake of simplifying the statement. Suppose then, as before, that the produce of a given quantity of that soil would sell for 40*l.* Instead of remitting the tithe of that particular portion, we will suppose it to be remitted universally. The produce of the same portion, which formerly sold for 40*l.*, would now fetch only 36*l.*

For: If the capital employed by the farmer on the particular portion of soil referred to in our case were 31*l.*, and the common profits of stock on that sum were 5*l.*, he would sell *his* produce for 36*l.* and no more, whether it consisted of 10 quarters or of 9. If the whole produce of the land he occupied were 10 quarters,

of which he paid one to the parson, he must sell the remaining 9 quarters for 36*l.*, because he must have the ordinary rate of profits on his capital. If the tithe were abolished, and he continued to sell the 10 quarters, at the same rate per quarter as he had formerly sold the 9 quarters, his gains would exceed the ordinary profits of stock by the price of the tenth quarter. This would be speedily corrected by the competition of other growers, which would compel him to reduce his price till he gained no more than the ordinary profits of stock. The 10 quarters, therefore, the whole produce of the particular portion of soil referred to in our case, and which were formerly sold for 40*l.* would now be worth only 36*l.*

To arrive at this result exactly, the abolition of tithes must be general. If, for instance, they were only remitted to the lower, and continued to be levied on the higher gradations of soil, or *vice versâ*—the case would be the same with regard to the proprietors of the tithe-free lands as we have seen it would be with regard to an individual proprietor whose property should be specially exempted. *He* would pocket the tithe remitted on his single estate: and *they* would pocket it, if remitted on the whole of that species of soil of which they were proprietors. In fact, as long as tithe is levied at all, the owners of exempted land will be gainers, in proportion to the amount in which that tax is otherwise exacted. This is the actual case of the Scotch landlords. The produce of the two countries being sold in the same market, and the occupiers of the soil being allowed no more than the ordinary profits of stock; the rent of the Scotch landlord consists of the difference of the produce of the highest and the lowest soils, and the excess of the actual price of Scotch produce above the remunerating one, produced by the operation of the English tithe.

So much for the case we have examined. In the article from which we borrowed it, it is stated in three different forms, but is still essentially the same, and open to the same objections.

The real nature of the tithe is now, we think, sufficiently established. It is a *tax* precisely as every other uncompensated abstraction from the returns of industry and capital is so—and operates in the same way by raising the price to the consumer.

We have now to review the objections to tithes considered as a tax. On the numerous minor evils incident to the mode of their collection—the perpetual irritation and ill-blood it gives rise to, between the farmer and the clergyman; and the consequent detriment to that service—the service of religion—for which the system is alleged to exist, we shall not enlarge at present. We shall confine ourselves to two points; 1st, the

tendency of this tax to increase in amount and value, as the difficulty of producing corn increases; and, 2nd, its enormous amount. All taxes are an evil; but it is still something to escape a greater, when a less will answer the purpose. In as far as equality is desirable, tithes are an equal tax. In as far as a great actual amount and a tendency to future increase are undesirable, it would be difficult to name any impost so unequivocally objectionable.

In the first place: If the price of corn is 60s. the quarter, the tithe is 6s. If the increased difficulty of production should raise the price of produce to £.5, the tithe will be increased to 10s.; if to £.6, the tithe will rise to 12s. To state this in a different form: we will suppose that the tithe is only levied from the highest order of land; if the produce is 180 quarters, the tithe will amount to 18 quarters. If it be necessary to bring into cultivation an inferior soil, of which the proceeds are only 170 quarters, the tithe will now be taken from 350 quarters, and will amount to 35 quarters. In a subsequent stage, when land of still less fertility, yielding probably no more than 160 quarters, is forced into tillage by the increasing wants of the population, the tithe will be levied from 510 quarters, and will amount to 51 quarters. Tithe, however, increases in value as well as in amount with the increasing difficulty of raising food. Thus, when the produce is increased from 100,000 to 200,000 quarters, not only is the amount of tithe advanced from 10,000 to 20,000 quarters; but owing to the augmented cost of production, the *price* of corn might be tripled. Thus, the 20,000 quarters, although only double in quantity, might be six-fold increased in value, as compared with the 10,000 quarters which were raised before. For if 10,000 quarters were taken as tithes, when the price was 25s. the quarter, the value of the tax would be £.12,500. If the price rose to 75s., its value would be no less than £.75,000.

We may state this still more simply. When the value of a bushel of wheat, in money, was 3s., the tithe raised the price to 3s. 4d., and took from every 100 pounds' worth of produce, £.16 13s. 4d. But as the difficulty of producing food increased, and when, in consequence of this difficulty, the price rose to 5s. the bushel, the tithe raised the price to 5s. 6d., and took from every 100 pounds' worth of produce the enormous sum of £.27 10s. As society advances, the gross produce must be correspondingly augmented; but, in proportion to the gross, the nett produce goes on decreasing. Tithes, however, are a tenth of the gross produce; and, therefore, as it increases, they absorb a continually greater share of the nett produce.

Well, therefore, might Mr. Ricardo say, that “*a tax increasing with the gross income, and falling on the nett income, must necessarily be a very burthensome and a very intolerable tax.*”*

Of the amount of this impost, it is difficult to speak with accuracy. Hardly any two writers are agreed upon it. The whole revenue of the establishment was estimated by bishop Watson, in 1783, at £.1,742,000. The calculation of the Rev. Dr. Cove, in 1816, makes it amount to £.3,898,202.; a sum which Mr. Thackeray considers too high, and reduces to £.2,290,000. The author of the “*Remarks on the Consumption of Public Wealth by the Clergy,*” calculates the income of the Church at more than seven millions.

In the absence of positive information on this point, it would be useless to affect a numerical precision in our estimates. Of the several statements just mentioned, we incline, in preference, to the last. As, however, from the want of sufficient statistical details it cannot be verified to a figure, it seems more prudent to abstain from any positive statement, than needlessly to expose ourselves to objections, which, however groundless, could only be repelled by the facts of whose absence we complain.

Opposition to the existence of a tax, setting aside the particular objections which may arise from its nature or mode of collection, is justified by either of the following reasons;— because

* It is not without considerable surprise that we find the opinions contained in the following extract reported as having fallen from lord Liverpool in his speech on Earl Darney's motion on the State of Ireland, on the 8th of the present month. We quote from the Morning Chronicle of the subsequent day:—“*I think,*” says lord Liverpool, “*that the view taken by many persons upon this question, and who call for the abolition of tithes is most unfair. After all, the tithe falls upon the property ultimately. If tithes be abolished to-morrow, the present occupant of the soil may be bettered by the change, but in future, depend upon it, the tenant will be called upon to pay infinitely more in the shape of rent than he did in the shape of tithe. The question, therefore, is between the landlord and the tithe-owner.*” This is a fortunate discovery. The question being wholly between the landlord and the tithe-owner—we grant the premises for the sake of the conclusion—Lord Liverpool will agree with us that we are fit once presented with the means of getting rid of the unhappy disagreements between the pastor and his flock, which arise from the system of tithes. We have only to change the mode of collecting that portion of the rent called tithe, and every jot of evil will vanish. “*The question is wholly between the landlord and the tithe-owner.*” Instead, therefore, of taking his share of the rent from the cultivator of the soil, let the parson revert at once to the landlord. It will be far more economical, as well as beyond measure more conducive to the quiet of all parties, for the clergyman to receive his tenth of the rent of the estate from the landlord's steward, than to pick it up sheaf by sheaf from every acre amid the mutterings and curses of the farmer.

it is levied for a useless object, in which case it is purely detrimental; or, because more is collected for a useful one, than is necessary for its accomplishment. In the latter instance we can only object to the superfluous amount of the impost.

There is a large class of persons in this country, probably amounting to more than one half of the population, who consider church establishments as altogether useless, and who are accordingly opposed to the tithe-tax without any qualification. It is not our intention at present to enter into the reasonings of those persons; of which, perhaps, the most conclusive are chiefly drawn from the prosperous state of religion in North America, where it is entirely unprotected by the government. We will assume for the present that the end of a church establishment—the support and furtherance of religion—is best accomplished by a public provision for the clergy; but we object to the enormous amount of the English tithe, to its excess above the actual necessity of the service for which it is levied. This excess is truly *enormous*; and we undertake to prove it, not by any questionable estimates of our own, but by one which has recently appeared in a quarter not calculated to excite the suspicion even of the Church itself—we mean the Quarterly Review—and which is quite sufficient for our purpose, although, if doubled in amount, it would approach more nearly to the truth.

The whole number of benefices in England and Wales, is, according to this statement, 11,342. Of these, 10,693 are parochial; and 649 are chapels in the patronage of private individuals. The area of England and Wales contains somewhat more than thirty-seven millions of acres; from which, if we deduct one-seventh for waste land, and one-tenth for land exempted from tithes, as Abbey lands or by modus, the number of acres actually subject to tithe will amount to nearly twenty-nine millions. The exact number is 28,615,680; which being divided by 10,693 (the number of parishes) gives an average of 2,676 titheable acres to each parish. On this basis we get the following estimate:—

Parochial Benefices.	}	5177 Rectories × 2676 = 13,853,652 acres, at	
		3s. 6d. per acre	£.2,424,389
		4516 Vicarages × 2676 = 12,084,816 acres, at	
		1s. 3d. per acre.....	755,301
		1000 Perpetual Curacies, at £.75 each	75,000
		649 Benefices not Parochial, at £.50 each	32,450
		8000 Glebes at £.20 each	160,000
		Incomes of Bishoprics.....	150,000
		Do. of Deans and Chapters	275,000

Total Revenues of the Established Church ... £.3,872,140

Deducting the incomes of the Bishoprics, and the Deans and Chapters, the total income of the parochial clergy will amount to £.3,447,140; which sum divided by 11,342 (the number of benefices) will give for each benefice the annual value of £.303.

This is an allowance neither calculated "to excite the spleen, nor provoke the hostility" of any reasonable man; and we see but one reason to object to it, when we consider that the average income of a clergyman of the Scotch Church, an establishment so remarkable for its economy and good arrangement, is not less than £.275. We agree that the difference is not material; not greater, perhaps, than is warranted by the different style of living prevailing in the two countries. There is, however, *one* reason, which might or might not have escaped the calculator of the averages we have just presented, but which, without affecting the truth of his estimates, altogether vitiates their results.

It has been objected against those who have instituted inquiries into the revenues of the Church of England, that they have taunted that establishment with its extravagance, when contrasted with the Church of Scotland. In spite of the near approximation of the incomes of a Scotch and English clergyman, according to the fore-going average, we shall make it appear that those taunts are by no means so groundless as they might at first sight appear.

It must strike the reader as something strange, that the incomes of the individual clergymen approximating so closely, there should be so wide a difference in the total revenues of the two churches of Scotland and England; those of the former being little more than £.250,000, whilst the income of the latter is nearly *three millions and a half*—nay, taking in the dignitaries, *nearly four*—even on the showing of one of its most zealous advocates. The cause of this discrepancy is not the difference of the respective incomes, but the difference of the total numbers of those to whom tithes are paid. This, the difference of numbers, is the fact that nullifies the statistics, and overthrows the conclusions of the calculator of the averages.

According to his statement, the case of the two churches, with regard to the number and income of their respective clergymen, is as follows:

For the Church of England, 11,342 clergymen, at	
£.303 per annum	£.3,447,140
For the Church of Scotland, 948 clergymen, at	
£.275 per annum	263,340

Assuming these statements to be correct, it is plain that the principal means of retrenchment in the Church of England must be found in a reduction of the numbers of its clergy. The scale, according to which the reduction must be measured, is quite obvious. It consists in the number of souls to whose wants they are appointed to administer. The Church of Scotland will furnish us with means of apportioning the clergy to the flock, to which no reasonable objection can be taken. No complaint has been ever heard of the manner in which the Scotch ministers perform their religious functions; on the contrary, their exemplary conduct has been the subject of constant eulogy, even amongst the English clergy.* We see, therefore, no reason why the ratio of clergy to population in that country should not be adopted in England. The population of Scotland being spread over a larger tract of country than that of England, an English clergyman would, in fact, be able to undertake the care of a greater number of souls than a Scotch minister; but of this we shall take no notice. We would also observe, that as a great proportion, amounting to at least one half of the population in this country are not hearers of the Established Church, the duties of its ministers would be most materially lessened in that respect. As, however, from the small proportion of dissidents in Scotland under an economical clergy, we might expect a speedy re-conversion of the English dissenters on the reformation of our establishment, we shall not take them into the account. This, we think, is as great a stretch of liberality as the clergy can reasonably demand. With these admissions we proceed.

According to the returns of 1821, the population of Scotland was 2,135,300. Taking the Scotch clergy at 950, we find that one minister is able to supply the spiritual wants of 2,250 persons according to the approved mode of the Kirk. The population of England and Wales is 12,218,500. At the rate of one minister to 2,250 persons, the total number required for England would amount to 5,430. Their salaries, at £.300 per annum, would come to £.1,629,000. This perfectly efficient establishment, paid according to the rate proposed by their own advocate; paid in a manner which must satisfy the most exorbitant expectations—would still leave a saving to the country of £.1,818,140, *considerably more than a moiety of the present revenues of the Church, as acknowledged by their*

* See particularly the character of the Scotch clergy, as drawn by Mr. Adam, a minister of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, in his "Religious World Displayed." Edinburgh, 1809.

zealous defender. We cannot sufficiently express our thanks to the Quarterly Reviewer. He has supplied the means of his destruction, with his own hand.

To prove the actual excess in the numbers of the Established clergy, and the inequality, at least, of their stipends, we request the attention of our readers to the following table. It is extracted from the returns respecting non-residence, &c. for the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, printed by order of the House of Commons :—

Year.	Incumbents.	Residents.	Non-residents (not summed up in the Returns).
1809	- 11,194	- 3,836	- 7,358
1810	- 10,801	- 4,490	- 6,311
1811	- 10,261	- 4,421	- 5,840

Taking the last, which is the least immoderate of the three accounts, and allowing for pluralities and cases in which the possessor of one benefice officiated as curate of another, it cannot be too much to suppose, that of the 5,840 non-residents, one half at least were lying idle and leaving their duties in the charge of stipendiary curates. These curates, even on the present system, might be safely dispensed with, and a portion of the incomes of their employers, at least equal to what is spared for the curates, be applied to the public service.

The present opportunity might be taken, did our space or our plan permit, of showing the mischievous inequality in the incomes of the clergy. It is quite clear, from the last table, in which there is no mention of curates, that the whole body must far exceed eleven thousand; they probably amount to fifteen thousand. If the revenues of the Church will afford only £.300 per annum to the former number, *on an average*, what must be the situation of a great proportion of the 15,000, to whom an average would not yield £.240 per annum, when the great bulk of the total income of the Church is bestowed on a comparatively small number of rectors, and vicars? We need not wonder at the small number of Scotch dissenters under the economical establishment of that country, when we see the religious duties of the English Church abandoned to curates who are unable to perform them for want of decent necessaries, whilst the mass of its enormous revenues is squandered on a favoured few, whose indifference to the religious, is, of course, in a direct ratio to their concern in the temporal, interests of the Establishment.

It must not be forgotten, that the preceding estimates, although amply sufficient to demonstrate the superfluity of

taxation imposed for the maintenance of the Church, are taken from one of her most acrimonious partizans. We shall not venture to pronounce on the correctness of the calculations of the author of the pamphlet, "On the Consumption of Public Wealth by the Clergy," who estimates the Church revenues at £.7,000,000. Without acceding to his estimate, we have little doubt that we may safely take the mean between his and that we have adopted above, which will increase the latter by one third of its whole amount. If, instead of three millions and a half, we allot five millions as the sum exacted in the shape of tithe, we shall probably be open to censure for undervaluing its amount. It is more than probable, that one half of the population of England and Wales are dissenters from the Established Church. To be perfectly secure, we will take the dissenters at one third; an estimate which cannot be questioned. There can be no reason why ministers should be provided for these persons. It will be time to supply them when the extension of Church of England doctrines shall render their appointment necessary. For eight millions of souls, the number we allot to the Church of England, the requisite corps of clergy, at the rate of one minister for 2,250 persons, would be something less than 3,670. Their income, at £.300 per annum each, would be £.1,101,000;—little more than *a fifth of the actual revenues of the Church.*

How these observations can be answered, it seems not easy to divine. We should be glad to have them answered, if possible. The continuance of a state of things, like that we have just described, can be justified by no maxims of honest policy. It is not only in the light of an oppressive charge on the food of the great body of the people, bad as this is, that we complain of our political religion. It inflicts even a worse evil on the community, than the abstraction of so many millions a year, by adding another prop to the aristocracy, and abetting the agents of misgovernment, hitherto at least, more effectually than any other of their numerous supporters. This department of the subject must be reserved for a future opportunity. The design of the present article was simply to direct the attention of the reader to the nature and amount of that part of the Church revenues which is levied in the shape of tithes, and to indicate the means of getting rid of the burthen. •The reader is requested to bear in mind, that in the foregoing observations we have only spoken of the tithes. No mention has been made of the annual tax of £.100,000, with which the *bounty* of queen Anne has saddled us for the benefit of the clergy; no mention of the enormous incomes of bishops, and the vast property of which

the produce is shared by deans and chapters; none of the million, voted in 1817, for the erection of new churches,* or of the half-million dedicated to the same purpose, in the present session.

In the state of things described above, no rational well-wisher to the Establishment can doubt of the propriety of Church reform. We shall not blink the question by a word. By Church reform we mean an abrogation, as far as the Church itself is concerned, of the right of exacting tithe. We are aware of the outcry which has always been raised against this proposal by interested or mistaken individuals. Of this we have had a recent instance in the speeches of certain members of the House of Commons, on the resolutions moved by Mr. Hume, on the subject of the Irish Establishment. It was alleged by the more violent, amongst whom Mr. Plunkett was conspicuous, that the right of the Church to tithes was inalienable in its nature, and sanctioned by principles which could not be broken through without subverting the constitution itself. By a few, less blinded with passion, a simple apprehension was expressed, that an invasion of church property might tend to shake the respect entertained for the rights of property in general. On these topics much vague declamation was uttered, and the sentiment appeared altogether so prevalent, that the propositions, unfounded as they really are, have acquired from that circumstance a claim to deliberate attention. We shall, therefore, proceed to show how much they may be worth, when opposed to a scheme of Church reform,

Preliminary to this, it is requisite to fix with some precision what is meant by the expression *rights*. On this the whole question turns. There are some persons who assume that rights are ordinations of nature, and as such incapable of modification by human laws. Thus we have heard of certain rights of man, amongst which, his right to property is included, and which are all declared natural and imprescriptible. Amidst the singular confusion of ideas prevailing in this definition, it is difficult to extract a meaning. If anything be meant by the expression *natural rights*, it is, that there are rights anterior to the establishment of government. That these rights are incapable of being abolished by government when established, is the only explanation of the term *imprescriptible rights*.

Of these propositions the first is altogether false. There can

* It appears, by the report of the commissioners for building new churches, presented last year, that this sum is sufficient only for the erection of 97 churches, and that the average cost of each church will be £.10,800. This is in the usual style of church economy.

be no rights before the institution of government. The expression is purely figurative. We know what it is to live without government at all. We have accounts of many savage tribes, who have remained in a state of *nature*, without governors or laws. We know also that amongst such tribes, there has been no security for—in other words, no right to—property. A savage may possess a bear's skin; but his possession is of the most uncertain and fluctuating kind, and endures no longer than the inability or disinclination of his neighbour to wrest it from him. But a right supposes a sanction; a certainty of future as well as present possession.

To speak of imprescriptible rights is still more absurd. Every day's experience shows its falsity. Not a year passes without presenting an example of the modification, abolition or creation of rights by acts of the government. The very individuals who talk of indefeasible rights have often spent their lives in attempting to *recover* them, when invaded by unprincipled rulers. Thus, then, there are no natural, much less imprescriptible rights. Right, therefore, is purely factitious, and the creature of the ruling will. It is brought into existence by the determination of the governing power, and lasts no longer than the will, which gave it birth, determines.

Hence it is the business of government to ascertain what rights *ought* to be constituted, what modified and what abolished. This is no new doctrine in the British constitution. We have more than one instance of the judicious interference of the legislature with pernicious rights. None will occur more readily than the suppression of monasteries by Henry the eighth, and the abolition of feudal wardships by Charles the second. In both these instances, beside many others which it is not worth our while to consider, the right which was abolished by the legislature, was precisely the same as that in virtue of which the clergy of the present day lay claim to tithes. In the first instance of equal, in the second probably of greater, antiquity; in both during a series of ages enjoyed by a large body of individuals, and recognised by every authority of government. So far, therefore, the objection is disposed of, by which it is maintained that government in general, and the English constitution in particular, is incompetent to abolish rights of property. Much of this vague jargon of the inalienability of the rights of property is produced by the strong feeling of the utility of those rights in general; a feeling which especially on the part of the proprietors, cannot even permit the slightest discussion of the subject, but endeavours to hide its origin in a cloud of high-sounding phrases, and to protect its

integrity by a species of superstitious mystery. In this, as in other instances, a courageous examination of the subject will lead to more satisfactory results, and establish the institution on a firmer basis, than that of ignorant credulity. This leads us to consider the soundness of the apprehensions, lest an abolition of the right of tithes should beget a popular indifference to the rights of other species of property.

This question is capable of being partly settled by a reference to the present state of public opinion upon the subject of tithe. No man will deny, that a respect for the rights of private, and all useful public property, fully adequate to the security of the proprietors, is entertained by the people of this country. It will be as difficult to dispute that a pretty universal *disrespect* for the rights of tithe-property prevails amongst an extensive class—for instance, amongst the great mass of those who do not directly or indirectly participate in the advantages of that property. The respect for the former, however, is in no degree diminished or endangered by the disrespect for the latter rights. We would venture to affirm, that the distinction is so accurately, because so easily drawn, that no man, but the alarmists themselves, has ever confounded them for an instant. We may go still further. Assuming, as we may safely do, that the opinion of the great disinterested portion of the public is hostile to the continuance of tithes; we believe that a proposition to invade the rights of present incumbents, or to disappoint the fixed hopes of expectants, would be as generally received with the full reprobation it would merit. Of course, we deliver this opinion only as an opinion, because there are no means of proving it. But we appeal to every candid man, whether such is not the result of his personal experience of the feelings of the people on these subjects.

To back this opinion it happens fortunately, that many instances have occurred of the divestment of this identical property, in which no symptoms were exhibited of the remotest disposition to interfere with any other rights. It is useless to detail the instances. It is enough to remind the reader of what occurred at the reformation in Scotland, and the English revolution of 1640. A more recent and remarkable instance is that presented in the history of the French revolution,—the most violent convulsion that ever shook the frame of civilized society. That event has been so long held up as the raw head and bloody bones of all baby politicians, that we need not exaggerate its horrors. Nevertheless, so small is the disposition, even amongst the most ignorant people, to violate the rights of property, that in the midst of those horrors the only property declared con-

fiscate, with the exception of the emigrant estates, which were in fact abandoned by their owners, was that of the church. We could not cite a stronger instance of the futility of those fears, either felt or affected to be felt by the advocates of the system of tithes, for the safety of private property in consequence of a legal interference in the former.

In fact, the respect for property in general arises only from a sense of the necessity of such an institution ; and the difference between the case of the church, and the proprietors of almost every other right, cannot fail to strike forcibly the commonest intellect, when unbiassed by sinister prejudices. Hence there is no connexion between a respect for property in general, and for the particular ownership of tithes. That the difference we speak of is at least suspected by the tithe-holders themselves, is evident, from their anxiety to mix up, and confound their claims with those of the landed proprietor. The difference is too obvious to admit of such a mystification. The bare assertion, that the right of the clergy to the tithes *is as good* as that of "the opulent owner of Holkham" to his estates, is undoubtedly true. If by goodness they mean legality, all rights by the very force of the term are of equal goodness. The difference we allege is not in the nature, but the utility of their respective rights. And here there is a wide distinction. The expediency of individual ownership in the soil is acknowledged by every man at all capable of thinking on the subject. It would be an insult to the common sense of our readers, to enlarge upon the proof of a position which is admitted by every man in England, who is not within the walls of Bedlam. The expediency of a right to tithes is not so commonly acknowledged ; and we have shown that no other motive is necessary for the abrogation of a right, than proof of its inexpediency. The inexpediency of that right is generally felt and understood. The peculiar facilities of abolishing it are equally notorious. In the instance of the Church the right is far less extensive, and wants most of the distinctive qualities of a right to the property of land. It confers a mere life interest, and that without power of alienation. Hence arise no distant fixed expectancies, of which the disappointment would spread dismay amongst numerous individuals, and destroy the hopes of generations. The possessor of a benefice has no heir. The greatest change which could occur to him from the forfeiture of every tittle of church property, at the death of the present incumbents, would be no more than the same event would produce to every father of a family in the receipt of an annuity equal in amount. He would be debarred from bringing up one son to his own profession. The evil, such

as it is, he shares in common with every man in an equal situation in life—and the evil itself is beneath calculation. For if it be objected that we cut off the expectation a man now has of bringing up a son to the Church, it might be replied that what we purpose will destroy no capital. It will, to be sure, cause a better distribution of capital, and although it may make fewer clergymen necessary it will increase the number of other employments of at least equal utility. We may further remark, that all that can be meant by a forfeiture of the property of the Church, is a forfeiture of the respective benefices of each individual parson. Of the Church itself, as a proprietor, we can only speak by a metaphor.

Thus, then, there seems no obstacle on the score of justice, no well-grounded objection from the fear of disturbing other rights, and, for the satisfaction of those who know what is meant by the phrase, no impediment from the principles of the constitution, to the abrogation of the right of tithe. The only difficulty exists in the want of will. The call for reform in the ecclesiastical establishment is urgent. The more prudent portion of the clergy must desire it for the safety of the Church itself. The government, if wise, would grant it for its own sake; if sincere in the expression of its good intentions, for the sake of its subjects. We are not prepared to develope any particular scheme of reform. This is not necessary at present. Our immediate object is to cause the recognition of the principle. Let the necessity of a reform be acknowledged, and a plan will doubtless be in readiness upon which to effect it. Something of this kind, however, seems necessary to complete the scope of our present observations. We shall, therefore, present an outline, which may serve as a specimen of what may be hereafter done in the way of drawing out a regular and expanded scheme.

Before we touch this subject, we are anxious to impress our readers with the absolute necessity of adhering to two obvious rules in the formation of any plan for the regulation of the Church revenues. In all reformations of this nature, we are required by every principle of justice, in the first place, to produce as little disturbance as possible in established habits, expectations and prepossessions; and, in the next, so to order it that all pecuniary interests existing at the time, whether in possession or fixt expectancy shall rather be gainers than losers by the change. Without these concessions we would never move a step in such reform. No honest man could ever consent to the atrocity of interfering with present interests, without a fully adequate remuneration in every possible

manner. This being premised, we proceed with our intended sketch.

The object of Church reform is two-fold; 1st, To put the clergy on a footing the most beneficial to the joint interests of piety and economy; 2nd, To relieve the state from the superfluous portion of that tax now levied under the name of tithe.

On the first head but little need be said. Its object is effected by lessening the number, or diminishing the salaries of the clergy, or both. We have seen that the numbers of the Scotch ministers for a population of 2,135,300 is 950; or one clergyman for 2,250 souls. It has never appeared that the ecclesiastical body in Scotland is too small for the service of the Church. In fact, no complaint has ever been exhibited against the manner in which that exemplary body discharge their ecclesiastical functions. In the numbers and provision of its clergy, as well as the peculiar qualities it is the object of these to secure, the Church of Scotland seems singularly fortunate. We may, therefore, assume, that a similar proportion between its ministers and its members would be all that is required for the service of the English Church. Taking the population of England, who are hearers of the English Church, at eight millions, the clerical body would consist of 3,670 members. The clergy amount, at present, to scarcely fewer than fifteen thousand. Such is the difference between a tolerably economical establishment, and a clergy claiming their tithes by the *imprescriptible rights* of property.

It is difficult to state in figures the average salaries which would be necessary for a reformed establishment. Admitting something for the difference of the expense incurred in the education and subsequent mode of living of an English clergyman, and that which the cheaper institutions and simpler habits of his country render necessary to a Presbyterian minister, we might probably add one-third to the income of the English clergyman without injustice to the public. With the salaries of the Scotch clergy the reader is already acquainted. We leave it to his own calculation to adjust those which would be requisite for the English, under the system of reform we contemplate. As to *pay* in general; in this case, as in others, its only use is to obtain, in sufficient quantity, service of the requisite quality and degree of excellence. Judging, from the amount of the expenditure of the Church of England, it seems to have been hitherto conceived, that the magnitude of the pay attached to an ecclesiastical office, affords of itself an adequate security for the proper performance of that service for which the office professes to exist. The fact is wholly otherwise.

Of the pay attached to office, the magnitude affords not of itself any security at all. And unless in so far as adequate superiority, in respect of the value of the service, can be shown to result from superior amount of pay—the less pay the better.

It is easy to predict the sort of language with which this reasoning will be met. We shall be told of the liberal pay which is necessary for that leisure without which our parochial clergy would no longer be distinguished by their present scholar-like attainments, and extensive knowledge and accomplishments. More than this cannot be safely urged. For in every other qualification, if not in this, the economical Scotch clergy are on a par with their richer brethren. They may be inferior in Greek; in every other talent and virtue they may safely challenge a comparison. We shall, however, be told that an economical system would drive all talent from the altar, and remove every inducement by which men of liberal acquirements are at present tempted into orders. It may possibly be remarked, that “our parish churches, with their attendant parsonages, could then be no longer represented as so many reservoirs of religious, moral, and literary information, which diffuses itself gradually over the districts in which they stand: as pebbles, thrown into stagnant water at regular distances, form circles, which, gradually extending themselves till they meet, produce, at length, a gentle undulation of the whole surface, and preserve from corruption the elements on which they act.” Alas! for the time when moderately paid English parsons shall no longer be competent to amuse their flocks by pretty similes about undulating waters, and shallow disquisitions in political economy! To speak seriously, we are altogether ignorant of the nature of these liberal acquirements. Whatever they may be, we shall first observe that, if high pay be the hot-bed in which they grow, certain bishoprics, and deaneries, and archdeaconries, and prebends, might still be left open for the purpose of tempting those talents, on which piety has failed to act, within the precincts of the altar. We must next be permitted to remark, that what is said about the pebbles will be taken with some qualifications by those who have been behind the scenes, and know the sort of stuff which is yearly supplied by the Universities, for the purpose of producing the undulations and preventing the corruption of society.

It is time, however, to return to our immediate subject. We have shown how the reform may be conducted, as far as the clergy are concerned. We are now to speak of the mode of

disposing of the defalcated tithes. This may be done in few words. We shall first observe that, as it would be ultimately desirable to repeal the tithe-tax altogether, the provision for the clergy should be added to the civil establishment, and altogether disconnected from the ancient fund. As to the tithe itself, one thing is sufficiently clear. It would stand in the light of any other ordinary tax. A desire to diminish taxation, and to remove so heavy a restraint upon agricultural industry and capital, would undoubtedly determine the legislature to repeal it as soon as possible. The same motive would extend to tithes in the hands of lay impropiators. These, however, must be previously purchased. For this purpose, as well as that of buying up the advowsons and every other species of lien on Church property in private hands, an obvious plan suggests itself. On the determination of all present and expectant interests, the public livings would fall into the hands of government. Of the revenues arising from this source, so much only should be applied to the current service of the state as would defray the annual charge on the civil establishment, for the support of the clergy. The residue should be applied to the purchase of lay impropiations and advowsons. When, by this means, every tittle of Church property should be vested in the hands of government, the whole tax might be gradually repealed.

We enter into no details. It was before observed, that our only desire at present is, to direct the attention of the public to the *materiel* of the plan. When the time arrives, as it must do, in which a more enlightened and vigorous state of the public opinion shall compel the government to active measures, it will be proper to investigate minutely every part of this important subject.

ART. VI. *Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen.*
By Walter Savage Landor, Esq. 2 Vols. 8vo. London. Taylor and Hessey.

THIS is the work of a man of no ordinary genius, benevolence, and courage : genius,—to apprehend, almost intuitively, and to express felicitously, many of the profoundest principles of morals and legislation ;—benevolence,—to side and sympathize with the mass of his species, rather than with that detached and favoured portion of them who require and possess the power of applying to their own purposes the property of the people at large ;—and courage,—to expose whatever is mischievous in the conduct or pretensions of this favourite few.

In the light form of conversations, the author has contrived to convey to his readers much that is instructive in politics, much that is amusing in literature;—in conversations, not carried on by Doctor and Student, Venator and Piscator, Philaletes and Eleutherus, or any such dull and unfashionable society, but by real personages with whom most of us have for some time been more or less acquainted, and whose characters, whether for good or for evil, we are pretty well able to appreciate.

In these conversations, the author has discussed a great variety of subjects, and introduced a great variety of characters. Among the subjects, are religion and philosophy; poetry, politics, and grammar; legislation and jurisprudence. Among the speakers are Pericles, Sophocles, Phocion, Demosthenes, Æschines, and Aristotle; Cicero; Richard 1st, Henry 4th, Henry 8th, Queen Elizabeth, and James 1st; sir Philip Sidney, Cecil, lord Bacon, Hooker, Roger Ascham, Cromwell, Milton, Marvel, Middleton, lord Chesterfield and lord Chatham; David Hume, Dr. Johnson, Horne Tooke, and Porson; Washington, Franklin, Leopold, Bonaparte, Kosciusko, the Emperors Francis and Alexander, Lopez Baños, Romero Alpuente, Maurocordato, Colocotroni, and many others, English and foreign, dead and living, of good and of evil fame.

The announcement in the preface that “the peculiarities of some celebrated authors, both in style and sentiment,” had been “imitated in these dialogues,” tends rather to mislead the reader's expectation. The author has too much mind for a mimic, and is too proper a man to play the monkey amusingly. Here is no caricature, no burlesque, none of the fun of Tickell's “Anticipation”* nor of the farce of “the Rejected Addresses,” those mirth-inspiring little books which would have cured Heraclitus, and made the cave of Trophonius echo shouts of laughter:—Dr. Johnson is very sparing in the use of *verba sesquipedalia*, Milton's sentences are neither long nor latinized; and Franklin is not distinguished by short speeches, parables, and proverbs. Instead of throwing out the peculiarities of his *personæ* Mr. Landor keeps them down. Undoubtedly there is in the most excentric man more that is like other folks than there is that is unlike; but he is characterized by the latter, and on that the imitator ought

* An exquisite morceau of ridicule. It was published in the time of the American war, just before a meeting of parliament, and contained, by anticipation, a report of what the most prominent speakers would say.

So close was the resemblance, that when those who had been imitated proceeded to open their mouths, the whole house was convulsed with laughter.

chiefly to fix, if he intends to produce a striking likeness. We should scarcely have suspected that imitation was any part of our author's design, had it not been so declared by himself. There is just so much of it as was unavoidable in selecting certain persons as vehicles for the utterance of appropriate opinions, and no more. The thoughts are not (as might be expected of a professed imitator) strongly coloured; but only just tinged by the media through which they pass to the reader. The identification of the author with his imagined speakers seems never complete. They do not talk of themselves, but he talks through them. They are but puppets, and his is the only voice, though it may be a little varied. He does not employ the real dramatic magic of transforming himself into the character of his selection or creation; he only produces a compound being of which a tenth may be Milton or Marvel, and the remaining nine-tenths are Walter Savage Landor. The result, however, is far more valuable than it would have been had even the most successful imitation been the distinguishing merit of the book. A number of well-known names are employed; and they are, in general, fairly and effectively employed, to give additional interest to the discussion of important questions, and to the exposure of vile sophisms and viler practices. We may never lose sight of the author, but then we never wish to lose sight of him; nay, we like the company into which he leads us all the better for their bearing evident marks of being animated by his spirit.

In a work of this description, the author cannot be held responsible for the truth of any particular opinion, or the validity of any particular argument; all that is required, being, that such opinion or argument become the speaker to whom it is ascribed. But if it happens, that in a series of imaginary dialogues, some opinions are more frequently advanced, more impressively recommended, more plausibly supported, than others, so that the effect of the whole work is, to produce a prejudice or a conviction in their favour; the author may, without injustice, be considered as the advocate of those opinions. What is the writer's own opinion? is a question which rises in every reader's mind, and Mr. Landor has furnished materials for the answer, on a tolerably comprehensive list of topics.

Undesignedly, he has fallen into some mistakes in the way of anachronism, some errors in matters of fact, and designedly, into a good deal of affectation on the score of orthography, for which affectation he adduces, as it seems to us, very insufficient reasons in a conversation between Dr. Johnson and Horne Tooke; this, however, is as much notice as we choose to bestow

on points so comparatively unimportant, and having thus far discussed the manner of the work, we shall now proceed to the matter.

With regard to this, in disquisitions so purely conversational, there is little on which the critic can fasten: partly, because the author has always a retreat under the dramatic character of his interlocutors; partly, because a work so constructed consists mainly of a series of desultory observations, neither presenting nor professing to present any complete system or any exposition of principles which will admit the process of detailed examination. Our province, therefore, must, on the present occasion, be chiefly confined to the extracting, for the judgment of our readers, such passages as may best enable them to form an opinion on the merits of the book.

For ourselves, we are bound to confess, that on most of the important topics discussed in these two volumes, we heartily coincide in a large proportion of what the author has advanced; on a few points of political economy, we differ from him seriously; on a few others—chiefly regarding morals and legislation—we think he has written with the vagueness and want of precision of one not conversant with his subject; but even in what we esteem his errors and his ignorances, he presents to our conception a curious and instructive phenomenon, the nature of which we shall proceed to explain.

From the general tone of his language and sentiments, it is clear to us, that Mr. Landor is a man of highly poetical imagination; we collect also from the whole complexion of his book, that he has devoted no small portion of his time and labour to Belles Lettres in every shape, ancient and modern, poetry and history. But from the errors we have already mentioned, as well as from various expressions which he has employed, we are equally convinced, either that he has not had access to the great and only sources of moral and political science—those few and recent writers who have developed the only principles which can produce the greatest happiness of the greatest number—or, that having had access to them, he has bestowed very little labour on the subject. If this be so, the wonder is, not that he should have fallen into the errors in question, or should occasionally wander in the mists of vague generalities, but rather that he should have discovered and adopted so many bold truths, and so many admirable sentiments as he has himself presented for our consideration. It is true, that an intellect unshackled as his, might have discovered of itself, and with ten or twenty years' labour and practice, might have developed, and have been able to apply, consistently,

the great principle of general utility. But Mr. Landor has been engaged in other pursuits; he probably has neither had the time nor the inclination to make the discovery, or pursue the application of it unassisted; and he furnishes another and a striking example of the difficulties which beset even a searching and unprejudiced intellect, in handling the great problems of morals and legislation, unless by its own exertions, or those of others, it has been furnished with the only sure key to precision and truth.

Of the mischiefs attending many established institutions—of the sinister interests which support those institutions, and wage war against all public improvement, Mr. Landor has a ready and an accurate conception: in detecting the haunts, and exposing the fallacies of all the creatures of corruption, he is as quick as lightning; but when this has been accomplished, when the ground is cleared of the enemy, and the great question comes, *quid faciendum?* he is directly at fault, and gropes about in the mists of metaphor and generalities, just as a school-boy who quotes Cicero, or as Cicero himself did two thousand years ago.

Thus, (p. 356, vol. ii.) he says, in a conversation between Cicero and his brother Quinctus, “There should, in no government, be a contrariety of interests: checks are useful, but it is better to stand in no need of them. Bolts and bars are good things; but would you establish a college of thieves and robbers, to try how good they are?” Now what does this mean? So long as there is one loaf, and two men to desire it; so long as there is a limited supply of the good things of this life, and an unlimited demand, there must be in government a conflict or contrariety of interests. The writer could scarcely have meant to convey so nugatory a proposition as that “it is desirable human nature should be other than it is:” he must mean, “it is desirable that the legislator should extinguish all contrariety or conflict of interests:” but so long as human nature remains what it is—so long as self-preference is necessary to our very existence, this is plainly impossible. Every ruler, or member of the ruling body, has two distinct interests; the one, his share in the general interest of the community, the other his own individual interest separate from that of the community, and the latter interest is always in conflict with, or contrary to, the former. Thus, as a member of the community, it is his interest that the nation at large should be prosperous, and taxation low; but as a ruler, or member of the ruling body, provided that he or his can, out of the taxes, obtain more as rulers than they pay as citizens, it is his interest

that taxes should be as high as will secure to him this advantage; and, short of absolute ruin, that the nation should be as unprosperous as it cannot fail to be under such a load of exaction. The conflict, therefore, or contrariety between the interests of the governors and governed, is inherent in the nature of things, and out of the power of the legislator to remove; but he may, by the application of opposite checks, by cleverly playing off one interest against another, render the sinister interest of the ruling body altogether harmless, and secure to the public success in the issue of the conflict. The interest which every member of the governing body has in retaining the pleasures of power and distinction, is an interest sufficiently stimulant for all the purposes required: let this class of pleasures be at the disposal of the people—to be given to those who pursue the people's interest—to be withholden from those who pursue their own pecuniary interests to the detriment of the people: in a word; let the people, or a large proportion of them, have the real and frequent election of the governing body; let them also enjoy a free press, the desired check is attained, and the sinister interest of the ruling body completely neutralized.

For election terrorism, election tumult, and septennial impunity, substitute secrecy of suffrage (the only security for genuineness of suffrage), tranquillity of elections, and annual or biennial responsibility; and what member would dare to vote for a job, or sanction a misapplication of the public monies? Held up to painful notoriety by the public press, his removal from parliament at the end of a year, his loss of all the pleasures of power and distinction, would be the sure penalty for his offence. No more M. P.'s on the address of his letters; no airs of condescending pride in the donation of franks to simpering dependants; no more panting for the sight of his speech in the *Morning Chronicle* or *Courier* of the day; no outward vapouring against the inaccuracy of reporters, and internal conviction of their painful fidelity! In vain would the honourable ex-member, as he has done heretofore, re-elect himself by driving to the poll his tenants and tradesmen, threatening the one with loss of leases, and the other with loss of custom, if they dare to think for themselves, or elect a person who will steadily pursue their interest instead of his; tenants and tradesmen, secure in the ballot, can disregard his threats, and the honourable ex-member must give place to a fitter man. These are the checks which alone can secure to mankind the full enjoyment of person and property; these are the bolts and bars which are not merely useful but indispensably necessary to keep out the thieves of corruption.

We can pursue this investigation no further at present. There is in the next page (357) a passage of the same kind, as to the circumstances on which the greatness of states depends (we hardly know what the author means by this greatness), and perhaps as many as five or six more in the whole of the two volumes, in which, on the subject of government, especially in regard to the *quid faciendum*, the writer seems to entertain rather confused notions. The mistakes in political economy, which we have mentioned above, are on the subject of Ireland, pp. 35 and 37, vol. ii. ; and on the sinking fund, vol. i. p. 318 ; but of these, for the present, we can take no further notice.

The author puts into the mouth of Cicero (at page 381, vol. ii.) a sentiment which we are inclined to think new as well as wise. " Could I begin my existence again, and, what is equally impossible, could I see before me all I have seen, I would choose few acquaintances, fewer friendships, no familiarities. This rubbish, for such it generally is, collecting at the base of an elevated mind, lessens its height and impairs its character."

In all this we cordially agree, and we think the happiness of men would in general be increased by contracting, within as narrow a scope as possible, the private and domestic affections, and expanding in a corresponding degree the public and social : but our reasons are different from those of the author.

The most unavoidably and immitigably painful incidents of life, are the losses of sympathy occasioned by final separation from those we have loved. Year after year death seizes on his prey, and the survivor has to pay the tax of grief ; a brother or a child is torn away—one, in whose fate we took the most intense interest—one, who took an equal interest in ours ;—who shall supply the chasm in our affections, who shall replace that sympathy which has grown up from the cradle, and divested of which, life seems a dreary and joyless waste ? What, if the circumstances of our loss were such as peculiarly affect the imagination ; if death came with a violent hand, or the victim, after a life of hardship, perished in a foreign clime ? When the first bitter agony is over, we fly to travel, we fly to employment, we force upon ourselves incessant occupation—but the mind as well as the body must have repose : in the dead of night and in the stillness of morning, uncontrollable imagination will ply the work of pain, and to the last hour of existence the torture may be renewed at intervals, in the associations excited by the sounds or the scenery of earlier days. Surely it is expedient to devise means for alleviating the evil which alloys the inseparable affections of consanguinity ;—surely it is most expedient to avoid extending our flanks to the

enemy by a host of familiar friends, and to elude his attacks by lessening the number of our outposts.

The only means of which we are aware, and which we have found far from inefficacious, is to set up an antagonizing interest in the cultivation of the public and social affections; to follow the advice of Mr. Landor of choosing few acquaintances, and fewer friends; and to narrow the private affections to little beyond the circle of such kinsfolk as have unavoidably enjoyed and retained them. To such an application of the maxim he had laid down, Mr. Landor has so little advanced, that at p. 378, he says,

‘Were it certain that the longer we live the wiser we become and the happier, then indeed a long life would be desirable; but since, on the contrary, our mental strength decays and our enjoyments of every kind not only sink and cease, but diseases and sorrows come in place of them, if any wish is wise, it is surely the wish that we should go away, unshaken by years, undepressed by griefs, and undespoiled of our better faculties.’

To a man whose affections are confined to the private and domestic circle—to a man who has no other pleasures than the gratification of his appetites, the cheerfulness of sunny skies, the excitement of conviviality and the sympathies of friends, this is a natural and consistent wish; when his vigour has decayed, his appetites palled, and his friends have sunk away in death, what remains for him here?

Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti,
Tempus abire tibi est,—

But inasmuch as a large proportion of us are destined to pass through this gradual decay—inasmuch as death is not always—and where we are fettered with duties to others—ought not always, to be present at our call, it becomes of the last importance to all of us to cultivate and expand to the utmost, the public and social affections. Let a man do this, let him take a lively interest in the improvement of his species at large, contributing to it according to such power as nature has given him, and he may sustain with equanimity the loss of kinsfolks and acquaintance—Death hath no more dominion over him: years may roll on—external senses may decay, but so long as he retains eyes to see, or ears to hear, a newspaper, the most exciting, the most certain, and the most durable of all enjoyments, still remains; above all, at the present season, when every hour teems with inventions that seem to place no limits to the power and pleasure of man—when we ride upon the wind and walk upon the wave—when from Chile to

Mexico, from Athens to Ostend, the whole human race bursting from the fetters which have so long enthralled its understanding, is preparing to hurl destruction on the tyrants who would perpetuate its chains—at such a season, even the aged and infirm might pray for the longest protraction of their span, if it were only to witness the events of the coming hour, and like the Seer on Pisgah's height, to catch one view of the glories and happiness which Time is preparing for posterity. Of all the sources of animation and interest which are open to man, that which we have here disclosed is the most extensive, the most durable, and the least destructible by external accidents; alloyed, however, with evil as all human enjoyments are, subject, as are all human speculations, to unavoidable crosses, neither is this one altogether exempt from the common lot. There have been cases in which for a time the prospects of improvement have been hidden by thick darkness,—in which the human race has seemed to retrograde,—and even the sanguine have almost ceased to hope: fortunately these periods have been few, and at distant intervals; from the beginning of the world to the present day, the lot of mankind has been progressively improving, and as improvement seems to have the faculty of multiplying itself in a kind of geometrical proportion, they who have seen the first strides of the present century, are above all others entitled to pass on to their sleep in the confident hope of a brilliant and happy future.

Having guarded our readers against what we conceive to be Mr. Landor's weak points, we shall now proceed to a pretty copious extract of the passages which have appeared to us the most striking. The best conversations are those between Cicero and his brother; Leopold and Du Paty, Washington and Franklin, and General Lascy (Lacy) and the Curate Merino.

The second volume is dedicated to General Mina, and the dedication contains some striking passages.

In the conversation between Washington and Franklin we have the following description of Parliamentary oratory:—

' *Washington*.—The orators of the British parliament, while they are colouring all this insolence and injustice, keep the understanding of the people at tongue's length.

' *Franklin*.—In good truth, then, the separation is no narrow one. I have been present while some of them have thrown up the most chaffy stuff two hours together, and have never called for a glass of water. This is contemplated as the summit of ability, and he who is capable of performing it, is deemed capable of ruling the two hemispheres.' Vol. ii. p. 33.

General Lacy is made to express himself as follows, on the subject of a chamber of Peers :—

‘ In regard to a chamber of peers, Spain does not contain the materials. What has been the education of our grandees? how narrow the space between the horn-book and the sanbenito! The English are amazed and the French are indignant, that we have not imitated their constitutions. All constitutions formed for the French are provisional. Whether they tripp or tumble, whether they stepp or slide, the tendency is direct to slavery: none but a most rigid government will restrain them from cruelty or from mischief: they are scourged into good humour, and starved into content. I have read whatever I could find written on the English constitution. It appears to me, like the Deity, an object universally venerated, but requiring a Revelation. I do not find the house of peers, as I expected to find it, standing between the king and people. Throughout a long series of years it has been only twice in opposition to the Commons: once in declaring that the slave-trade ought not to be abolished; again in declaring that those who believed in transubstantiation were unfit to command an army or to decide a cause.

‘ On Deity we reason by attributes, on government by metaphors. Wool or sand, embodied, may deaden the violence of what is discharged against the walls of a city; hereditary aristocracy has no such virtue against the assaults of despotism, which, on the contrary, it will maintain in opposition to the people; since its power and wealth, although they are given *by* the king, must be given *from* the nation, and the latter has not an interest in enriching it, the former has. All the countries that have ever been conquered, have been surrendered to the conqueror by the aristocracy, which stipulates for its own property, power, and rank, yielding up the men, cattle, and metals, on the common. Nevertheless in every nation the project of an upper-chamber will be warmly cherished. The richer aspire to honours, the poorer to protection. Every family of wealth and respectability wishes to count a peer among its relatives, and, where the whole number is yet under nomination, every one may hope it. Those who have no occasion for protectors desire the power of protecting, and those who have occasion for them desire them to be more efficient.

‘ You would imagine that the British peers have given their names to beneficent institutions, wise laws, and flourishing colonies; no such thing: in stead of which, a slice of meat between two slices of bread derives its name from one, a tumble of heels over head, a feat performed by beggar-boys on the roads, from another. The former, I presume, was a practical commentator on the Roman fable of the belly and the members, and maintained with all his power and interest the supremacy of the nobler part; and the latter was of a family, in which the head notoriously was lighter than the legs. Others divide their titles with a waistcoat, a bonnet, and a boot; the more illustrious with some island inhabited by sea-calves.’

David Hume says of Paris :—

‘ *Hume.*—There is certainly much more amenity and urbanity at Paris

than anywhere else in the world, and people there are less likely to give and take offence. All topics may be discussed without arrogance and superciliousness: an atheist would see you worship a stool, or light a candle at noon, without a sneer at you; and a bishop, if you were well-dressed and perfumed, would argue with you calmly and serenely, though you doubted the whole Athanasian creed.

‘*Home*.—So much the worse: God forbid we should ever experience this lukewarmness in Scotland.

‘*Hume*.—God, it appears, has forbidden it: for which reason, to show my obedience and submission, I live as much as possible in France, where at present God has forbidden no such thing.

‘*Home*.—Religion, my dear sir, can alone make men happy, and keep them so.

‘*Hume*.—Nothing is better calculated to make men happy than religion, if you will allow them to manage it according to their minds; in which case the strong men hunt down others, until they can fold them, entrapp them, or noose them. Here however let the discussion terminate. Both of us have been in a cherry orchard, and have observed the advantages of the jacket, hat, and rattle.’

In the conversation between Maurocordato (*Mavrocordato*) and Colocotroni, are some ingenious observations on defensive armour, and cork is proposed for the purpose as a substitute for iron.

In the very excellent dialogue between Cicero and his brother, religion is thus mentioned:—

‘*Marcus*.—Religion does not call upon us to believe all the fables of the vulgar, but on the contrary to correct them.

‘*Quinctus*.—Otherwise, overrun as we are in Rome by foreners of all nations, and ready to receive, as we have been, the buffooneries of Syrian and Egyptian priests, our citizens may within a few years become not only the dupes, but the tributaries of these impostors. The Syrian may scourge us until we join him in his lamentation of Adonis; and the Egyptian may tell us that it is unholy to eat a chicken, and holy to eat an egg; while a sly rogue of Judæa whispers in our ear, “*That is superstition; you go to heaven if you pay me a tenth of your harvests!*” This, I have heard Cn. Pompeius relate, is done in Judæa.

‘*Marcus*.—Yes, but the tenth paid all the expenses both of civil government and religious; for the magistracy was (if such an expression can be repeated with seriousness) *theocratical*. In time of peace a declination of property would be intolerable; but the Jews have been always at war, natives of a sterile country, and neighbours of a fertile one, acute, meditative, melancholy, morose. I know not whether we ourselves have performed such actions as they have, or whether any nation has fought with such resolution and pertinacity. We laugh at their worship; they abominate ours: in this I think we are the wiser; for surely, on speculative points, it is better to laugh than to abominate. But whence have you brought your eggs and chickens? I have heard our Varro tell many stories about the Egyptian ordinances, but I do not remember this.

‘ *Quinctus*.—Indeed the distinction seems a little too absurd even for the worshippers of cats and crocodiles. Perhaps I may have wronged them: the nation I may indeed have forgotten, but I am certain of the fact. I place it in the archives of superstition; you may deposit it in its right cell. Some eastern nations are so totally subjected to the priesthood, that a member of it is requisite at birth, at death, and, by *Thallassius*! at marriage itself: he can even inflict pains and penalties, he can oblige you to tell him all the secrets of the heart, he can call your wife to him, your daughter to him, your blooming and innocent son; he can absolve from sin; he can exclude from pardon.

‘ *Marcus*.—Now, *Quintus*, egg and chicken, cat and crocodile, disappear, and vanish: you repeat impossibilities: mankind, in its lowest degradation, has never been depressed so low. The savage would strangle the impostor that attempted it, the civilized man would scourge him and hiss him from society. Come, come, brother! we may expect such a state of things whenever we find united the genius of the Cimmerian and the courage of the Troglodyte. Religions wear out, cover them with gold, or case them with iron, as you will. Jupiter is now less powerful in Crete than when he was in his cradle there, and spreads fewer terrors at Dodona than a shepherd’s cur.’

We are glad of an opportunity in assisting Mr. Landor’s “two fingers” in spreading the fame of the following *res gestæ* of a British general at Genoa:—

‘ *Pallavicini*.—Across the road, exactly four paces from your antichamber, were the quarters of your general: exactly forty-eight from his window, out of which he was looking, did this peasant woman lie groaning with labour, when several soldiers entered her bed-room, and carried off the articles most necessary in her condition. Her husband ran under the window of the general, which faced the wife’s, entreating his compassion. He was driven away.

‘ *Landor*.—Was nothing done?

‘ *Pallavicini*.—A few threats were added.

‘ *Landor*.—Impossible, impossible!

‘ *Pallavicini*.—Since, sir, we are in the regions of impossibility, do look again, I entreat you, at the palace just before us: and I am greatly mistaken if I cannot fix your attention upon something of higher importance than a span of turf.

‘ *Landor*.—It is among the most magnificent, and, what is better, the most elegant, that I have hitherto seen in Italy; for I have yet not visited the Venetian territory, and know merely from engravings the admirable architecture of Palladio. Whose is it?

‘ *Pallavicini*.—It belongs to the family of Cambiagi, to which our republic, while it pleased God to preserve it, owed many signal benefits, as doges and as senators. In the latter capacity a private man from amongst them constructed at his own expense the most commodious of our roads, and indeed the first deserving the name that had ever been formed in Liguria, whether by the moderns or ancients.

‘*Landor*.—How grand is that flight of steps upon which the children are playing! These are my vases, marchese, these are my images, this is ornamental gardening, these are decorations for architecture. Take care, blessed creatures, a fall from such a height! . . .

‘*Pallavicini*.—Over those steps, amidst the screams and embraces of those children, with her arms tied behind her, imploring help, pity, mercy, was dragged by the hair the marchesa Cambiagi.

‘*Landor*.—For what offence?

‘*Pallavicini*.—Because her husband had mastered all his prejudices, and resigned all his privileges.

‘*Landor*.—Signor marchese, the English general, whatever may be the public opinion of his talents, his principles, and his conduct, could never have known and permitted it.

‘*Pallavicini*.—Perhaps not. I can only declare that his windows were filled with military men, in uniforms make them, and that he was amongst them. This I saw. Your Houses of Parliament, M. Landor, for their own honour, for the honour of the service and of the nation, should have animadverted on such an outrage: he should answer for it: he should suffer for it.

‘*Landor*.—These two fingers have more power, marchese, than those two houses. A pen! he shall live for it. What, with their animadversions, can they do like this?’

In a note to a conversation between general Kleber and some French officers, we have a long examination of the character of Buonaparte, whom the author vituperates not a little. The subject possesses no immediate claim to our attention, and we shall abstain from discussing it upon the present occasion; we are obliged, however, to add, that our sentiments do not coincide with those of the author. Nobody can exceed us in abhorrence of conquerors and despots; viewed as such, we entertain a sufficient dislike of Buonaparte; but we think him one of the least execrable of all the conquerors and despots who have engrossed the voice of fame; and mischievous as his career was, we esteem his promulgation of a code, and his exposure of the baseness, imbecility, and profligacy of our crazy legitimates, some compensation for the evil of which he was the cause.

There are some remarkable passages in the conversation between Peter Leopold and the president du Paty. We may refer to that on the defects of our jurisprudence; of which the writer seems to be one of the few who entertain any accurate notion. Mr. Landor is, however, far from being so well at home when he comes to speak of a remedy, and seems to have no very clear conception of the whole of the principles on which the theory of punishment must turn. From lawyers he goes to priests, with regard to whom the President says,

'The priesthood in all religions sings the same anthem. First, the abuses are stoutly defended; but when the ground is no longer tenable, then these abuses form no part of the holy faith. If, however, they are always found in its company, you may as well say that the cat's skin is not the cat: the creature will make horrible cries if you attempt to strip it off, and perhaps will die of the operation.'

There is also much truth in the discourse put in the mouth of Leopold, on the effect of a variety of religions in a state upon the state itself, and upon each other.

The following description by Capo d'Istria of the mode in which the British government is administered, is worth the attention of our governors:—

'Employments in England are properties holden under certain families. Victories and conquests are secondary objects in her wars. Against the most consummate generals and the most enthusiastic troops in Europe, was dispatched an inexperienced young prince, in whom the soldiers having no confidence, lost that which personal courage and national pride had implanted in themselves. Every new disgrace and disaster was a new reason for employing him. Expedition followed expedition, defeat followed defeat. On another occasion, republicans were taken out of the prisons, and brigaded with royalists, to fight for the king of France. They landed on the shores of their country, and slew their comrades. The city of Ferrol was to be attacked: neither the general nor any person under him knew its fortifications or its garrison. They saw the walls, and turned back; although the walls, on the side where they landed, were incapable of sustaining one discharge of artillery, and the garrison consisted of half an imperfect regiment; and although the city of Corunna, twenty miles distant, is commanded by the hills above it, in that direction, with walls even more feeble, and a garrison still more defective. Even the state of Antwerp was unexamined when an attack was to be made against it; nay, the English ministers had never heard that the island of Walcheren was unhealthy, by which ignorance they lost three thousand men.

'The duke of Wellington himself, then untitled, was superseded by two old generals, one after the other, at the moment when he had gained the most arduous of his victories. Nelson's brave heart was almost broken by persevering injustice and by proud neglect. He returned, like another Bellerophon, from unexpected and undesired success. Constantinople, which never contains fewer than forty thousand fighting men, was to be assailed by four thousand English—a number not sufficient to garrison the seraglio, as your majesty will find next October.

'The ministers of England have squandered away the vast resources of their country among their supporters and dependents. The people are worn down with taxes, and hardly any thing short of an invasion could rouse them again to war.'

The faculties of declaiming forcibly and describing practically are bestowed by the author with a liberality indicative of his own wealth in their possession. We have no space for exam-

ples. The comic extravagance of the dialogue between Buona-
parte and the President of the Senate, and the dramatic pathos
of that between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, have considerable
claims to that subordinate species of praise which cannot be
generally rendered to these Conversations. The latter would tell
well upon the stage, supposing the possibility of its being ever
allowed to arrive there in any play submitted to the revision of
the immaculate censor of Alasco. We have only room for the
concluding portion of it. The scene is in the Tower :—

‘ *Henry*.—Give me now an account of the monies thou hast received
from me within these nine months: I want them not back; they are
letters of gold in record of thy guilt. Thou hast had no fewer than
fifteen thousand pounds within that period, without even thy asking;
what hast done with it, wanton?

‘ *Anne*.—I have regularly placed it out to interest.

‘ *Henry*.—Where? I demand of thee.

‘ *Anne*.—Among the needy and ailing. My lord archbishop has the
account of it, sealed by him weekly; I also had a copy myself: those
who took away my papers may easily find it, for there are few others,
and all the rest lie open.

‘ *Henry*.—Think on my munificence to thee; recollect who made
thee—dost sigh for what thou hast lost?

‘ *Anne*.—I do, indeed.

‘ *Henry*.—I never thought thee ambitious; but thy vices creep out
one by one.

‘ *Anne*.—I do not regret that I have been a queen and am no
longer so; nor that my innocence is called in question by those who
never knew me: but I lament that the good people who loved me so
cordially, hate and curse me; that those who pointed me out to their
daughters for imitation, check them when they speak about me; and
that he who, next to God, I have served with the most devotion, is my
accuser. O my lord, my husband, and king! the judgments of God
are righteous: on this surely we all must think alike.

‘ *Henry*.—And what then? speak out... again I command thee,
speak plainly... thy tongue was not so torpid but this moment.

‘ *Anne*.—If any doubt remains upon your royal mind of your equity
in this business; should it haply seem possible to you that passion or
prejudice in yourself or another, may have warped so strong an under-
standing, do but supplicate the Almighty to strengthen and enlighten
it, and he will hear you.

‘ *Henry*.—What! thou wouldst fain change thy quarters, aye?

‘ *Anne*.—My spirit is detached and ready, and I shall change them
shortly, whatever your highness may determine.

‘ *Henry*.—Yet thou appearest hale and resolute, and (they tell me)
smirkest and smilest to them all.

' *Anne*.—The withered leaf catches the sun sometimes, little as it can profit by it ; and I have heard stories of the breeze that sets in when daylight is about to close, and how constant it is, and how refreshing. My heart, indeed, is now sustained strangely : it became the more sensibly so from that time forward, when power and grandeur, and all things terrestrial, were sunk from sight. Every act of kindness from those about me gives me satisfaction and pleasure, such as I did not feel formerly. I was worse before. God chastened me ; yet I was never an ingrate. What pains have I taken to find out the village girls, who placed their posies in my chamber ere I arose in the morning ! how gladly would I have recompensed the forester who lit up a brake on my birth-night, which else had warmed him half the winter ! But these are times past : I was not queen of England.

' *Henry*.—Nor adulterous, nor heretical.

' *Anne*—God be praised !

' *Henry*.—Learned saint, thou knowest nothing of the lighter, but perhaps canst inform me about the graver, of them.

' *Anne*.—Which may it be, my liege ?

' *Henry*.—Which may it be, pestilence ! I marvel that the walls of this tower do not crack around us at such impiety.

' *Anne*.—I would be instructed by the wisest of theologians ; such is your highness.

' *Henry*.—Are the sins of the body, foul as they are, comparable to those of the soul ?

' *Anne*.—When they are united they must be worst.

' *Henry*.—Go on, go on ; thou pushest thy own breast against the sword : God has deprived thee of thy reason for thy punishment. I must hear more ; proceed, I charge thee.

' *Anne*.—An aptitude to believe one thing rather than another from ignorance or weakness, or from the more persuasive manner of the teacher, or from his purity of life, or from the strong impression of a particular text at a particular time, and various things besides, may influence and decide our opinion ; and the hand of the Almighty, let us hope, will fall gently on human fallibility.

' *Henry*.—Opinion in matters of faith ! rare wisdom ! rare religion ! Troth ! Anna, thou hast well sobered me : I came rather warmly and lovingly ; but those light ringlets, by the holy rood, shall not shade this shoulder much longer. Nay, do not start ; I tapp it for the last time, my sweetest. If the church permitted it, thou shouldst set forth on the long journey with the eucharist between thy teeth, however loth.

' *Anne*.—Love your Elizabeth, my honoured lord, and God bless you ! She will soon forget to call me ; do not chide her ; think how young she is. Could I, could I kiss her but once again, it would comfort my heart . . . or break it.'

The Philosophical Dialogues are occasionally interspersed with some of a less serious nature. The length to which our notice

of the former has run, will prevent us from examining, in detail, the speculations in literary criticism. We have praised Mr. L. for his candour and liberality in the discussion of philosophical questions. No man is a thoroughly candid critic. Our natural tendency to dogmatise is checked by the precision of philosophical language, and curbed by the rules of logic. Not so in matters of taste. Much as has been written upon this subject, from Aristotle down to the Rev. Mr. Alison, it remains at this very day, and from the nature of the topics of which it is conversant, will apparently remain for ever, in a state of absolute uncertainty. Not a single rule has ever been agreed on as universal. If it is difficult to reason without common principles, it is impossible without a common language. Yet so far is the art of criticism from approaching to the nature of a science, that a technical language has not only never been fixed, but has never been so much as attempted. The consequence has been, that critics of all times and countries have been compelled to dogmatize. As far as their dogmas are unconcerned with more important subjects, it is a matter of little moment in what direction, or to what extent, they are pushed. No man, however, can safely indulge in a habit of deciding, without evidence, on subjects of the most trivial concern. The habit is too flattering to our natural indolence, and is apt, when tolerated in one department, to be unthinkingly introduced in another. Whilst the devotees of Shakspeare are satisfied with railing at Racine, or the idolaters of Racine at Shakspeare, the world may still turn on its axis, and every thing turn with it in quiet. But where the literary superstition becomes more intense, the supporters of either party are apt to make incursions into other quarters of the enemy's country, and to carry their critical hatreds into the field of philosophy. This seems to be the case with Mr. Landor. Had he simply been content with reviling French poetry and French poets, the matter had been beneath our notice: but he has gone much further. He has carried the prejudices of English literature into the discussion of French politics. Because Shakspeare is the greatest poet in the universe, French philosophers are the greatest fools, French soldiers the greatest cowards, French statesmen the greatest knaves, and French women the most arrant baggages. This error is a common, unfortunately a very common, one, in England. On this account it may be useful to inquire with what degree of fairness Mr. Landor has conducted his remarks on two of the most distinguished ornaments of French literature, Voltaire and Boileau. We unhesitatingly impute these sentiments to Mr. Landor, who indeed takes a particular pleasure in

recognizing them as altogether his own. In order that no mistake might occur from their being put into the mouth of a stranger, he introduces himself as the interlocutor, and explains his notions about French literature in a dialogue with M. Delille. The politeness of the old Frenchman must be put to the full stretch, to endure the double mortification of listening to so much abuse of writers whom he undoubtedly regards with the same enthusiasm that Mr. Landor feels for his English deities, and of finding himself condemned to play so subordinate a part in the discourse. For an author, whom one of our contemporaries has called "the most illustrious of living poets," it can scarcely be an agreeable pastime to find himself set up like a cock on Shrove Tuesday for Mr. Landor to shy at. Poor M. Delille is never suffered to open his mouth for more than a minute at a time, and then only for the purpose of making some mortifying admission, or suggesting some flaw in his own case. We have him now before our eyes, digesting the bitter remarks of Mr. Savage Landor, with his shoulders up to his ears, and an expression of countenance resembling that which men of every nation exhibit after swallowing a dose of physic, but still distinguished by that peculiar smile (in this instance degenerated into a grin), which men of no other nation but his own can assume upon similar occasions. After submitting, with religious endurance, to the hoarse invective with which his opponent stuns him for the space of four hours together, the unhappy author of the *Jardins*, the paraphrast of Virgil, and translator of *Paradise Lost*, gives up the contest in despair, and finally lies down to have his brains knocked out, for good and all, by his unmerciful assailant.

But let us examine the dialogue itself. It opens with certain observations which induce the Abbé to observe, in defence of Voltaire, that Mr. Landor "must acknowledge that there are fine verses in his tragedies." To this Mr. Landor replies,

'Whenever such is the first observation, be assured, M. l'Abbé, that the poem, if heroic or dramatic, is bad. Should a work of this kind be excellent, we say, "*How admirably the characters are sustained! what delicacy of discrimination! There is nothing to be taken away or altered, without an injury to the part or to the whole.*"'

Now this is a sheer begging of the question. The advocate of Voltaire is first made to rest his ground of defence on the simple assertion, "that there are fine verses in his client's tragedies;" to which the counsel for the prosecution immediately reply—"If that is all you have to say, you had better fling up your brief: every thing is bad, of which the greatest praise can only assert that a few parts are good." Now we shall not admit

the validity of this proceeding. We reject the defence which Mr. Landor has put into the mouth of the Abbé Delille. A faithful advocate would have said, "with the exception of comedy and the ode, Voltaire has attempted no style of poetry in which he has not reached the highest eminence"—(Condorcet, *Vie de Volt.*). Or, "The glory of Voltaire can be increased by no man's praise, and diminished by no man's censure. Superior to all dramatic writers, in combining theatrical effect with moral instruction, and rendering the illusions of the stage a vehicle for the insinuation of truth, who can be said to excel him in the nice discrimination of his characters?"—(La Harpe, *Eloge de Voltaire.*) A defence conducted in this manner would have opened the door to the discussion of those very excellencies which the French impute to Voltaire, and the English to Shakspeare. What would be said of M. Delille, had he written a dialogue, in which Mr. Landor should have been made to urge, as the sole merit of him, whose poems, in the opinion of the latter, "are worth all that have been composed from the creation to the present hour," that "it cannot but be acknowledged that there are fine verses in the tragedies of Shakspeare;" whence it should also be immediately inferred, that Shakspeare was no poet at all? Such, however, is the line of criticism adopted in the outset of the present dialogue. The remainder is in a similar style.

Poor Boileau is handled still more roughly. In examining the poetry of these models of French verse, Mr. Landor has applied a kind of logic which would annihilate all poetry whatever. One of his tests is translation. For instance, the first couplet of the *Discours au Roi*—

‘ Jeune et vaillant héros, dont la haute sagesse
N'est point le fruit tardif d'une lente vieillesse,’

is thus rendered :

‘ The *high* wisdom of a *young* hero is not the *tardy* fruit of slow *old* age.’

What has Mr. Landor to object to the following translation, which is much more faithful, though, perhaps, less verbally accurate?

‘ Young and illustrious monarch, whose exalted wisdom is not the acquisition of experience and old age.’

This, however, is a better specimen at least of his fidelity in translation than we are afterwards treated with, at page 289. ‘In turning over the leaves,’ says Mr. Landor, ‘to arrive at the *Art Poétique*, my eye rests on this verse, in the twelfth epistle:—

' Qui n'eut jamais pour Dieu que glace . . .

A strange God enough! it is not to be wondered at, if there is no other in his company; but there is: who?

' et que froideur ?

There are follies on which it would be a greater folly to remark. Who would have the courage to ask, whether there is not coldness where there is ice ?

We were somewhat staggered at the foregoing passage. As our memory did not serve us, we turned to the volume of Boileau which contains the twelfth epistle. We found the following passage :—

“ Dans nous l'amour de Dieu fecond en saints desirs,
N'y produit pas toujours de sensibles plaisirs.
Souvent le cœur qui l'a, ne le sait pas lui-même.
Tel craint de n'aimer pas qui sincèrement aime,
Et tel croit au contraire être brûlant d'ardeur,
Qui n'eut jamais pour Dieu que glace et que froideur.”

We make no observation on this odd and almost wilful misrepresentation.

Mr. Landor has treated us so well, on the score of translation, that we owe him a specimen in return. The following *morceaux* are no less literal, and much more faithful than his own :—

“ Être ou n'être pas, c'est là la question ;
S'il est plus noble dans l'esprit de souffrir
Les piqûres et les flèches de l'affreuse fortune,
Ou de prendre les armes contre une mer de trouble,
Et, en s'opposant à eux, les finir ?
Car qui voudrait supporter les coups et les injures du temps,
Les torts de l'oppresseur, les dédains de l'orgueilleux,
Les angoisses d'un amour méprisé, les délais de la justice,
L'insolence des grandes places, et les rebuts
Que le mérite patient essuie de l'homme indigne,
Quand il peut faire son *quietus*
Avec une simple aiguille à tête.” (Hamlet, Act iii, Sc. 1).

Again :—

“ Quoi ! ma mère que mon père aimait tant, ma mère pour qui mon père sentait toujours renaître son appétit en mangeant, ma mère en épousa un autre au bout d'un mois ! un petit mois ! que dis-je ? avant qu'elle eût usé les souliers avec lesquels elle suivait le corps de mon pauvre père ! Oh ! la fragilité est le nom de la femme !” . . . (Act i. Sc. 2).

Another method to which Mr. Landor has unsparingly resorted for the purpose of depreciating the French poets is, not exactly mis-quotation, but a careful selection of the very worst

passages in their works. We shall not follow him further in his criticisms. The foregoing observations are sufficient to illustrate the nature of his sentiments with regard to French literature, and the grounds on which they have been adopted.

We cannot altogether approve of the spirit of Mr. Landor's remarks on some parts of the Italian character. We are disposed to go greater lengths with him in his dislike of the manners and morals of certain classes of that unfortunate people, than in his prejudices against the French; but we shall allege, in justification of our severity, a reason which he has stated himself with admirable clearness of idea and force of expression. No thinking man can deny, that "wherever," as in Italy and in most of the southern countries of Europe, "there is a substitute for morality, where ceremonies stand in the place of duties, where the confession of a fault before a priest is more meritorious than never to have committed it, where virtues and duties are vicarious, where crimes can be expiated after death for money, where by breaking a wafer you open the gates of heaven, probity and honour, if they exist at all, exist in the temperament of the individual. Hence a general indifference to virtue in others; hence the best men in Italy do not avoid the worst; hence the diverging rays of opinion can be brought to no focus; nothing can be consumed by it, nothing warmed" (vol. i. p. 210). In all this we cordially agree; although we feel some unwillingness to assent to the following proposition, or the proofs by which it is supported:—

' The language proves the character of the people. Of all pursuits and occupations, for I am unwilling to call it knowledge, the most trifling is denominated *virtù*.

' The Romans, detained from war and activity by a calm, termed it *malacia*: the Italians, whom it keeps out of danger, calls it *bonaccia*.

' Love of their country is so feeble, that whatever is excellent they call *pelegrino*.

' So corrupt are they, that softness with them must partake of disease and impurity: it is *morbidezza*.

' Such is their idea of contemplation, and of the subjects on which it should be fixed, that if a dinner is given to a person of rank, the gazettes announce that it was presented *alla Contemplazione della sua Eccellenza*.

' A lamb's fry is *cosa stupenda*.

' Strength, which frightens, and finery, which attracts them, are *honesty*: hence *valentuomo* and *galantuomo*. A well-dressed man is a man of honour, *uomo di garbo*.

' Pride is offended at selling any thing: the shopkeeper tells you that he gives you his yard of shoe-ribbon; *dà*, not *vende*.

' Misfortune is criminal: the captive is a wicked man, *cattivo*.

' *Meschino*, formerly *poor*, is now mischievous, or *bad*.

' A person is not rendered vile by any misconduct or criminality ; but if he has the tooth-ache, he is *avvilito*.

' *Opera* was among the Romans *labour*, as *operæ pretium*, &c. It now signifies the most contemptible of performances, the vilest office of the feet and tongue, whenever it stands alone *by excellence*.

' *Ostia*, a sacrifice (*hostia*) now serves equally to designate the Almighty and the wafer that seals a billet-doux.

' Your Highness will permit me to add one more example. If injustice is done and redress claimed, it is requisite to perform an execrable act, if the words mean any thing, *umiliare una supplica*. Language so base and infamous was never heard in the palace of Domitian, who commanded that he should be called lord and God.'

Here is a tissue of the same metaphysical errors, which have drawn so much attention from the ingenuity displayed in their defence by the author of the *Diversions of Purley*. Words, in every language, and amongst every people, whatever be their degree of civilization or moral culture, are subject to perpetual change. Many, in the lapse of years, acquire new forms, and many which retain their forms assume new meanings. The fact requires no illustration. Mr. Landor is acquainted with a people who are not wont to esteem themselves as the lowest of European nations, amongst whom many idioms prevail in no respect less offensive to the ear of a patriotic etymologist than those he has selected from the language of Machiavel and Alfieri. Of these idioms many seem even worse than those selected by Mr. Landor, from their having but half-changed their meaning ; and by this means affording a cloak to vice by nick-naming it from the Vocabulary of Virtue.

We must here, with whatever reluctance, lay down these interesting volumes. We have the author's promise, which he must not be allowed to break, of favouring us, at some future time, with another and a more important work. We extract the passage in which the promise is recorded ; the country he alludes to as the place of his present and future residence, we believe, is Italy.

' Should health and peace of mind remain to me, and the enjoyment of a country, where, if there is none to assist, at least there is none to molest me, I hope to leave behind me completed the great object of my studies, an orderly and solid work in history, and I cherish the persuasion that posterity will not confound me with the Coxes and Foxes of the age' (vol. i. p. xiv).

We exhort him to complete his undertaking. We can fully understand and sympathize with the expression of the last member of the sentence, and have little doubt that a history from his pen will never be confounded by posterity with the

Coxes and Foxes of the past and present age. He possesses many requisites for the office of a useful historian; and with the sounder principles on government, and the more extensive views in political economy, which he cannot but acquire in the course of preparation for his work, he bids fair to produce a work which will continue to instruct mankind when Coxe, Fox, and Southey are forgotten.

ART. VII.—*The Provisional Constitution of Greece, &c.* London; Murray, 1823.

Report of the present State of the Greek Confederation. By Edward Blaquier, Esq. London; G. & W. B. Whittaker, 1823.

Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, in 1817. 5th Edition. London; Ridgway, 1818.

An Account of the Military Colonies in Russia. By Robert Lyall, M.D. 1824.

SINCE a few dissentient voices have died away, the crimes of Turkey and the rights of Greece have become such moral truisms, that we shall not waste our readers' attention and our own space, by descanting on either; but confine ourselves to an unimpassioned attempt to prove that the erection of a powerful Greek state would promote the interests of England and Europe.

Our main argument is the probability of Russian aggrandizement; the very reason which has been hitherto urged for keeping Greece in her chains, and which even prompted our ministry in 1778, to insist on the empress Catherine abandoning the Moreotes whom she had seduced into rebellion.

We contend that, although the power of Russia at present by no means equals what popular opinion allots to it, it would far exceed the most fearful estimate ever yet hazarded, if she either acquired the possession of Turkey, or such an influence over her as a prolonged intestine struggle would ensure. The idea of taking advantage of the dissensions of a country, in order to mangle and divide it among rapacious neighbours, is so abhorrent from English feelings, that we have contemplated only two alternatives, the deliverance, or the subjugation of Greece by the Turks. But those Philhellenes, who like ourselves have jealously watched the suggestions thrown out in foreign pamphlets, must be aware of the alarms which these pacific trumpeters of spoliation have sounded.

In "l'Empire Ottoman ou l'Equilibre de l'Europe," is a series of strange proposals : to place a Russian prince on the throne of Constantinople, whose eastern frontier is to reach the Kasil-Irmak ; to erect the Morea into a kingdom for Gustavus of Sweden, garrisoned by a Belgian army ; to make Candia, Cyprus, and Rhodes, another for the young king of Etruria, with a French army quartered upon him ; and to divide Syria, like the Tricolor (which such rapacity recalls to our memory) into three equal strips, along whose respective parallels, France, Austria, and England, are to conquer eastward, as far as they choose, with similar sillinesses about re-dividing all Europe. The author of "Remarques Politiques sur la Cause des Grecs," defends a Russian emperor of the east, on these opposite grounds : 1st, because Russia never has abused her power, and therefore never will ; an argument weakened only by the falsehood of the assertion, and the fallacy of the deduction. 2ndly. Because the increasing power of Russia is irresistible, and because it is not alarming ; two reasons which happily pair off and destroy each other ; while his recommendation to Austria to have no fear of Russia, whose possession of Wallachia, and the rest of Moldavia completely shut up Transylvania, reminds us of Mrs. Bond's address to her ducks.

Deeply is the acquisition of even half Moldavia to be regretted, as giving Russia an occasion to conciliate the Dacians ; and that of Bessarabia, as enabling her to cramp the Danubian commerce by duties. Austria displayed such baseness during Hypsilanti's rebellion in restraining the Servians, that the Moldavians and Wallachians, would reluctantly pass under her sceptre ; and Russian cabinet workmen clinch their nails too well to allow Bessarabia to be detached ; yet a party wall is highly desirable between inflammatory Russia and combustible Turkey. The most desirable measure would perhaps be the cession to Austria by Russia, of her part of Moldavia, and of Bessarabia ; of the first, on account of the great evil of dividing a nation ; of the latter for the sake of Izmail and Kilia, which are respectively able to nullify or to utilize the northern mouth of the Danube, and of Bender and Akerman, which would prove more effective barriers against Russian encroachment, in Austrian, than they did in Turkish hands.

But viewing the whole machinery of Russian aggrandizement, which, like a windlass, when it palls never recedes ; and remembering the price paid by Russia for any scheme of conquest (15,000 men for Izmail only), we must despair of such an arrangement. Still Wallachia and Turkish Moldavia are open to Austrian courtship, for we deprecate the idea of transferring sove-

reignty, which can be only resigned; and recommend the continued dependence of the trans-Danubian provinces, only because we know that from want of all moral and physical barriers, they could not maintain themselves against Russia, or even Turkey. Austria, by a liberal policy, might attach the Moldo-Wallachians, as firmly as her own Hungarians of the Greek church, and by acquiring from Turkey the Peninsula, which the Danube and the Black Sea form as far as Kistenji, might gain the southern mouth of the Danube, and the double lake of Babada Razeln, convertible into a most excellent harbour. When we view Hungary, a flat country surrounded by the Save and Danube, and the Carpathian mountains; and consider that all its rivers* enter the Danube, and all, except the Mur and Drave, and the Save, flow from the Carpathian mineral districts; that most of the others traverse the two great eastern and western agricultural plains, which form two-thirds of Hungary, and that the most fertile part lies on both sides of that second Danube the Theyss, we shall be able to judge what a debouché the possession of the whole Danube, without the fear of Russian tolls, or a Turkish plague, would afford for articles, all either weighty or bulky; the chief produce, corn, has been hitherto exported only to Austria and the Adriatic (contrary to the current of the great rivers), and has never exceeded 200,000 quarters; but the removal of all political obstacles to the navigation of the whole Danube, would soon double the revenues of Hungary.

Though the northern eagle might well be gorged with her lion's share in the mangled carcass of Poland,† she is still ravenous; Europe cannot safely supply her with prey, and the possessors of India must not allow her to seek it eastward in Asia. The restoration of the kingdom of Armenia, in the person of Alexander, would be a bait both cheap and tempting; tempting, because it would be a moral as well as a material nucleus for influence over the widely-scattered Armenians (an object similar to that which caused the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland); cheap, because Russia has already seized the eastern, can take the western from Turkey at will, and will never be able effectually to control the southern part of Armenia.

With regard to this author's suggestion concerning Bosnia, we see no objection to the Bosniacs, *if so inclined*, offering their

* Hungary possesses likewise part of the Szamios, White Thöresh, Marosch, and March, and the whole of the Waag, Gran, Poprad, and Temes, besides the canals of Bega, Bergava, and Fejer.

† 178,000 square miles quite Russianized, and 47,000 now facetiously called "the kingdom of Poland," being one-fifth of 284,000 square miles, its original extent.

allegiance to Austria; nor would such an arrangement be difficult.* Though Austria, rendered greedy by financial distress, is a rapacious mistress to Italy, whose fields still afford a gleaning after the French harvest of plunder; she would be, if she attempted to fleece Herzegovinians, Papouans, and Montenegrins "the devil shearing his hogs," nay, she would pay rather than rob these Slavonian recruits, who, like her Illyrians, would soon swell her armies.

Austria, next to France, might become the best continental champion against Russia. Her political frame, formed from the unnatural junction of unsuitable limbs, is at once weak and lengthy. If she acquired a marine, she might render available her dormant but enormous productive resources; and she would be vulnerable to our displeasure, since her merchant navy would always be in our power.

The coast of Dalmatia, extending obliquely from 42° to near 45° degrees of N. latitude, may be called one prolonged harbour; yet Cattaro, Ragusa, Makarsca, Spalatro, Sibenigo, and Zara, are insignificant ports. A communication with Hungary, which Bosnia now intercepts, is alone wanting to render them as flourishing as Fiume and Trieste.

The Cherka and Cettina do not run far enough inland to be of much use; but the Narenta, traversing such a fertile soil near its mouth, and the Bosna, passing through the rich plains east of Serajo, and nearly meeting each other, might supply the deficiency of Dalmatia in grain from the superabundance of Hungary. Nor would Austria weaken her military frontier by changing its present line from the Adriatic along the confines of Illyria, Croatia, Slavonia, Hungary, and Transylvania, for one following the course of the Danube, Save, and Drina as far as Mount Guibotin; and thence the Moracca, from the Lake of Plava, through that of Scutari into the Adriatic; for the warlike Montenegrins, Herzegovinians, and Bosniacs, might form an advanced line of permanent militia, like that established since 1718 along the Hungarian frontier; while their hostility to the Moslems would secure their fidelity. To the next proposal, that England should receive Scio, and consign to the Hellenic confederation all the Ionian islands

* By Bosnia are now usually understood only the Sandgiaks, of Banjaluka, Orach, and Bosna-Serajo, Upper Bosnia, or the kingdom of Rama being now divided into Turkish Croatia and Dalmatia, and the Duchy of St. Saba or Herzegovina. We have designedly omitted all allusion to the heraldic claims of Austria on Wallachia, and Moldavia, and on the ancient kingdom of Rama; when we remember the consequences deduced from her having perseveringly quartered the arms of the duchies of Galitzia and Lodomeri, we can never admit such very dangerous titles.

except Corfu and Paxo, which she is to retain in full sovereignty, we object for many reasons, but principally because it is a breach of trust; these islands, though spoken of as if they were only items in Mr. Goulburn's department, being our protégées, not our colonies. They might, however, imitating the double connexion of Neufchatel, both with Switzerland and Prussia, join the New Achæan League, without resigning the protection of England, and thus form a moral link between their protector and their allies.

While asserting that the present strength of Russia is over-rated, and may yet be restrained, we naturally revert to the "Sketch of the military and political power of Russia, in 1817." On the fall of Napoleon, imagination, deprived of her accustomed food, and hungering after new terrors, seized upon this "Colossal Power;" and the author before us was one of the first who sounded to arms. But the parental partiality of an ingenious speculator for his favourite theory, led him into exaggeration. He confounds quantity of matter with *momentum*, and estimates military power rather by the number of soldiers at home, than by the armies, adequately supplied with the *morale* and *materiel* of strength in distant countries. The assertion at the top of page 150, that "no power in Europe can raise, equip, or maintain their forces with such disdain of the price of blood," is true; but though a supply of men is *one*, money is happily for civilization *another* essential ingredient in warfare. Want of money and method has prevented Russia from maintaining in Italy or France, armies numerically equal to those of Prussia and Austria; and we even doubt, whether, with all her immoveable millions, she could have extinguished the French cause in Spain, by successive expeditions equal to those which we sent; the volume of our population and of hers being like water in a fire-engine, or in a tank. This author's *valuation* of Russia is as much over as that of France appears under the mark. Area, productiveness, population, and situation, are the cardinal points on which the strength of nations reposes; but they must bear to each other a due proportion, or the basis will be unsteady. Russia's "nine hundred and twenty thousand square leagues, being the ninth part of the *terra firma*, and the twenty-eighth of the whole globe," ought no more to affect statistical, than the number of carts which our debt would load, financial, opinions. The surface of the Russian empire is forty-two times that of France; but, by the Cadastre of 1817, the annual value of taxed land in France was indulgently estimated at £.40,864,920, and was probably worth fifty millions; and, in 1821, the revenue of France was £.36,856,791, of which, nearly a third arose from

the land tax; and that of Russia but £. 12,800,000. The population of Russia is here called 42, but we have seen it stated as high as 53, and believe it to be 51 millions (besides 3½ for what is nicknamed Poland). France has but 30,500,000. The strength of Russia would be therefore, to that of France, as 5 to 3, did not the weight and impenetrability of population depend, like that of matter, on the density of its component atoms. It is superfluous to eulogize the *position* of France; we will therefore proceed to point out the disadvantages under which Russia labours in this respect. Her products, timber, corn, salt, hemp, flax, skins, iron, &c. being either weighty or bulky, can be conveyed by water carriage alone to the place of shipment; so as to secure remuneration. The Don and Donetz, the Bog, Dniestr, and Dniepr, all pour their waters into the Euxine; as do the Jaick and the Volga into the Caspian: the Windau, Dwina, and Neva which enter the Baltic are of shorter course and smaller volume. Were Russia possessed of the Dardanelles and the shores of Greece, the Mediterranean would obtain as marked a preference over the Baltic as the latter did over the White Sea, Archangel having been supplanted by Revel, Riga, and Cronstadt, as soon as Peter had permanently acquired Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and Wiburg; and as commerce exists to the greatest advantage between countries of the most dissimilar products, southern latitudes would best exchange fruits and wines for northern lumber and grain.

It is true that at present the north of Russia possesses some great facilities for internal navigation; the outlet of the Baltic having afforded an inducement to connect the Baltic Dwina with the Louat. But though the products of the south may find their way to the Baltic and the White Sea, the Euxine communicating with the Baltic by the Duna and the Dniepr (as the Caspian does by the Neva and Wolga), and being connected with the frozen ocean by the Dwina and Dniepr, as the Caspian is by the Dwina and the Wolga; we must consider that all these rivers run from north to south, and that in bulky articles this unnatural course of going against the stream must, besides the delay, at least treble the cost of freight.*

* The Cataracts of the Dniepr might, by a more liberal expense than was bestowed by Catherine, 1784, be removed, and the outlay would be as nearly repaid by the results, as that incurred at the mouth of the Dniestr, which has produced all the wealth of Odessa. The sand banks at the mouth of the Don are an impediment less easy to remove, but even if suffered to remain, would not be worse than the accumulation of mud at the embouchure of the Dwina, which was not found to prevent the prosperity of Archangel.

Our mind's eye has been lately withdrawn from the designs of Russia on Turkey by the "personal virtues of the emperor Alexander," who is stated to have the utmost dread of enlarging his overgrown empire. Yet this very sovereign, whose moderation is to check the notorious rapacity of the Russian cabinet, has already (besides creating the new kingdom of Poland) by the addition of Finland, Moldavia, Bessarabia, the Caucasian countries south of the Kuban and Terek, and fresh nibblings at Prussian Poland, melted 170,000 square miles into the enormous mass of his empire. The map prefixed to "the Sketch, &c." makes the emperor Alexander's *moderation* still plainer, by colouring in red the lands thus inundated. For *inundation* is the only word applicable to Russian encroachment. While the tide of common conquest uncovers at its ebb the barriers of national liberty which it had overwhelmed by its flood, Russian inundations *never* recede. But a century since, and the western boundary of Russia followed with but little deviation the 30th degree of eastern longitude; at its extreme point, near Kalisch, it now touches the 18th; and its average, from the frozen ocean down to the Danube, is but little more to the east.

Of the barriers which shut out Russia from Europe, Poland has been laid level; the outworks of Sweden have, since 1807, been possessed by the great besieger of liberty; and Turkey, like an antiquated mass of crumbling turrets, nods to its fall. The Greeks have been erecting an edifice cemented with their best blood, and which may yet shut the Scythian out from the south. The protracted mangling of Poland lingered on for twenty three years though the voice of Kosciusko, or the shrieks of Praga, were unable to rouse the selfish sophists who could shudder only at republican outrages; and when Sweden was *sawed in two*, Europe guaranteed the crime, and supported the criminal. Heaven, pardoning the wantonness with which she suffered these two bulwarks to be overthrown, has raised her up a third in delivered Greece. The possession of the Dardanelles, and the Ægean coasts, adding a wealthy exchequer to a crafty and remorseless cabinet, which already works a consecrated puppet of absolute power, and fifty servile semi-barbarous millions, would, by what may be called this *trinoda necessitas*, give Russia the dominion of Europe. Greece would bring her commerce, and with it naval power; the two things wanting to make "that colossal" humbug, as formidable as she would gladly be thought. Russia may continue to reckon twenty frigates, and two and thirty ships of the line: but her naval is a much

greater delusion than her military, force. Fleets, of course, are easily *constructed* in a country which is the great *dépôt* of naval stores; but they are merely splendid toys, unless manned and used; and Russia wants both seas and sailors. The Baltic and the Euxine are lakes, frozen, the one totally for half, the other partially for a third, of the year. Her export and import trade is chiefly carried on in foreign bottoms; carrying trade *she* has none; and it can hardly be necessary to refer to England or Holland for proof that a military, must be fed with crews by a merchant navy, and that boors cannot be drilled into sailors by any *succedaneum* for time and long voyages. The possession of Greece would give Russia at once the 20,000 best seamen in the Mediterranean, whom the present war has proved to be as dauntless as skilful. Every year would increase their amount, for in readiness to risk possible loss for probable gain, and venture into new channels of commerce, the Greeks come, though *longo intervallo*, yet next to the English.

Greece would be the source of great wealth, likewise, to Russia, and what we before stated as the disadvantages of her present position, will sufficiently point out all that she would gain by having the Mediterranean thrown open to her. In fact Greece would not be merely added to but would be an active multiplier placed under the inert sum of Russia; and threatening such a product as may well dazzle our eyes. Nor can we hope that Russia would spare her new *Protégés*. It is true Courlanders, Lithuanians, Fins and Caucasians escape; but from the poverty of the fleece, not the tenderness of the imperial shepherd, and Poland is handled gently, as a nucleus round which the unravelled territories of Austria and Prussia, are some day to be wound. It is not necessary that a government should be sanguinary, so it be but needy, to pillage industrious and distant subjects; the sleek "*Aquila grifagna*," makes the serpent of the *Visconti writhe*; and "*Genova la superba*" fully answers its destination: military pay to the crowned gamblers of Savoy. The revenue arising from the whole Russian empire must eventually be large, but it is the interest of Europe to put off that period, till the Russians are somewhat less barbarous, and their sovereign more limited; for civilized nations are apt to explode in the hands of those who seek to make warlike instruments of them; at present Alexander might compound such dangerous ingredients, when united, as obedience and enterprise, Russian men, and Grecian money, into a second "*Greek fire*."* The one circumstance which makes the area and popu-

* It was the *union* of sulphur, naphtha, pitch, gum, and bitumen, materials all *previously harmless*, which produced about the year 660, the terrific *Feu Gregeois*.

lation of Russia a *brutum fulmen* to Europe, is her poverty or her cheapness, for they are here convertible terms. Her political languor is mere inability to make money procure as much out of Russia as it does in; so that a heavy revenue to raise, becomes a light one to spend, as soon as her armies have quitted her frontier. Time will, perhaps, slowly correct this, by enriching Russia; we have endeavoured to show, that the possession of Greece would do it quickly. Dr. Lyall conceives the emperor Alexander to have done more than get money, to have contrived to keep up an available army without it. Were this true, Russia would be resistless; but we think that the scheme of military colonization, like most others from the same source, is half craft and half foppery, and pretending much conceals more. The following sentence shows at once, that this Muscovite theory is, *for its avowed purposes*, as silly as it is harsh. "He, the crown peasant, formerly paid the moderate tax of 8 roubles, about 6s. 8d. He now supports a soldier, which costs him from 45 to 50 roubles, or about £2. a year, and his horse, which costs him from 180 to 200 roubles. For these various taxes the compensation afforded is very inadequate." Either, the crown peasant cannot continue to pay such an advanced rent, for it is no more, or he might pay it into the treasury, which therefore gives up the value of this commutation.

"The very inadequate compensations" are stated to be: 1st "fifteen deciatins or forty English acres," instead of his former "sufficiency of land for the maintenance of his family." 2ndly, "Houses built for them in lieu of those they inhabited." 3rdly, "The benefit of the soldier's assistance, in the cultivation of the land and other duties of husbandry, *when* he is not engaged in his military duties;" which are thus described: "Three times exercise in the week, is considered moderate, and of course they mount guard in their regular turns. Besides, each military village in rotation sends a guard to perform duty at the head quarters of the regiment." Such assistants, with houses and lands, to those who possessed enough of both before, may be *χάρις ἄχαρις καὶ δῶρον ἄδωρον*; but serfs being, in Russia, as vendible as acres, they are all a loss to the donor; and to this must be added the expense of arms and ammunition for three field days a week, besides uniforms without end; as the whole corps de ballet in this tragi-comic inteflude of despotism, "master-colonists, assistants, agriculturist soldiers, reserves, cantonists, and invalides," "are to be seen in their *uniform* working in the fields, drawing carts, building houses &c."

In fact, the economy of the system amounts merely to an odious method of augmenting rents, and of taking them on the

spot and in kind, as injudicious as easy, in a country labouring under a morbid stagnation of money. "Count Ozerovskii boasted, that in 30 years, by the plan of military colonization, Russia would have an army of 6,000,000 soldiers," "half of whom," says M. Dupin "will be ready to march on the promulgation of an imperial ukaz." The readiness of semi-civilized Scythians to desert snow and quass for the caffès of Paris, and the vineyards of Italy, might have been worked up without all this machinery.

This Muscovite militia is not like the French *garde nationale*; by spreading over the whole country, calculated to give military habits to the male population; nor like the permanent regiments planted by Austria along her Turkish limits, a wall of defence, since it is quartered wherever the crown domain lies, and not exclusively along the frontier; neither does it hold out any real saving. When employed, these colonists are to be paid like other soldiers, and while dormant, they afford only the same resource for recruiting as the whole Russian empire; with the sole advantage of previous military discipline, which is far more cheaply taught to a landwehr or a local militia. Schools form a part of the emperor's machinery for "the rapid improvement and civilization of his empire;" and Dr. Lyall innocently looks forward to, "at least five millions, not of mere machines as heretofore, but of men who have been taught to think as well as to act." We would ask what is to make men machines; if not perpetual "military regularity, where the very water-pail (*vedro*) has its assigned place, and should it happen to be found in any other, by the inspecting subaltern officer, on his morning visit, a severe reprimand, if not a stroke of the cane, is sure to follow."

The five millions are to be made active, not thinking beings; they are to be wrought into a heavy mallet, with which the emperor may at will crush the great possessors of land; and we may see by the News-papers that the plan has been resumed in the south of Russia; but harmlessly, if Europe can prevent Russia from *prematurely* obtaining wealth and naval power. Both may yet be snatched from her by this blessed revolution of Greece; though we may shudder on looking back upon our narrow escape, from seeing the limits of Muscovy protruded into the Mediterranean. Not that it would have been a bloodless struggle, for we underrate both the resources of Turkey, and the talents of Mahmoud. Servians, and Bosniacs, Mamelukes, and Wahabees, have yielded before him, and even the distant Pashalic of Bagdad, was speedily reduced by his present favourite Haleb Effendi. In 1820 Turkey's *provincial cities*, such as

Cairo, Aleppo, and Damascus, contained from 4 to 200,000 inhabitants: in mere amount her army was second, her population and navy fourth, her revenue sixth among the great powers; and though exercising in peace but a qualified sway over Egypt and Barbary, she commanded their granaries, and could set their fleets like bloodhounds at all the Giaours, whom she wished to hunt out of existence. The imperial chief of the Faithful can still arm the whole Mussulman population, by declaring "Islamism in danger." The Hatti Scherif of the 30th of March, 1820, proved the force of that fanatical summons, and the month of June following, showed both at Constantinople and Smyrna, the nature of the demons evocated by so fearful a spell; for Croats, Hulans, and Cossacks are orderly troops, compared with the Zaporeschans and Delibasches, who follow the Tugh of some popular Pasha; and even ancient knights and men at arms were less insubordinate feudatories than Zaims and Timariots. Though the Porte may show the feebleness of a child in accomplishing good, it still retains the strength of a giant for the perpetration of evil. Eternal honour to those who have assailed the monster! their heroism has been equalled, by their wrongs only! All other histories show alternations of moral sunshine and shade; over Greece alone has a night of two thousand years brooded, in gloom uncheered by one transient ray; for though Romans, Franks, Venetians, Moslems, and Russians, kindled successively the fiercest fires of war;

" Yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe."

In the pious language of the senate of Greece, "the all-powerful hand which created this harmonious system of worlds, which is laid heavily on both nations and kings, repairing the ravages of time, and distributing the compensations of ages," allowed, perhaps, the perfidy of her false friends, the mercantile baseness of Venice, the thrice-repeated betrayal of Russia,* and the broken promises of Buonaparte,† that she might work out her deliverance with her own efforts; aided only by Ali, Heaven's instrument mysteriously used and cast away.

Among the pamphlets, which looked like a convenient scaffolding, by which to run up a theory, founded on a more solid basis;‡ "the Greek constitution" itself seemed to offer us foot-

* In 1769, 1792, and 1809.

† Made in 1798, broken at Tilsit by the proposal of dismembering Turkey.

‡ Thornton and Eton, for Greece before, Raffanel, Bignon, and the Almanach Universel, for Greece since the revolution, are as good as any

ing; and the few extracts we can allow ourselves from it, will raise Greece in the reader's opinion.

The author begins with a dedication to the senate of the Greek confederation; and reminds them that it had been "proposed to concentrate the executive power in a triennial president:" We read this with pleasure, because it shows that the Greeks are fully aware of the most plausible objection which can be urged against their constitution, too much jealousy in making the executive feeble. He marks the great error of "The high powers of Europe, who have mistaken the origin and the object of the revolt, and confounded two distinct epochs of this great revolution: the accidental or insurrectional epoch, and the national or constitutional epoch;" in other words, the Wallachian *insurrection* which failed, and the Greek *war* which has succeeded so gloriously; he recalls to mind the Austrian and Russian anathemas at Troppau and Laybach; the unavailing appeals of the Greek government to the Christian powers, on the 31st of March, and the 15th of April 1823, and the fruitless mission of Metaxas, who was not even suffered to enter Verona. The political coquetry of Russia, who had long "gloated over this beautiful country with affectionate greediness," produced from England what he calls "a scandalous, partial, unfair and vexatious neutrality." Yet this jealousy may surely cease, when we hear the Greek senators thus addressed: "It is not half a century since this very Peloponnesus, in whose bosom you now sit, surrounded by the banners of liberty, and protected by the falchions of valour, was abandoned by Russia to the ferocious orgies of Mussulman vengeance."

The description (from p. 11 to 14) of the Greek dignitaries and the Fanariot nobles, is at once clear and candid, that of the general state of Greece which follows, impressive and eloquent. Two passages contain truths, the one as sad as the other is cheering. "The inhabitants of several hamlets in the Morea have assured me, that wearied out by their sufferings, they were

other five books. Messrs. Pouqueville, Waddington, and Blaquiere, are preparing works which probably contain much fresh information. Pamphlets there are without end in French and English, but with more of fancy in them than fact. In Gibbon's Roman Empire, Daru's Venice, and Michaud's Crusades, may be traced the roots of that Upas tree, which has since borne all the bitter fruits of Turkish oppression; French Letters from the Levant are numerous, but their political information is generally thinly spread over a vast surface of gossip and sentimentality;—and even Sonnini and Savary cannot be excepted; Holland and Hobhouse contain much information on both the manners and statistics of Greece; the older Tourists principally describe her antiquities, then, perhaps, her most attractive feature.

on the point of embracing Mahometanism, when the revolution broke out. If a part of the Albanese and Candiot population have abandoned Christianity, this deplorable necessity was produced by despair." "It is not true that the Greek people ever signed its own sentence of slavery. From the date of the conquest to the dawn of the revolution, it was in a state of permanent insurrection, though continually quelled."

"The Insurrection of Greece," which forms the second head, is described briefly and ably; we are not bewildered by a multiplicity of subordinate figures, but the events are so grouped, as at once to explain and impress themselves. The absence of all connexion between the Greek revolt, and "the criminal machinations which have troubled the west of Europe" (as the allied sovereigns term them), is demonstrated. The mismanagement in Wallachia of Alexander, and in the Morea of Demetrius Hypsilanti, is as impartially depicted as the misconduct of the Austrian agent Oudriski. The slaughter of Tripolitza is spoken of with such feelings as become a Greek and a Christian; it is not defended, but palliated by deep injuries, and by the absence of all subordination. The reverence shown to the Pasha's harem, when 80 hostages had been just murdered, might have been added as a set-off.

The character and conduct of the excellent Mavrocordato, are described in terms which may well warrant the sanguine hopes excited by the revival of his former influence.

The third part contains "The organization of the government, and statistical Review." The troops are stated at from 35 to 40,000 men; the able sailors at about 20,000, of whom hardly a fourth have, from the want of ships belonging to the state, been employed.

The fourth chapter is entitled, "Military events since the Installation of the Government;" but we shall not quote the instances of Grecian heroism, for that at least, has never been questioned. The reader will see with indignation, but without astonishment, a charge against Austria, of assisting with several vessels the Turks in surprising Corinth; and with both grief and wonder, an accusation supported by evidence (from p. 47 to 50), against the *Anglo-Ionian government*, of active partiality towards the Turks. We have heard two still heavier charges of the same nature, which we state to avoid the injustice of mere insinuation, and hope that, for the honour of England, they will be contradicted. In May, 1821, an English captain upon the assertion of the crew of a fishing boat belonging to Zante, who stated, that they had been plundered and ill-treated by some Greek boats, dispatched a num-

ber of seamen to the coast of the Morea in their pursuit; they arrived in the night, and summoned the Greeks to surrender, which they refused; the British then attacked, killing and wounding many; a number of prisoners were also made, and the Corfiote gazette announced that they would meet with the punishment due to their crimes. They were kept some time in prison, and then liberated *without any trial*, the crown lawyers deciding that the offence of the Greeks, that of beating these men, whom they suspected of conveying intelligence to Patras, and who were found *within the limits of the Turkish blockade* (then the only one recognised) in defiance of a proclamation of the *Ionian government*, did *not* amount to piracy. And on another occasion Major Temple, the Resident at Santa Maura, caused a criminal to be pursued a considerable way into the opposite territory, whether belonging to the Turks or the Greeks, and of which the latter were then in possession; and on his being brought back he was hanged.

With these violations of neutrality on our part, let us contrast the conduct of the Greek government in paying the value of vessels seized under the English flag, conveying corn from the Pasha of Smyrna to those of Corinth and Napoli di Romania, then besieged, which they had vainly warned and captured in the Saronic gulph.

In the Spring of 1823, a vessel belonging to Jussuf Pasha, on its way from Patras to Prevesa, met a boat with Ionian colours, having on board some Greek merchants as passengers, whom, without any respect for what by treaty is the *English flag*, were taken out by force and decapitated at Prevesa! Scarcely had the Greeks a few months afterwards landed in Ithaca, in pursuit of the Turks, than the ministerial papers rung with the outrage. We have heard of no reparation from Jussa, and we believe none to have been made. At this very moment our fleet is probably pouring a fiery shower into Algiers, where our flag was barely insulted. Is it because only feeble criminals can provoke our vengeance, that Mahmoud is now safer than Omar? Twice has he realized Nero's wish; when the Sciot *people*, like a single throat, was cut through by the scimitar, and when the embodied sanctity of the whole Christian communion, the personified dignity of the entire Greek nation, "The Patriarch, Judge of Earth, and Father of Fathers," on the anniversary of the resurrection of Christ, at the awful hour, in the holy vestments of prayer, was hanged, dragged, and mangled by Jews,—chosen on that day for that deed, that they might recall the *ONE* more awful crime.

England's usurpation of naval empire is become a trust.

fraught with double responsibility, since she exercises the *haute police* of the Mediterranean, as executrix of that Order which once combatted and checked the Mussulman barbarians. Let her not exchange the terrors of a dignified champion, for the odium of a cautious bully; let not sarcastic Frenchmen say, that we have extended the omnipresence of our excise laws from the material to the moral world, that we may have gauged guilt, and consider wanton slaughter a breach of natural law, only when it is below a certain amount.

The chapter concluding with a prophecy in which we fully coincide, "the grand drama, whose subject is our existence, will be closed on the sea," introduces the Constitution.

Its 2nd article secures to "every individual of the Christian faith, an equal enjoyment of every right;" a liberality, as unknown to revolutionary Spain, as to unreformed England. Article 46th gives "every periodical writer a free entry in the sittings of the legislative body; an entry with us illegal, and withheld on the demand of a single member. Sixty three and sixty-four are important articles, with reference to the late financial operations of Greece, for they empower the government to pledge, and even alienate the national property, which consists of seven-eighths of the entire country. Not only torture but confiscation is abolished by the 99th article, and by the 107th, the government charges itself with "the widows and orphans of those who die in defending their country."

The volume concludes with a collection of Grecian state papers, whose piety forms an harmonious contrast with their untameable spirit. Thus to the Christian monarchs met at Verona—the Greek senate says:—"Weak and deserted, the Greeks will then have no hope but in the all-powerful God; sustained by His mighty hand, they will never bend beneath tyranny. Since we have remained, through four hundred years of persecution, faithful to our Saviour and Lord, we will, to our dying gasp, defend his holy church, our hearths, and our tombs; happy, whether we descend to them still Christians and freemen, or conquer, as we have conquered hitherto, by the force only of the arms of Jesus Christ, and by his heavenly aid." The constitution and proclamations are accompanied by the original Greek; and the reader will be pleased to see the lovely language reviving with the bright deeds of yore.

The chief value of Mr. Blaquiere's pamphlet arises from its confirming the foregoing work; for the independance and the constitution of Greece seem such a boyish dream, that we require evidence to prove this delightful reality. England was certainly far behind Germany and Switzerland, in the speed with

which she sent active aid out to Greece. Besides dispatching 500 volunteers, with a really large amount of arms, ammunition, clothing, &c., they had long maintained, and ultimately dispatched to Greece, 160 Greeks on their road from Russia through Austria; whose guilt, in wishing to join their fellow-countrymen fighting for liberty, had roused the virtuous indignation of the monarchs of Christendom, and caused them to be imprisoned, by a general refusal of passports within the limits of Switzerland, *while the Mussulman Pasha of Egypt, after supplying his quota to the Ottoman fleet, was permitting Greek fugitives to return to their country.* In England no money had been raised for the Greeks, except about £.200 in the preceding summer at Edinburgh, restricted to the Sciot sufferers, and a larger subscription by the Society of Friends, which their usual unostentatious charity prevented from attaining publicity, and their scrupulous piety rendered inapplicable to the object of forcibly resisting the tyrant. Little, in fact, had been contributed but pamphlets; and the ruthless resolve attributed by them to Greece, or recommended to Europe, of banishing the whole Turkish nation had been artfully seized by the enemies of all national freedom, to represent the Turkish banditti as deprived of fair play.

Mr. Blaquiere, having left London on the 4th of March, with Mr. Luriottis, owing to an interruption from the Neapolitan minister at Rome, did not reach "Pyrgos, a small cove opposite the Island of Zante," till the 30th of May. "The tillage" and "numerous flocks and herds" which he saw, form a hopeful contrast with our own recollections of the same spot, under the desolation of Turkish *mis*-government; and he proceeds through "a most enchanting country for more than sixty miles." We mark, with pleasure, the preference shown by the Greeks, in congress at Astros, for English precedents in legislation; their determination not to divide the confiscated lands, but to keep them as a national mortgage for a future loan, since obtained, and the establishment of Lancasterian schools amidst all the horrors of warfare.

We are not so sanguine as Mr. Blaquiere about "an application to be more particularly addressed to the *religious communities.*" Cambridge *has* come forward; Oxford has been as usual a Protestant monkery, bigoted, but not enthusiastic, and ostentatious but seldom munificent; of the charitable funds of chapters, &c. we too dreamed on the 16th of May when the subscription began. We had attributed the coy refusals received by the Greek Committee from professional Christians, to their known dread of being conspicuous; and we expected their

repressed charity to burst forth in notes and drafts without end. When we saw, out of 300 printed subscribers, only twelve representatives of the 15,000 persons, whom our sanguine tourist calls "that influential and important body," without pretending to account for the inscrutable motives which made so many good and wealthy men repress generous feelings, and give only £112, while the United Friends give £8000, we hoped for but little aid from the Church, notwithstanding four names, three rising by deserved preferment, and one which age has spared to honour him and Greece by their association.

If the Holy Alliance is what its admirers contend, it ought long since to have interposed on behalf of the Greeks. Indeed its members, *suspected* from their first outset, though the atrocious reality almost distanced conjecture, should have hailed the Greek revolution as an opportunity for vindication. They confederated in the name of the Holy Trinity; and yet they taunted Christianity struggling like a martyr in the gory grasp of the Mahometan fiend. They erected a tribunal without a law to controul, without a precedent even to guide it; its principles were vague, its proceedings mysterious; like the thunder of heaven, it was felt, and *then* heard. What could disarm the jealousy of mankind towards the invidious responsibility which these royal philanthropists chose to incur? A beneficent, at least a merciful Tyranny. *Nothing* could have legalized the principle of bringing the confederate force of all these contracting monarchs to bear upon any given point of resistance to each—but gentleness might have rendered it bearable. Let us review their actions, whose consequences are all links in that chain of earthly suffering, of which Greece forms a part; but let us first examine the object for which these crowned conspirators plot. They have determined to stay the progress of thought; prince Metternich and all his kings say to the tide of European opinion, "thus far shalt thou come, and no further—here shall thy proud waves be staid." Granting that this *can* be done; have those who worship "things as they were," never heard of that innovator and Reformer, Time? Can political institutions *help* moving, while the beings on whom they act advance? They *must*, to preserve the same relative position, keep parallel and equidistant with things unavoidably shifting. The logic is not so good as the grammar, of those who construe consistency mere *standing still*. Spain, Naples, Piedmont, and Portugal, have all attempted reforms, and have all, in the order not of their offence, but their weakness, been crushed by the royal founders of this anticipated millennium. Warned by the fate of France in the last

century, they disgraced their cause by no atrocities, and far from insulting kings, they sent them circular apologies, for having ventured to remember all the liberal exhortations, which they had made them in the hour of need ; yet to chastise these nations, mighty countries have been overrun, occupied, and degraded into something far below colonies. In the boundless powers claimed and exercised by the Holy Alliance, an occasion for humane interposition occurred, and let its result for ever cure mortals of trusting unlimited power, for the chance of its beneficent energy : Greece at length did what for a century she had been constantly urged to by Russia ; and the Turkish blood hounds have been cheered on their gallant prey by the official plaudits of Europe ! Can we doubt that the cause of all sovereigns right or wrong, against all subjects, is the real bond of the Holy Alliance ? The Greeks are not even *subjects* ; they are a nation long chained, but not unresisting, which has once again thrown the desperate die of defiance. As a nation *de facto* as well as *de jure*, they might be recognized without even virtually disavowing the usurped privilege of crushing civil wars from without. But the Pseudo-Amphictyons of Europe shrink from the sacrilege of even seeing one of all those gems which they fondly stripped off at Tilsit now drop down from the sultan's tiara.

England should be the first power to acknowledge the independence of Greece, if not for policy—if not for humanity, for her own fame, for it will be said, that she labours to starve,

“ The Mountain Nymph, sweet Liberty,”

lest she should contrast with the sickly phantom which we have dressed up under her name at Corfu. Our regime there was meant as an alterative ; and it is time that we should now strengthen the dose of freedom ; at the age of seven years our interesting orphan's constitution might venture out of the *eau sucrée* of double lists ; after seven years the Pythagorean precept of silence might end, and the language at least of her brethren and her ancestors not be proscribed.* Ridiculous as is that constitution, it is difficult to think with temper on the moral influence which has been missed by the scheme of converting a republic into a colony ; for not even protection can always soothe the wounded feelings. Let us hope, that the un-English policy, which dictated many measures like this, has departed with their

* One qualification of the freedom of Ionian election is this : the Czer-nides or electors are bound to chose their representatives out of a government list containing only twice as many names as are to be returned. The restoration of the Greek language in all public acts and proceedings was stipulated in the charter, after a certain delay, which has long since expired.

unhappy author ; let us hope that his successor will not implicate us in plots with which we can have no community of feeling or interest, but in which we may be entangled, though not linked by the viewless chains of " the *guilty* alliance."* What English sovereign, would knowingly *give* himself to that unrewarded evil, to which others are *sold*, and do the devil's work without even getting his price ? Our policy, as our duty, is to side with free institutions, and to make our country the ark of all liberty ; that when the oppressors suffer, as they must, even on earth, we may be found siding at once with justice and victory. Among all the victims of tyranny, what claim is there to the interposing protection of the mighty and generous, like that of Greece ? The recognition of her independence is a measure which even the Levant Company ought to desire, for they *must* chuse between commercial annihilation or competition, in a country which will soon be the grave or altar of liberty.

ART. VIII.—*Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions ; or An Attempt to trace such Illusions to their Physical Causes.* By Samuel Hibbert, M. D. F. R. S. E., &c. &c. Edinburgh. 1824.

THE influence of the mind in producing bodily disease, has been noticed from the earliest ages, and has afforded a constant subject of speculation to the philosopher and physician. The effect of bodily disease, in modifying the conceptions and feelings of the mind, has been scarcely at all observed, and still less discussed ; so that we may search in vain for any thing but brief and passing notices of it in the writings of the most observing and scientific men. It is true, indeed, that the subject is full of difficulty ; yet it is possible, that some benefit may arise from a careful investigation of it. There is no reader who may not understand the observations and reasonings about to be advanced ; and we shall be happy should we succeed in awakening the attention of those whose education renders them capable, and whose profession offers them opportunities, of prosecuting this obscure but most interesting inquiry.

That every case of real mental illusion ; in other words, that every disease of the mind, depends upon some disease of the body, is a proposition, of which those persons have the deepest conviction who have investigated the subject with the most pa-

* The altered conduct of the English functionaries towards the Greeks since the death of lord Londonderry, almost warrants " hope" from " his successor."

tient attention, and who have had the most extensive means of observing the concomitants of mental derangement during life, and the state of the bodily organs after death. If the mind of man be immaterial, it is incapable of disease, and its functions can be deranged only through its connexion with a material substance. If the thinking principle be the result of organization, it must be affected by whatever disturbs the functions, or deranges the structure of that organized body upon which it depends. Whatever theory of the nature of the mind be adopted, therefore, we are equally led to the conclusion, that every mental disease is dependent on some physical cause.

There is a certain condition of the body which is essential to sound thought: there are certain laws which the mind observes in conducting the process of thought: both the continuance of that state, and the observance of those laws, are indispensable to the healthy functions of the mind. It is scarcely necessary to advert to the distinction commonly made between sensations and ideas. Those states of the mind which are induced by objects actually present, impressing the organs of sense, are termed sensations: those states of the mind which are produced by a recollection, or renewal of its former states, are called ideas: ideas are copies of sensations: they are renovations of prior feelings, differing from the latter only, in being less intense.

Sensation is conceived to depend on that part of the animal economy which is comprehended under the name of the nervous system. Of this system the brain is supposed to be the organ on which sensation ultimately depends. That we feel in the brain, and only in the brain, is the uniform opinion of the most able and diligent investigators of this subject. Thus, if the finger be pricked, the pain is felt not in the finger, but in the brain. When an object is presented to an organ of sense, it produces a change in the nerves of that organ; this change is conveyed by the nerves to the brain; a corresponding change is occasioned in the brain, and, through the brain, in the mind. It is this change in the mind which is expressed by the term sensation. Such, it is supposed, is the physical process of sensation. In what the change in the nerves consists, in what manner it is propagated to the brain, and by the brain to the mind, we have no conception; and in order to comprehend it, we appear to require a new sense, differing as much from any which we actually possess, as the sense of hearing differs from that of vision.

A certain state of the brain, then, is necessary, in order that it may receive impressions conveyed to it through the nerves. Whatever that unknown condition may be, it is probable, that

the great agent in producing and maintaining it, is the circulation of the blood in the vessels of the brain. If the flow of blood to the brain be obstructed, even for an exceedingly short period, this organ is no longer capable of receiving impressions from external objects: fainting supervenes, and unless a supply of this vital fluid be quickly admitted, death is the inevitable result. On the other hand: if the determination of blood to the brain be much increased—for example, if inflammation of the cerebral mass, or of its membranes, occur, sensation at first becomes exceedingly acute, until, in conformity to a general law of the animal economy, extreme acuteness of sensation passes into total insensibility. Thus far, then, we are able to trace the process of sensation, and to understand the physical condition which is indispensable to it. It depends on a certain state of the brain, and the great agent in maintaining it in that state is, the blood circulating with a certain impetus through its vessels.

A due circulation of the blood through the vessels of the brain may then be considered as the physical condition on which thought depends. Now the great law which regulates the process of thought is that of association. Association is that law of the mind by which two or more sensations, or ideas, are so united, that any one of them, impressed alone, will introduce all the ideas connected with it. These, then, are the two circumstances on which thought, and the regular process of it, depend. The brain itself must be in a certain state: the law of association must operate in a certain manner. Of the condition of the brain, as has just been said, we know nothing: that it does, and must, exist is an ultimate fact. Of the law of association we do know something: it operates in a determinate manner: to a certain extent we can trace the modes of its operation—they are as follow:

1. Association operates by exciting ideas in a certain order; generally in the order of sensation. Thus, if the sensations A B C were impressed upon the mind in the order of these letters, B will excite not A but C. There are other circumstances which influence the operation of this law in determining the order of the succession of ideas. Of these the most important is *likeness*. It is by resemblance that the different trains of thought are linked together, succeed each other easily, and, as it is termed, naturally; and it is this easy and natural succession of ideas that constitutes coherence. The fourth train, considered apart, may bear no resemblance to the first: without the intervention of the second and third, there would have been a chasm in the chain: it would have been without its connect-

ing links; and consequently the train of thought would have been incoherent. 2. Association operates by exciting ideas with a certain degree of velocity. If the rapidity of the succession of the trains of ideas passes beyond a certain point, there is no distinct thought, but confusion. 3. Association operates by exciting ideas with a certain degree of vivacity. Unless an object be applied to an organ of sense with a certain degree of force, it produces no sensation: if it be propelled against it with too great an impetus, it occasions pain, but no distinct sensation. In like manner, unless the trains of ideas, excited by association, possess a certain degree of vivacity, they present to the mind an indistinct assemblage of images: if, on the other hand, they are too vivid, they are equally incapable of forming the elements of sound and coherent thought.

Such, then, being, what may be termed, the physical and the psychological conditions on which sound thought depends, it is obvious, that whatever changes these conditions will proportionally affect the operation of the mind. In certain diseases, these conditions are greatly altered, and therefore the functions of the mind must necessarily be deranged.

It has been shown, that a certain state of the circulation, in the cerebral blood-vessels, is essential to that condition of the brain on which sound thought depends. But there is scarcely a disease to which the human frame is subject, which does not affect, in a greater or less degree, the action of those vessels; and which, consequently, may not affect the process of thought. When the state of the blood-vessels of the brain is changed beyond a certain point, sensation is uniformly modified, and all the mental functions are proportionally disturbed. Of this the proofs are innumerable. Dr. Hibbert has adduced two, which are well adapted to the purpose of popular illustration. The first is the effect of the inhalation of nitrous oxide: the second the influence of malaria.

When the nitrous oxide is received into the lungs, the pulse is always altered in its strength, its velocity and its fulness. The alteration in its strength and velocity varies considerably in different individuals, but an increase in its fulness is a uniform result. Corresponding to the influence of this gas on the circulation, the change in the mental impressions is most striking. Sensations uniformly became more vivid: there is increased sensibility to touch: luminous points arise to dazzle the vision: the hearing is more acute, and feelings of such delight as almost to destroy consciousness are excited. At the same time grateful recollections of uncommon intensity pass rapidly through

the mind. One individual, in attempting to describe his feelings could only compare them to those which he had experienced when witnessing an heroic scene upon the stage. Another person could only refer, for a description of the state of his mind, to the emotions raised within his breast, when, upon the occasion of the famous commemoration held at Westminster Abbey in honour of Handel, he heard seven hundred instruments playing at one time. Whenever the operation of this gas, remarks sir Humphrey Davy, was carried to its greatest height, the pleasurable thrilling gradually diminished, the sense of pleasure was lost, impressions ceased to be perceived, vivid ideas passed rapidly through the mind. On another occasion he describes his feelings after the following manner:—

‘Immediately after my return from a long journey, being fatigued, I respired nine quarts of nitrous oxide, having been precisely thirty-three days without breathing any. The feelings were different from those I had experienced on former experiments. After the first six or seven respirations, I gradually began to lose the perception of external things, and a vivid and intense recollection of some former experiments passed through my mind, so that I called out, what an amazing concatenation of ideas!’

A third experiment by the same philosopher was attended with the most remarkable results. He was enclosed in an air-tight breathing box of the capacity of about nine cubic feet and a half, in which he allowed himself to be habituated to the excitement of the gas, which was there carried on gradually. After having been in the place of confinement an hour and a quarter, during which time no less a quantity than 80 quarts were thrown in, he adds,

‘The moment after I came out of the box I began to respire 20 quarts of unmingled nitrous oxide. A thrilling, extending from the chest to the extremities, was almost immediately produced. I felt a sense of tangible extension highly pleasurable in every limb; my visible impressions were dazzling, and apparently magnified. I heard distinctly every sound in the room, and was perfectly aware of my situation. By degrees, as the pleasurable sensation increased, I lost all connection with external things; trains of vivid, visible images rapidly passed through my mind, and were connected with words in such a manner as to produce sensations perfectly novel. I existed in a world of newly connected and newly modified ideas. When I was awakened from this semi-delirious trance by Dr. Kinglake, who took the bag from my mouth, indignation and pride were the first feelings produced by the sight of the persons about me. My emotions were enthusiastic and sublime; and for a moment I walked round the room perfectly regardless of what was said to me. As I recovered my former state of mind, I felt an inclination to communicate the discoveries I had made

during the experiment. I endeavoured to recall the ideas,—they were feeble and indistinct. One recollection of terms, however, presented itself, and with the most intense belief and prophetic manner, I exclaimed to Dr. Kinglake, nothing exists but thoughts, the universe is composed of impressions, ideas, pleasures and pains.'

From this interesting experiment, it appears that in consequence of an extraordinary impression upon the brain, through the medium of the circulation, 1. Sensations were greatly increased in intensity. 2. Ideas were greatly increased in vividness. 3. Consequently all connection with external things was lost: a world of newly connected, and newly modified ideas arose. 4. Emotions were produced corresponding in intensity to the acuteness of sensation, and the vividness of ideas. "My emotions were enthusiastic and sublime, I exclaimed, nothing exists but thoughts; the universe is composed of impressions, ideas, pleasures and pains" It is not possible to conceive of a more striking and complete illustration, of the influence of a change in the condition of the brain, from an altered state of its blood vessels, in modifying the process of thought.

The exact counterpart of this experiment is afforded by the inhalation of malaria. Febrile miasma is a depressing agent: nitrous oxide is a powerful stimulant: the effect of the former on the brain ought, therefore, to be the converse of that of the latter. Accordingly, on receiving into the lungs, the febrile miasma, a feeling of chilliness pervades the surface of the body, together with pains in the limbs, and a most uneasy sensation of lassitude. Sometimes this chilliness amounts to shivering: there is headache; giddiness; often sickness; the countenance becomes pallid; there is extreme anxiety about the præcordia; the pulse is oppressed, and the mind is feeble, dull, dejected, incapable of the effort of attention, and utterly unable to control or even to connect the trains of gloomy and distressing images which terrify the imagination. It is this miasma which is the main cause of Typhus Fever. The early and striking symptoms of this disease are precisely those which have been enumerated. There is reason to believe that both nitrous oxide, and malaria not only alter the condition of the circulation, but actually produce some change in the composition of the blood. Indeed the phenomena which occur in the progress of typhus fever demonstrate the fact. In every severe case of this disease the tongue becomes dry, brown, and covered with a thick viscid sordes. On examination after death, a similar condition is found extending throughout the mucous membrane which lines the air passages: it can be traced to the minutest

ramifications of the air tubes in the lungs. Now it is on this mucous membrane that that change in the condition of the blood, which it is the function of respiration to effect, takes place. It is on this membrane that the blood gives off that principle with which it becomes loaded during its circulation through the body, and which it would be pernicious longer to retain, and in exchange receives from the atmosphere that vital principle which is necessary to its renovation. But in consequence of being covered with this viscid sordes, the atmospheric air is actually prevented from coming in contact with the membrane: that change in the blood which ought to take place on its surface cannot be effected: a deleterious principle (carbon) is consequently pent up in the mass of the circulating fluid; with this principle the blood becomes more and more loaded, and on this, it is conjectured with much plausibility, depend the symptoms which characterise the severe forms of typhus fever, especially in its latter stages. This statement is given merely to show, that the composition of the blood *may* actually be changed, and to convey some notion of the manner in which the alteration may be effected. If we have clear proof that the composition of the blood is changed in any one disease, it is reasonable to conclude that it may be changed in others. And if a change merely in the state of the circulation can exert such a wonderful influence upon the brain, and through the brain upon the mind, as we have seen it is capable of producing, how astonishingly may that influence be exalted by a change in the composition of the blood itself?

Thus, then, it is clear, that the functions of the mind may be most powerfully affected by causes which influence the physical condition of the brain. In regard to the law of association, although it is obvious that it must of necessity be disturbed by all the causes just referred to, yet it is easy to show, that disease has a direct influence in deranging its operation. It has been stated, that it is indispensable to sound thought, that the trains of ideas succeed each other in a certain order, with a certain velocity, and with a certain vivacity. Now the effect of bodily disease is, 1st, to disturb the order of the succession of ideas. Suppose A B C, D E F, G H I represent successive trains of ideas, united by the resembling ideas C and D, and F and G. As long as the mind is in a state to receive as vivid an impression from these as from any in the series, the whole train will be co-herent: this is the case in health: but it is the effect of disease to render the mind insensible to the impression of these connecting links, by so increasing the intensity of some of those which help to compose the

train, but which have little resemblance to each other, that these alone absorb the attention. Suppose, for example, the ideas represented by the letters F, H and E, I, are rendered more intense than any others which compose the three trains ABC, DEF, GHI: then A will be combined not with BC and so on, but with FH or with EI; whence the ideas must necessarily be incongruous and incoherent. 2nd. A second effect of bodily disease is, to influence the velocity of the succession of ideas. Nothing is more essential to sound thought than a certain degree of slowness in the succession of ideas; but in disease the velocity with which ideas pass through the mind, is perfectly astonishing. In dreaming, also, we see an example of this, and an illustration of its effect. In this singular state we live ages in a single moment. Quicker than Ariel performs his task, we complete achievements which the labour of years is insufficient to accomplish. No obstacle impedes our progress; the ocean itself does but accelerate it: the very winds are too tardy in their course, and the flight of the eagle affords but a faint emblem of the rapidity with which we dart through its own element. Sometimes in mania the velocity of the succession of ideas is truly wonderful. This is unequivocally indicated by extreme rapidity of speech, which is the sign and the effect of rapidity in the succession of ideas. The consequence of this extreme velocity must be (1.) Indistinctness of perception. Unless the objects contemplated by the mind remain present a certain time, it cannot possibly distinguish them with accuracy. (2.) Confusion of thought. Innumerable ideas flitting rapidly across the mind, exciting and leaving no definite impression, can produce nothing but confusion. (3.) Inaccuracy of judgment must necessarily follow. The attention is not fixed long enough on any one point to perceive its true relation to other objects, or to consider the circumstances from which alone a rational conclusion can be deduced. (4.) There must be an utter disregard to incongruities. The mind passes too rapidly from idea to idea, to perceive their want of coherence. Hence in dreams, we readily acquiesce in the greatest absurdities, and even impossibilities; hence in mania there is the most intense belief of the most palpable contradictions. 3rd. A third effect of bodily disease is, to increase the vivacity of ideas. This is often the consequence of increased intensity of sensation, the tendency of which to heighten the vividness of the ideas of association, we have seen in sir Humphrey Davy's experiment on himself, with nitrous oxide. "I gradually began to lose the perception of external things, he observes, and a vivid and intense recollection of some former

experiments passed through my mind, so that I called out, what an amazing concatenation of ideas." The indications of increased sensibility of the brain in certain diseases, are most striking. The face is red, the eye suffused, the pulse strong and full, the carotid arteries beat with vehemence, and the brain becomes so excessively sensible, that impressions the most violent are produced by the slightest causes of sensation. We have seen that a preter-natural vividness of the ideas of association, accompanies this state of the sensorium. And when this state has recurred often, and continued long, the sensibility of the brain becomes permanently increased; whence it is pre-disposed to receive violent impressions, both from the common objects of sensation, and from the ideas of association.

Such are the principal modes in which bodily disease deranges the functions of the mind. It either changes the physical condition of the brain, on which the exercise of sound thought depends, rendering it preter-naturally acute, and thus increasing the intensity of sensations and the vivacity of ideas, or the contrary; or it disturbs the operation of the law of association, in one or in several of the modes which have been stated; or both circumstances are combined. The application of these principles to the explanation of the pathology of the human mind will be found to throw considerable light on this obscure and almost unexplored subject. There is scarcely a disease which influences the condition of the mental faculties, to which they might not be applied with great advantage. To all those diseases of the mind which depend on diseases of the brain itself, of its membranes, and of the bones of the cranium; to all those which depend on disease of the lungs, of the stomach, of the liver, and of all the associated organs of digestion, they are obviously and directly applicable. Some of these diseases act upon the mind in a peculiar and uniform manner, producing peculiar and uniform mental derangements; we are able distinctly to trace the aberration of the mind, to the disturbed function of the bodily organ; in some cases we can do this with remarkable clearness and uniformity; sometimes we can even ascertain in what the peculiar morbid actions of the diseased organ consists, can trace the influence of these morbid actions upon the brain, and can clearly connect with the diseased state thus communicated to the brain, the disease ultimately imparted to the mind. Some of the forms of mania afford most interesting and beautiful illustrations of these important facts, into the detail of some of which it was our intention to have entered at present. But it is impossible to give any thing like an adequate view of the subject, in the limits to which we must

at present restrict our observations. We shall soon, however, return to the subject of mania, and shall then enter into a full consideration of this curious and most interesting branch of it.

If the observations which have been made will explain some of the most important phenomena of mania, as we have no doubt we shall be able to show, *a fortiori* they will explain the phenomena of spectral illusions, which depend upon the same causes as those of mania, are of the same nature, differing only in degree, and are to be accounted for on the same principles.

Spectral illusions are ideas, or renovated sensations, rendered more intense than sensations themselves; they depend on bodily disease, and they take the form of images that have become familiar to the mind, and that have made a strong impression upon it.

I. Spectral illusions are ideas, or renovated sensations, rendered more intense than sensations themselves. They consist of recollected images of the mind, the vivacity of which is so increased, that they prevail over actual impressions. Of the production of sensations, by means of the organs of the senses, we can readily conceive; though we do not comprehend the mode of its operation, we see the apparatus by which the object is accomplished. But the renovation of past sensations, the power of collecting and treasuring up ideas in the mind, and of recalling them at distant periods, is much more incomprehensible; we do not see, and we do not know, the means by which it is effected. Nevertheless, it is probable, that ideas are recalled in the same manner as sensations are produced, namely, by impressions made upon the organs of sense; and that these impressions recall the past, in strict and invariable conformity to the law of association, by some resemblance of the present to the past. But in whatever manner the faculty is exercised, we know that the faculty itself exists; we can ascertain certain laws which regulate its operation, and that is sufficient for our present purpose.

We have seen that it is essential to sound thought that sensations should possess only a certain degree of intensity. It is also a law of our nature, that they should be somewhat more intense than ideas. So long as we are awake, in sound health, and in an unexcited state, they never equal the intensity of actual and present impressions. It is chiefly by the greater intensity of sensations than ideas, that we judge of real existencies and distinguish the present from the past and the future. In sound health and in an unexcited state, this dispro-

portion in the intensity of sensations and ideas, is so palpable, that the difference is instantaneously perceived and the judgment cannot possibly be misled. In a state of excitement, it is lessened; and at that moment, and precisely in the degree in which it is diminished, the judgment is in danger of being deceived. It is exactly for this reason that persons in an excited state of body or mind, or both, are incapable of forming a sound judgment. Now both the intensity of sensations and ideas, and their relative intensity, may be preternatural. 1. Sensations themselves may be preternaturally acute: whence, as we have seen, ideas may become preternaturally vivid: the certain consequence will be mental illusion. The inhalation of nitrous oxide uniformly increased the intensity of sensation to such a degree, that the mind became insensible to actual impressions and was conscious only of a succession of the most vivid ideas. "I lost all connection with external things. I existed in a world of newly connected and newly modified ideas. My emotions were enthusiastic and sublime, and I walked around the room perfectly regardless of what was said to me." 2. Sensations may be preternaturally acute, at first with a proportionate increase in the vividness of ideas; but the augmentation of the acuteness of sensation may stop at a definite point, while the vividness of ideas may go on to increase greatly beyond it. Exciting causes by no means increase the intensity of sensations and ideas, in invariable proportion to each other. 3. Ideas may be preternaturally vivid, without a proportionate increase in the intensity of sensations. This is often the case in mania, and it occurs in, and for the most part constitutes that peculiar state of the mind termed reverie. 4. Not only may the vividness of ideas be increased without an increase in the intensity of sensations, but even with an actual diminution of it. There are causes which directly lessen the intensity of sensation, and which at the same time favour the renovation, and increase the vivacity of ideas. This is the case with the unknown cause which produces sleep; the direct tendency of which is, to diminish the sensibility to actual impressions, while it by no means exerts the same influence over the renovation of past impressions, but seems rather to conduce to their rapid and vivid re-excitement. The same is true of morbid causes.

The application of these principles to the solution of the phenomena of spectral illusions is obvious. One of the most interesting cases of this kind on record, is that of Nicolai, the celebrated bookseller of Berlin. It is peculiarly valuable, because the account is given by a man of uncommon acuteness, who carefully observed, and faithfully recorded, every thing

that passed in his own mind. He was aware of the connection of spectral illusions with physical causes; and in his own case was able distinctly to trace them to bodily disease.

‘In a state of mind completely sound, and after the first terror was over, with perfect calmness, I saw,’ says this extraordinary man, ‘for nearly two months, almost constantly and involuntarily, a vast number of human and other forms, and even heard their voices.’

After stating that several unpleasant events had recently occurred which extremely distressed him, he observes,

‘My wife and another person came into my apartment in the morning, in order to console me, but I was too much agitated by a series of incidents, which had most powerfully affected my moral feeling, to be capable of attending to them. On a sudden, I perceived, at about the distance of ten steps, a form like that of a deceased person. I pointed at it, asking my wife if she did not see it? It was but natural that she should not see any thing; my question, therefore, alarmed her very much, and she immediately sent for a physician. The phantom continued about eight minutes. I grew at length more calm, and being extremely exhausted, fell into a restless sleep, which lasted about half an hour. The physician ascribed the apparition to a violent mental emotion, and hoped there would be no return; but the violent agitation of my mind had in some way disordered my nerves, and produced further consequences which deserve a more minute description.

‘At four in the afternoon, the form which I had seen in the morning re-appeared. I was by myself when this happened, and being rather uneasy at the incident, went to my wife’s apartment, but there likewise I was persecuted by the apparition, which, however, at intervals disappeared, and always presented itself in a standing posture. About six o’clock there appeared also several walking figures, which had no connection with the first. After the first day the form of the deceased person no more appeared, but its place was supplied with many other phantasms, sometimes representing acquaintances, but mostly strangers: those whom I knew were composed of living and deceased persons, but the number of the latter was comparatively small. I observed the persons with whom I daily conversed did not appear as phantasms, these representing chiefly persons who lived at some distance from me.

‘These phantasms seemed equally clear and distinct at all times, and under all circumstances, both when I was by myself, and when I was in company, and as well in the day as at night, and in my own house as well as abroad; they were, however, less frequent when I was in the house of a friend, and rarely appeared to me in the street. When I shut my eyes, these phantasms would sometimes vanish entirely, though there were instances when I beheld them with my eyes closed, yet, when they disappeared on such occasions, they generally returned when I opened my eyes. I conversed sometimes with my physician and my wife of the phantasms which at the moment surrounded me; they appeared more frequently walking than at rest, nor were they constantly

present. They frequently did not come for some time, but always re-appeared for a longer or a shorter period, either singly or in company, the latter, however, being most frequently the case. I generally saw human forms of both sexes, but they usually seemed not to take the smallest notice of each other, moving as in a market-place, where all are eager to press through the crowd; at times, however, they seemed to be transacting business with each other. I also saw several times people on horseback, dogs and birds. All these phantasms appeared to me in their natural size, and as distinct as if alive, exhibiting different shades of carnation in the uncovered parts, as well as in different colours and fashions in their dresses, though the colours seemed somewhat paler than in real nature. None of the figures appeared particularly terrible, comical, or disgusting, most of them being of an indifferent shape, and some presenting a pleasing aspect. The longer these phantoms continued to visit me, the more frequently did they return, while, at the same time, they increased in number about four weeks after they had first appeared. I also began to hear them talk; these phantoms sometimes conversed among themselves, but more frequently addressed their discourse to me; their speeches were commonly short, and never of an unpleasant turn. At different times there appeared to me both dear and sensible friends of both sexes, whose addresses tended to appease my grief, which had not yet wholly subsided: their consolatory speeches were in general addressed to me when I was alone. Sometimes, however, I was accosted by these consoling friends while I was engaged in company, and not unfrequently while real persons were speaking to me. These consolatory addresses consisted sometimes of abrupt phrases, and at other times they were regularly executed.

In general, the subjects of this curious affection have been entirely ignorant of its connection with the diseased states of certain functions of the animal economy. In their narratives they have, therefore, wholly neglected to describe the state of their health, and even many of those who would not have suppressed the account from its tendency to diminish the wonder and terror of the story, were utterly incapable of observing accurately, and describing faithfully the disorder or disease under which they were labouring. But, fortunately, the subject of this most interesting case was a man of sound judgment and a philosopher. He was, therefore, able to detect and assign the true cause of his malady. He states that, some years before, he had been subject to a violent vertigo, which had been cured by leeches; that it was his custom to lose blood twice a year; that previously to the present attack this evacuation had been neglected; that, therefore, the disorder probably arose from an irregularity in the circulation of the blood, and that, under this impression, it was at last agreed that leeches should be again applied. His account of the

result is exceedingly important. Having stated the hour when the leeches were applied, he says,

‘ No person was with me besides the surgeon ; but during the operation, my chamber was crowded with human phantasms of all descriptions. This continued uninterruptedly till about half an hour after four o’clock, just when my digestion commenced. I then perceived that they began to move more slowly. Soon after, their colour began to fade, and at seven o’clock they were entirely white. ‘ But they moved very little, though the forms were as distinct as before : growing, however, by degrees more obscure, yet not fewer in number, as had generally been the case. The phantasms did not withdraw, nor did they vanish, a circumstance, which, previous to that time, had frequently happened. They now seemed to dissolve in the air, while fragments of some of them continued visible a considerable time. About eight o’clock the room was entirely cleared of my fantastic visitors. Since this time I have felt, twice or three times, a sensation, as if these phantasms were going to re-appear, without, however, actually seeing any thing. The same sensation surprised me just before I drew up this account, while I was examining some papers relative to these apparitions.’

This, then, was a case in which the recollected images of the mind had become as vivid as actual impressions. In consequence of this increased intensity of ideas, they appeared to be, and were mistaken for, sensations ; and the cause of this increased intensity was physical, and was distinctly referable to disordered function of the brain, from a preternatural fulness of the blood-vessels. This morbid condition of the brain was also combined with moral causes which had produced a most powerful and depressing effect upon the mind itself.

But this case is rendered still more complete by a circumstance which Nicolai incidentally mentions relative to the natural constitution of his mind.

‘ I must observe, he says, that my imagination possesses in general a great facility in picturing. I have, for example, sketched in my mind a number of plans for novels and plays, though I have committed very few of them to paper, because I was less solicitous to execute than to invent. I have generally arranged these outlines, when, in a cheerful state of mind, I have taken a solitary walk, or, when travelling, I have sat in my carriage, and could only find employment in myself and my imagination. ‘ Constantly, and even now, do the different persons, whom I imagine in the foundation of such a plot, *present themselves to me in the most lively and distinct manner ; their figure, their features, their manner, their dress, and their complexion, are all visible to my fancy.* As long as I meditate on a fixed plan, and afterwards carry it into effect, even when I am interrupted, and when I must begin it again at different times, all the acting persons *continue present in the very same form* in which my imagination at first produced them. I find myself

frequently in a state between sleeping and waking, in which a number of pictures of every description, often of the strangest forms, shew themselves, change and vanish. In the year 1778, I was afflicted with a bilious fever, which at times, though seldom, became so high as to produce delirium. Every day, towards evening, the fever came on, and if I happened to shut my eyes at that time, I could perceive that the cold fit of the fever was beginning, even before the sensation of cold was observable. This I knew, by the distinct appearance of coloured pictures of less than half their natural size, which looked as in frames. They were a set of landscapes, composed of trees, rocks, and other objects. If I kept my eyes shut, every minute some alteration took place in the representation. Some figures vanished, and others appeared. But if I opened my eyes, all was gone; if I shut them again I had a different landscape. In the cold fit of the fever, I sometimes opened and shut my eyes every second, for the purpose of observation, and every time a different picture appeared, replete with various objects, which had not the least resemblance with those that appeared before. These pictures presented themselves without interruption, as long as the cold fit of the fever lasted. They became fainter as soon as I began to grow warm, and when I was perfectly so, all were gone. When the cold fit of the fever was entirely past, no more pictures appeared; but if, on the next day, I could again see pictures when my eyes were shut, it was a certain sign that the cold fit was coming on.'

This account distinctly proves that there was inherent, in the constitution of this singular man, a great predisposition to the intense renovation of past impressions; that, to use his own language, he "possessed a great facility in picturing." His imagination was indeed a perfect kaleidoscope. To the complete explanation of the phenomena of spectral illusions, an acquaintance with the subject of predisposition is essential, and we shall have occasion again to advert to this important topic. At present, it is sufficient to observe, that this statement of the strong natural tendency of Nicolai's mind to form vivid pictorial images of every thing that interested it, renders his case as perfect as can be desired.

The case of spectral illusion cited by Dr. Hibbert, from Crichton, p. 105, was evidently connected with Epilepsy; and "the celestial sights" that were witnessed, were distinctly accompanied with the *aura epileptica*. Were the history of this lady's health as fully and faithfully recorded as that of Nicolai, there is no doubt that we should be able to trace her affection to a disorder of the brain itself, or of some organ indirectly influencing the functions of the cerebrum. The apparition which haunted Mr. Cassio Burroughs, evidently had its origin in the *Delirium Tremens* of drunkenness. According to the narrator of the story,

' This gentleman was one of the most beautiful men in England,

and very valiant, but very proud and blood-thirsty. There was then, in London, a very beautiful Italian lady' (whom he seduced). 'The gentlewoman died; and afterwards, in a tavern in London, he spoke of it' (contrary to his sacred promise), 'and then going' (out of doors) the ghost of the gentlewoman did appear to him. He was afterwards troubled with the apparition of her, even sometimes in company when he was drinking. Before she did appear, *he did find a kind of chillness upon his spirits.*'

To a similar source may be traced the illusions which disturbed the imagination of Major Wilkie, who is described as "a scholar of no mean attainments, but as a great drinker, and possessing a very heated brain." Of John Beaumont, the author of a *Treatise on Spirits and Apparitions*, it is known, that he was a man of a hypochondriacal disposition, and that it was while he was labouring under this corporeal affection, that he saw hundreds of imaginary men and women about him. He had two spirits, he informs us, who constantly attended him night and day for about three months, who called each other by their names: "several spirits would often call at his chamber and ask whether such spirits lived there, calling them by their names, and they would answer they did. One spirit which came for several nights together, and rung a little bell in his ear, told him that his name was Ariel." The two spirits that constantly attended him were, it seems, ladies of a brown complexion, about three feet in stature: "they had both black loose net-work gowns, tied with a black sash about the middle, and within the net-work appeared a gown of a golden colour, with somewhat of a light striking through it. Their heads were not dressed in top knots, but they had white linen caps on, with lace on them about three fingers' breadth, and over it they had a black loose net-work hood."

In regard to the images which constitute the subject of spectral illusions, it is manifest, that they assume the form of figures which have been rendered familiar to the mind, and which have made strong impressions upon it. The sights seen, bear a strict and invariable relation to the character of the *seer*, and of the superstitions of the age and country in which he lived. Thus the intelligent and philosophical Nicolai saw nothing but men and women, in their natural form and aspect, horses, dogs and birds. On the contrary, the illusions of superstitious minds always consist of angels, or dæmons, which appear in all sorts of fantastic shapes. It is scarcely possible in the present age, adequately to conceive of what was formerly seriously believed; though some idea may be formed of it from the account of Reginald Scot, who wrote about two centuries and a half ago.

'Some, says this author, affirm, that the souls of the dead become spirits; that the good are angels, and the bad devils; some that spirits or devils are only in this life; some, that they are men; some, that they are women; some, that devils are of such gender that they list themselves; some, that they had no beginning, nor shall have ending, as the Manicheis mainteine; some, that they are mortal and die, as Plutarch affirmeth of Pan; some that they have no bodies at all, but receive bodies according to their phantasies and imaginations; some, that their bodies are given unto them; some that they make themselves. Some say they are wind; some, that they are the breathe of living creatures; some, that one of them begat another; some, that they were created of the least part of the masse whereof the earth was made; and some, that they are substances between God and man; and that some of them are terrestrial, some celestial, some waterie, some airie, some fierie, some starrie, and some of each and every part of the elements, and that they know our thoughts, and carrie our good works and praiers to God and return his benefits back unto us, and that they are to be worshipped, wherein they jumpe with the papists.'

The forms assumed by these beings were worthy of their nature and origin. We are informed that—

'A devil would appear like an angel seated in a fiery chariot; or riding on an infernal dragon, and carrying in his right hand a viper; or assuming a lion's head, a goose's feet and a horse's tail; or putting on a raven's head and mounted on a strong wolf, with innumerable other fantastic shapes, of a similar description. These mysterious and frightful images were not only made familiar to the imaginations of the people, but even to their very senses. They could go neither into their dwellings nor their temples without seeing them; they were sculptured on the walls of the church; they were carved on the wainscots of the domestic hall, and the air and the earth were peopled with them; there was not a hill nor a valley, not a wood nor a grove, not a fountain nor a stream, in which they were not seen and heard and communed with. "No place was void, says Burton, but all full of spirits, devils, or other inhabitants, not so much as a hair-breadth was empty in heaven, earth, or waters above or under the earth." "Our mothers' maids, observes Reginald Scot, have so terrified us with an ouglie divel, having hornes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a tail in his breach, eies like a bacon, fangs like a dog, claws like a beare, a skin like a niger, and a voice roaring like a lion, that we start and are afraid when we hear one cry *bough!*"'

What wonder that these hideous phantoms should make an indelible impression on weak and ignorant minds, and exert an influence even over strong and cultivated understandings, which their better reason could not at all times resist! What wonder, when from corporeal disease, sensations and ideas were rendered preternaturally intense, or the vivacity of ideas was so increased as to overpower actual impressions, that these

spectres should be seen in solitude and heard in the storm; should dance before the eye, and whisper in the ear; should come with fearful aspect menacing vengeance in the dreams of the guilty; and with cherub's smile, in the visions of the innocent; should be to the maniac all that existed; and to the feverish and the dying all that they hoped or feared!

We have adverted to the important influence of predisposition in giving rise to spectral illusions; the peculiarity of constitution expressed by this term, is not only deeply implicated in the production of the general tendency to the formation of these phantoms, but it often determines even the specific character which each assumes. As the predisposition varies in each individual, the same morbid cause conjures up images the most diversified. We have seen that the inhalation of nitrous oxide commonly excites vivid images of a pleasing nature, accompanied with the most delightful sensations: but in some cases, owing to the peculiarity of individual constitution, it presents to the imagination the most frightful pictures, and produces on the system the most painful effects. Professor Silliman states, that a pupil of his, on inhaling the nitrous oxide, was excited to such a degree, that he was thrown into a frightful delirium, his exertions became so violent, that he sunk to the earth exhausted; that when he in some degree recovered his strength, he again rose only to renew the most convulsive muscular efforts, and the most piercing screams and cries: that he was perfectly unconscious of what he was doing, and was in every respect like a maniac, and that, according to his own statement, his feelings vibrated between perfect happiness, and the most consummate misery. Now, for precisely the same reason, that this gas produced effects so opposite in this gentleman, and in sir Humphry Davy, the morbid cause which gives rise to spectral illusions, will in one excite the most soothing and delightful visions, and in another the most hideous and appalling spectres. The daughter of sir Charles Lee,

'Saw about two of the clock, in the morning, the apparition of a little woman between her curtain and her pillow, who told her she was her (deceased) mother; that she was happy, and that by twelve of the clock that day, she should be with her. Whereupon she knocked up her maid, called for her clothes, and when she was dressed, she went into her closet, and came not out again till nine, and then brought with her a letter sealed, to her father; brought it to her aunt, the lady Everard, told her what had happened, and desired that as soon as she was dead, it might be sent to him. She desired that the chaplain might be called to read prayers; and when prayers were ended, she took her guitar and Psalm-book, and sat down upon a chair without arms, and played and sung so melodiously and admirably, that her musick-master,

who was then there, admired at it. And near the stroke of twelve, she rose, and sat herself down in a great chair with arms, and fetching a strong breathing or two, immediately expired.'

This is a case in which a spectral illusion, occurring in a peculiarly tender and susceptible frame, produced such a powerful impression upon the imagination, as absolutely to destroy life. Had this delicate female possessed a physical and mental constitution similar to that of the assessor to the Westminster Assembly, this little old woman might have appeared between her curtain and her pillow often enough, without even disturbing her slumbers. The story of the assessor, one Mr. White of Dorchester, is as follows. It appears that this gentleman was one night honoured with a visit from the arch-fiend himself, whom he treated with a cool contempt, which must have astonished his Satanic majesty. "The devil in a light night stood by his bed-side. The assessor looked awhile whether he would say or do any thing; and then said, 'If thou hast nothing to do, I have; and so turned himself to sleep.'"

There are many cases on record which directly prove that there is often the closest possible connexion between the very shape which these phantasms assume and the images which have previously occupied the mind. A writer in the fifteenth volume of Nicholson's *Philosophical Journal*, who was haunted with the apparition of frightful spectres, and who was at length struck with some connexion between these images and his previous thoughts, states that he tried the experiment, whether, by fixing his meditation upon other objects, he could not make these assume the place of the phantoms which persecuted him; that, with this view, while the faces were flashing before him, he reflected upon landscapes and scenes of architectural grandeur; that, accordingly, "after a considerable interval of time, a rural scene of hills, vallies, and fields, appeared before him, which was succeeded by another and another in ceaseless succession; that the manner and times of their respective appearance, duration, and vanishing did not sensibly differ from those of the faces; that the scenes were calm and still, without any strong lights or glare; that after a time these figures changed entirely, and consisted of books, parchments, or papers, containing printed matter." The writer adds, "I was now so well aware of the connexion of thought with these appearances, that by fixing my mind on the consideration of manuscript instead of printed type, the papers appeared after a time only with manuscript writing; and afterwards, by the same process, instead of being erect, they were all inverted, or appeared upside down." A case of *Delirium Tremens* occurred

under the observation of Dr. Hibbert, in which the devils that flitted around the bed of the patient were exactly like the forms which he had recently seen exhibited on the stage in the popular drama of *Don Giovanni*. And Grose observes, that "Ghosts commonly appear in the same dress they wore when living; though they are sometimes clothed all in white; but that is chiefly the church-yard ghosts, who have no particular business, but seem to appear *pro bono publicæ*, or to scare drunken rustics from tumbling over their graves. Dragging chains is not the fashion of English ghosts, chains and black vestments being chiefly the accoutrements of foreign spectres, seen in arbitrary governments,—dead or alive, English spirits are free."

Ghosts are commonly alleged to be pale, and assume a misty and cloudy appearance, because, as Dr. Hibbert ingeniously suggests, the spectral idea of colour does not quite equal in intensity the vividness of an immediate sensation. Thus Nicolai states that the colour of the phantoms he saw always seemed somewhat paler than in real nature, and of certain forms: he affirms that at first they began to fade, and that afterwards they were entirely white.

We have read this interesting volume with much pleasure. The account of the opinions formerly entertained of the origin, nature, and power of spirits is particularly valuable. The discussion on the comparative intensity between sensation and ideas, and the application of the doctrine is ingenious and important, but diffuse and prolix. Dr. Hibbert writes in an agreeable style, and there is often a happy and acute adaptation of his facts to his principles; but his principles are not sufficiently comprehensive: they are not arranged in a scientific manner; there is much repetition, and the book requires considerable condensation. Nevertheless, we are satisfied that its perusal will afford both amusement and instruction.

We cannot dismiss the subject of apparitions without observing, that the manner in which these phantoms have vanished before the light of knowledge, affords a striking illustration of the invaluable blessings which descend, even to the lowest of the people, from the diffusion of the sound principles of philosophy. The powerful and capricious spirits which filled "the heavens, the earth, and the waters above and under the earth," must be allowed to have added, in no inconsiderable measure, to the sum of human suffering. They were, in general, hideous in form, and malignant in intention; the number of the good was small, compared with the countless host of the evil; and though "so soft and uncompounded was their essence," that

they might have come "in what shape they chose, dilated or condensed, bright or obscure;" it must be confessed, they commonly chose to assume "forms forbidden," such as "retire to Chaos and with night commix;" and that their visitations were much more often accompanied with "blasts from hell," than "airs from heaven." They produced the most powerful emotion; but that emotion was, for the most part, painful, and of pernicious tendency. They afforded abundant materials for the fiction of the poet, and the pencil of the painter; but the imagery of the one, and the figures of the other, were more distinguished for incongruity and deformity, than for beauty and grace. Incessantly haunting the couch of sickness, in minds debilitated by disease, they often chased reason from its throne, and not unfrequently deprived the unhappy sufferer of life itself. They terrified the ignorant with false fears, and afforded no compensation, in the uniformity and efficacy with which they visited the guilty with remorse. As agents in the administration of reward and punishment, they were most unjust. If they brought down vengeance on the head of the criminal, it was in general not for the commission of the crime, but for the neglect of some punctilio; and if, as guardian angels, they hovered about the pillow of the dying, they were not messengers of evil to the wicked, and ministers of grace to the good: but this "blessed troop, with faces bright like the sun, bearing garlands, and promising eternal happiness," was as disposed to waft to heaven the soul of the most corrupt sinner, as of the purest saint. By pre-occupying the mind, they took off the attention from the observation of nature; and deprived it both of the power and the disposition to discover the true solution of those physical, mental, and moral phenomena which could not wholly escape their notice. And in this consists the essence of the evil they produced, and the real malignity of the influence they exerted. They incapacitated the mind for the perception of the truth—they disposed it for the reception of the grossest delusions of credulity—they prepared it for the admission of the most fallacious explanation of their calamity and suffering. They were potent agents in the hands of the priest and the tyrant to delude and to enslave: for this business they were admirably fitted, and most faithfully did they perform it. But, the inevitable evil which man is at present destined to endure is sufficient, without the added, and the almost unmingled, bitterness of the infusion which Superstition would pour into his cup. The human mind will anticipate the future, and must reflect upon the past. In the former there will always be sufficient to fear, and in the latter enough to regret, without the

stimulus of fictitious terror, or the imputation of imaginary guilt. So long as the human frame can suffer, and is subject to death, the mind will require all the light which philosophy can pour upon it, to preserve it from error; and all the consolation which religion can afford it, to save it, at least, from misery, if not from despair. In true philosophy there is light, in real religion there is consolation enough; and he is a friend indeed to man who labours to secure to him these inestimable blessings free from the admixture of ignorance and the alloy of error.

ART. IX. *Memoirs of Captain Rock, the Celebrated Irish Chiefstain, with some account of his Ancestors.* 12mo. Written by himself. London; Longman, & Co., 1824. p. 376.

WE have been somewhat disappointed in reading the Memoirs of Captain Rock. Though we are aware we have no right to prescribe the manner in which a writer should delight and profit us, and though we know that if we had a right to do so it would be most inexpedient to exercise it, we could not help forming a conception of what the Memoirs of Captain Rock might have been, very different from what we find they are. When we heard that Mr. Moore* was editing the captain's life, we hoped to see such a picture as might be given by a man of imagination and of knowledge, by a man acquainted with his own country and the human heart, of the manner in which a captain Rock and his followers are made, of the manner in which individual Irishmen are worked up into that state of excitement and ferocity of which we see the daily fruits in almost every part of Ireland. We hoped for such a captain Rock as the author of *Old Mortality* might make, if he chose,

* We are glad to find that Mr. Moore has disclaimed the sentiments which, in a former article, we represented him as holding on the subject of America. The following paragraph, which we extract from the *Times Journal* of February 4, 1824, does as much honour to Mr. Moore as to America.

In the first Number of the *Westminster Review*, just published, there is an article upon a late work of Mr. Moore's, in which the writer says, "Mr. Moore has resided in America, and, we understand, speaks of the Americans with unbounded dislike and contempt." In this assertion we can confidently state, the writer is entirely mistaken. Whatever opinions Mr. Moore may have hastily formed, when a very young man, with respect to the character and institutions of the Americans, we know that he has long since learned to correct them, and to feel towards that people all the admiration and respect which the noble example they set to the other nations of the world demands.—*Feb. 4th, Times.*

instead of strengthening absurd prejudices which exist, or directing his strength against the caricatures of follies which have passed away, to acquire some claim to the gratitude of the age. This is the way in which a true poet, a man of fine observation and vivid powers of description, could best treat of the state of Ireland, and if he performed his task well he would render that country a better service than can be performed by the most able declamation, or the most correct detail of statutory grievances. Not only would the impression upon those who are not interested in the degradation of Ireland be greater, but the different causes of misery and insurrection, ("for this effect defective comes by cause,") would have their true degrees of importance more correctly assigned to them. We have observed enough of the general forms and hues of the troubles of Ireland; —to see the texture of them would be instructive.

The *Captain Rock* of Mr. Thomas Moore is a different thing. The editor assumes the character of a missionary sent out by a provincial society, established for the purpose of converting and civilizing the poor benighted Irish. In his way from Dublin to Limerick he had as a companion in the coach, a gentleman with green spectacles and a flaxen wig, rich in metaphors and brogue, who talked through the whole journey in the following strain :—

'Is not this singular? Is not this melancholy? That while the progress of time produces a change in all other nations, the destiny of Ireland remains still the same—that here we find her, at the end of so many centuries, struggling, like Ixion, on her wheel of torture—never advancing, always suffering—her whole existence one monotonous round of agony! While a principle of compensation is observable throughout the fortunes of all the rest of mankind, and they, who enjoy liberty, must pay for it by struggles, and they, who have sunk into slavery, have, at least, the consolation of tranquillity—in *this* unhappy country it is only the *evil* of each system that is perpetuated—eternal struggles, without one glimpse of freedom, and an unrelaxing pressure of power, without one moment of consolidation or repose.'—p. ix.

After parting from this companion the missionary visited an old friend in Tipperary, the Rev. Mr. —, whom he "found comfortably situated in his new living with the sole draw back, it is true, of being obliged to barricade his house of an evening, and having little embrasures in his hall door, to fire at unwelcome visitors." In the course of an evening ramble our missionary is surrounded by a party of White Boys, with Captain Rock at their head, who turns out to be the "gentleman in green spectacles," and who intrusts him with the manuscript which he has now given to the public. This intro-

duction is the whole of the narrative matter which concerns Captain Rock's particular history. His memoirs prove him not to be a real potatoe and milk, or gun-powder and whisky, Irishman, but a sort of abstraction of Irish riot, who gives an historical sketch,—rich in pun and metaphor, in good logic, and good quibbling, in overstrained analogies, between words, and acute remarks on men and affairs,—of the measures by which “the wisdom of parliament and the vigour of the executive government” kept Ireland in a constant state of discontent and tumult from the time of Henry II. to the Union.—The dramatic propriety of the narrative is, however, entirely lost: the tone is perfect Moore. For the learning with which it is replete, the Editor makes an apology in a quotation from Smith's History of Kerry, who tells us “that classical reading extends itself even to a fault among the *lower* orders of Ireland—*many* of whom have a greater knowledge in this way than *some* of the better sort in other places.”

This little book, however, will do a considerable quantity of good, for it will be *read*: there are no other means by which a knowledge of the evils of Ireland may be gained so easily; it may be done here even pleasantly. Mr. Moore has contrived to play so many agreeable lights on his subject, that we view the sad spectacle of the sufferings of our ill-used *Sister-country* like a picture of the destruction of Pompeii, or of the ruins of Herculaneum—the skill of the artist divides and softens the melancholy interest attached to the calamities he depicts. Perhaps so many details, so much discussion of legislative measures, were never presented in a form so palatable to readers, to whom the bitterest of all tasks is, to unravel a chain of abstract reasoning. Gloomy prospects are lighted up with brilliant allusions, dark facts with satirical illustrations, gems of history, mythology, wit, poetry and science are scattered with lavish profusion, and create a dazzling coruscation even amongst the blackest shades of cruelty, oppression, and hypocrisy—our author will make the topic of Ireland fashionable. “Moore's Miseries” will be laid on the same shelf with his “Melodies,” and we shall be asked by young ladies if we do not consider the conduct of the Irish clergy respecting *First Fruits* as exceedingly scandalous. The Memoirs of Captain Rock might have been named, the flowers of Irish history—flowers indeed of a baneful odour, and of a sad signification—such as poor Ophelia amused her wandering brain by scattering—“There's rosemary, that's for *remembrance*: pray you, love, *remember*: and there is pansies, that's for *thoughts*—there's *rue* for *you*: and here's some for *me*:—we may call it, *herb of grace* o' Sundays, you may wear

your *rue* with a *difference*—There's a daisy : I would give you some violets but they withered all, when my father died."

On the present occasion it is not our intention to enter into the important questions connected with Ireland—we have them deeply at heart—we have felt that country our disgrace abroad and our distress at home, and we probably shall be found somewhat better qualified to clear away the difficulties of the subject, than they whose interests are too deeply involved in the support of abuse and corruption to permit them to be clear-sighted. But Mr. Moore himself, has confined his book to the causes of the unhappiness of Ireland, and our limits now allow us only to convey some idea of his performance : to the remedies we shall return in good time.

After giving a lively account of the interesting reigns of Ollam Fodlah, Dubhlachtha, Flabhertach, &c. and of Moran's Collar, under the years A. M. 1.—to A. D. 1172. Captain Rock opens his second chapter with the time of Henry II.

' In the year 1180, and for some centuries after, if a man was caught in Ireland with his upper lip unshaven, he was held to be no true Englishman, and might be plundered without ceremony, or killed at a very trifling expense.

' In the year 1798, under the government of lords Camden and Castlereagh, if a man was caught in Dublin who had no queue, he was held, in the same manner, to be no true Englishman, and might be whipped, *ad libitum*, by any loyal gentleman who had one.

' This shows, at least, how steadily the rulers of Ireland have persevered in their ancient maxims of policy, and what importance may be given to mustachios and tails by a government, that will for six hundred years set seriously about it. In the former period, of course, the whiskers of the Rock family flourished—persecution being to whiskers more nutritive than the best Macassar oil ;— and, in the latter period, Crops, as we all know, became so formidable as to require not only an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, but all lord Cornwallis's good sense and humanity, to put them down again.

' I have said that the penalty, in those times, for killing a mere Irishman was but small. Sometimes, however, the price was higher. Sir John Davies, in his Historical Relations, tells us of "one William, the son of Roger, who, among others, was, by John Wogan, lord justice of Ireland, fined five marks for killing one O'Driscoll ;" this was an unusually extravagant mulct ; and it would be a curious research for an antiquary to inquire why the O'Driscolls were so much more expensive killing than other people.—(p. 12.)

A few sprightly pages hurry us from Henry II, to the reign of Henry VIII, when, after a glance at the very amiable mode* in which the Reformation was attempted to be introduced

* " ' Where's your religion, and be d——d to you?' says a pious gen-

into Ireland, we light upon the policy of Elizabeth towards that happy country.

‘ When the death of the earl of Desmond, and the suppression of his adherents, had left an interval of tranquillity which it was proposed to take advantage of, for the long-desired purpose of introducing a system of justice and liberal policy into Ireland, the counsellors of Elizabeth opposed themselves to this humane design, and did not blush to assign the following reasons for their opposition:—“ Should we exert ourselves,” said they, “ in reducing this country to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence, and riches. The inhabitants will be thus alienated from England; they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or perhaps erect themselves into an independent and separate state. *Let us rather connive at their disorders; for a weak and disordered people never can attempt to detach themselves from the crown of England.*”

‘ This policy was not new in the history of nations. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the ancient kings of Egypt kept alive the spirit of religious dissensions among their subjects, as the best means of preventing a combination against their own tyranny—well knowing, that as long as a Dog-worshipper of Cynopolis was ready to cut the throat of a Fish-adorer of Oxyrynchus, there would be no fear of any rational concord in the cause of liberty among such people. Accordingly, at one time, by giving superior privileges to the Dog establishment—at another, by mortifying the Canine Ascendancy, and even affecting an inclination to bring Fish worship into fashion, they contrived to cherish such a deadly animosity between these two respectable creeds, that when the Romans, who took somewhat more sensible views of such matters, became masters of Egypt, it required (as Plutarch tells us) the strongest and most skilful interposition of their authority, to put down both Dog and Fish together—or, at least, by removing all distinctions between them, to render their worship a matter of as little consequence as they were themselves.—(p. 59.)

The poor Irish expected some relief from James, who before his accession had made certain sinister promises. They ought to have been soon undeceived, for one of his first most gracious proclamations contained an order for a general gaol delivery, with the special exception of “ murderers and papists;” and in his speeches we find such passages as these:—

‘ “ I confess I am loath to hang a priest only for religion-sake, and saying mass; but if he refuses to take the oath of allegiance (which, *let the pope and all the devils in hell say what they will, yet, as you find by my book, is merely civil*), those that so refuse the oath, and are polypragmatic, I leave them to the law,”’—(p. 62.)

The confiding Irish still obstinately maintained, that James

tleman in one of Cumberland’s plays, and much in the same sort of edifying style was the reformed religion first insinuated into the hearts of the Irish.—(p. 65.)

was intended for a benefactor, so that the king, with a most engaging candour, was obliged to announce by regular proclamation, the mistake they had been under in placing the least reliance upon him:—

‘ “Whereas, his majesty is informed that his subjects of Ireland have been deceived by a false report that his majesty was disposed to allow them liberty of conscience and the free choice of a religion: he hereby declares to his beloved subjects of Ireland, that he will *not* admit any such liberty of conscience as they were made to expect by such report,”’ &c. &c.—(p. 63.)

The exploits of lord Strafford, *alias* Black Tom, are briefly, but most deservedly reprobated; and an old journal of one of captain Rock’s ancestors, takes the history through the rebellion in 1641. On reading it and turning to the accounts of the last great rebellion in Ireland, we feel the application of one of the anecdotes with which captain Rock so copiously adorns his memoirs—

‘ So like is one part of the history of Ireland to another, that in reading it, we are somewhat in the situation of that absent man, to whom d’Argenson lent the same volume of a work four successive times, and who, when asked how he liked the author, answered, “il me semble qu’il se repéte quelquefois.” The government of Ireland “se repéte” with a vengeance!—(p. 108.)

The obstinacy of Irish loyalty was soundly punished by Cromwell, and was, as is well known, most characteristically rewarded by Charles II. This part of the history of Captain Rock’s ancestors is very forcibly and pointedly drawn up, and affords a fair specimen of what may be called *Irish* justice. When James II was superseded, Ireland, of course, suffered as she has done by every other change. The Irish translation of the motto—SEMPER EADEM—is “worse and worse.”

‘ Among the many anomalous situations in which the Irish have been placed by those “marriage vows, false as dicers’ oaths,” which bind their country to England, the dilemma in which they found themselves at the Revolution was not the least perplexing or cruel.* If they were loyal to the king *de jure*, they were hanged by the king *de facto*; and, if they escaped with life from the king *de facto*, it was but to be plundered and proscribed by the king *de jure* afterwards.

* ‘ Among the persons most puzzled and perplexed by the two opposite royal claims on their allegiance were the clergymen of the Established Church; who, having first prayed for king James as their lawful sovereign, as soon as William was proclaimed, took to praying for *him*; but again, on the success of the Jacobite forces in the north, very prudently prayed for king James once more, till the arrival of Schomberg, when, as far as his quarters reached, they returned to praying for king William again.’

‘ *Hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum.*—VIRGIL.

‘ “ In a manner so summary, prompt, and high-mettled,
‘Twixt father and son-in-law matters were settled.”

‘ In fact, most of the outlawries in Ireland were for treason committed the very day on which the prince and princess of Orange accepted the crown in the Banqueting-house; though the news of this event could not possibly have reached the other side of the channel on the same day, and the lord-lieutenant of king James, with an army to enforce obedience, was at that time in actual possession of the government. So little was common sense consulted, or the mere decency of forms observed by that rapacious spirit, which nothing less than the confiscation of the whole island could satisfy; and which having, in the reign of James I, and at the restoration, despoiled the natives of no less than ten millions six hundred and thirty-six thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven acres, now added to its plunder one million, sixty thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-two acres more, being the amount, altogether (according to lord Clare’s calculation), of the whole superficial contents of the island!—(p. 111.)

In the year 1763, in the province of Munster, Captain Rock himself was born, and thence commences his ‘life, and times’ the observations upon the affairs of Ireland during his own existence are all so well entitled to attention, that we do not know what is best worth transplanting. TITHES are an everlasting subject of discord; but in our answer to the “Ecclesiastical Manifesto,” as Mr. Moore calls the article in the Quarterly Review, we have said so much, that we dare not add a line, on this very important topic, but must refer to the judicious remarks of Captain Rock himself, who is perfectly competent to represent its enormities in a proper light. He very naturally attributes the chief prosperity of his family to the eternal vexation and oppression arising out of the abominable system of Irish tithes (which, be it observed, is a very different question from that of English tithes) and he is further confirmed in this opinion, by a very ancient prophecy. It ran thus:—

‘ As long as Ireland shall pretend,
Like sugar-loaf, turn’d upside down,
To stand upon its smaller end,
So long shall live old Rock’s renown.
As long as Popish spade and scythe
Shall dig and cut the Sassanagh’s* tithe;
And Popish purses pay the tolls,
“ On heaven’s road, for Sassanagh souls—
As long as Millions shall kneel down
To ask of Thousands for their own,

* ‘The Irish term for a Protestant, or Englishman.’

While Thousands proudly turn away,
 And to the Millions answer "nay"—
 So long the merry reign shall be
 Of Captain Rock and his Family.—(p. 157.)

The Captain entertains very sensible notions respecting Church Establishments—they are less singular than they used to be—his ancestors have not been hunted, fined, imprisoned, pilloried, transported, hanged, and quartered, for nothing.

“By Jupiter Ammon,” says Clincher, junr. in the play, “all my religion is gone, since I put on these fine clothes;” and just so has it happened, since the time of Constantine, to every creed that has assumed the pomp and splendor of establishment:—what it has gained in wealth and worldly power, it has lost in purity and spiritual usefulness.

‘That principle of exclusion, too, on which all sects are more or less founded, though comparatively harmless when applied to the world to come, is, when brought into play in the concerns of this life, and backed by the strength of a secular ally, productive of no ordinary inconvenience and mischief.

‘As long as Popery had the whole Christian world to herself, and the same livery of belief was worn by all, this peculiar evil of establishments had not yet developed itself. But when the Reformation, unclasping the sacred book, invited every man to read it by the light of his own reason, such a multiplicity of creeds and opinions sprung up through Europe, as made the selection of any *one*, to be the sole, exclusive partner of the state, a choice as pregnant with discord as that of the shepherd of *Ida* himself.

‘And here began the interminable mischief of establishments. The Romish Church, strong in primogeniture and possession, held fast by her *majorat* of power wherever she could, and employed all her old inquisitorial arts to maintain it. The Reformed Faith, while professing to stand up for freedom of opinion, still retained the old Popish antipathy to dissent; and when she said, “I leave you free to interpret the Scriptures as you think proper,” added, “but I will disfranchise, imprison, and occasionally burn you, if you do not interpret them in the same sense that I do.”’

Again,

‘From this statement it will readily be concluded, that I consider a Church Establishment eminently calculated to serve the cause of discord, in whatever form it exists, and as it exists in Ireland supereminently so. In all other countries, the laws of reason and nature are so far consulted in this institution, that the creed of the majority of the people has been the religion adopted by the state; and so essential docs Paley consider this arrangement to the first object of an establishment—the religious instruction of the people—that, according to this sensible Divine, “it is the duty of the magistrate, in the choice of the religion which he establishes, to consult the faith of the nation, rather than his own;” and—still more strongly to the point in question—“if the Dis-

senters from the establishment become the majority of the people, the establishment itself ought to be altered or qualified."

' In Ireland, however,—where every thing is done (as astronomers say) *in antecedentia*, or, contrary to the order of the signs—so completely has this obvious policy been reversed, that the Church of about 500,000 persons out of a population of seven millions, is not only chosen and crowned as the sole Sultana of the state, but the best interests of the state itself are sacrificed to her pride, and a whole people turned into slaves and beggars for her triumph.

' The present archbishop of Dublin, in his celebrated charge, pronounces the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland to be "a Church without a Religion,"—meaning, I presume, *not* that such names as Fenelon and Sir Thomas More are to be erased altogether from the page of Christianity, but that we poor Irish Papists, having no well-paid archbishoprics, are *therefore* without a religion—"That fellow has no soul—where is his shoulder-knot?"

' But what will such haughty ecclesiastics say, when, by the operation of causes which seem as progressive as time itself, this people of Catholics whom they insult so wantonly—whose number is at this moment as great as that of the Protestants of England in 1688, and who are, in spite of misery and Malthus, every hour increasing—shall, like the disloyal waves dashing round the feet of Canute, encroach still further on their sacred precincts—when this Church without a religion shall have left them a church without a laity, and when one who inquires, "Where is the Protestant people of Ireland?" may receive nearly the same answer as that inspecting Colonel, who, on asking, "Where is the Donegall Light Troop?" was answered by a solitary voice, "Here I am, your Honour!"—(p. 254).

' One of those Reverend Orange pamphleteers, who are at present so busy at their old favourite task, of insulting and calumniating the people from whom they derive their wealth, affects to consider this smallness of the Protestant population as rather a lucky and providential circumstance. "There are," he says, "certain compensatory advantages, which may diminish, if not remove, the regrets of a statesman, that the sphere of the Established Church has not hitherto been wider. It was necessary that the aristocracy of this country—the aristocracy, not of wealth and power only, but of spirit, industry, and intelligence—should be entirely devoted to England, and should comprehend, in their love of it, every thing that was English*," &c. &c.

"Our Church is great, because it is so small—
Then it were greater, were it none at all."

* "*Case of the Church of Ireland stated*, by Declan." This Reverend pamphleteer has had the sagacity to discover some dark design against Church and State in the following lines of one of Moore's melodies, which he has thus marked in italics, in order to render the awfulness of the menace more striking:—

' Then blame not the bard, if in pleasure's soft dream

He should try to forget what he never can heal;

Oh, give but a hope—let a vista but gleam

Through the gloom of his country, and mark what he'll feel.

This is like old Croaker, in Goldsmith's play, discovering a threat of arson

And to this Euthanasia it must speedily come, unless, in conformity to Paley's wise advice, such alterations and modifications are promptly made, as shall, by diminishing its powers of mischief, delay, if not wholly avert, the catastrophe.

In the mean time, if what Tissot says be true, that "tout ce qui hâte les battemens du cœur fait qu'il battra moins long tems," every violent display of vigour—such as an archbishop *charging*, at the head of his clergy, right into the midst of six millions of people—or, in a humbler way, a reverend gentleman, like Mr. Fitzgibbon, ordering a party of soldiers into the church-yard, and attacking at once both the quick and the dead—all such perilous manifestations of redundant vigour ought, in the present plethoric and ticklish state of the Irish Church, to be avoided as dangerous: and this hint, though from an enemy, will, it is hoped, not be despised.—(p. 257.)

We can afford but one more extract—that, however, will do the business of a dozen—it contains one plain fact which sets the honesty and liberality of the Church Establishment in a striking point of view—who is surprised that the Irishman, who refuses his tithe, should have profited by so instructive an example?

'The first fruits, it is well known, are the first year's income of every ecclesiastical dignity or benefice—and were paid to the Crown from the time of the Reformation till the reign of queen Anne, when they were given up to form a fund for the increase of small livings and the purchase of glebes. Although, in the statute of Henry VIII., which appropriated these revenues to the Crown, there was a provision made for revising, from time to time, that valuation of ecclesiastical preferments under which they were then paid, this old rate, notwithstanding the great rise in the value of Church property, has continued to regulate the payment of first fruits ever since—the same clergy, who are so anxious to keep pace with the increasing wealth of the times in what they *receive*, preferring rather to abide by the antiquated valuation in what they *give*.

'The consequence of this is, that the fund in question, which may be estimated in England, I believe, at about 12,000*l.* a year, is found to be altogether inadequate to its purposes; and, unless (as the bishop of Landaff recommended) a new valuation of benefices is made, and the bishops and rich pluralists compelled to pay *real* first fruits and tenths, some hundreds of years, it is computed, must elapse, before the operation of queen Anne's fund alone shall have raised the value of the smaller livings, even a single degree above the starving temperature.

'Bad as this is, the case in Ireland is a hundred-fold worse. The valuation of livings at the time of the Reformation having, in consequence of the unsettled state of the country, been effected only in certain parishes, the clergy have, with their usual adroitness, taken advantage of this omission, and founded upon it, in spite of the positive

in a love-letter: "Blood and Gunpowder in every line of it! Little Cupid indeed! Go to the devil, you and your little Cupid together; I'm so frightened I scarce know whether I sit, stand, or go."—(p. 258.)

law, a claim to exemption from the tax altogether ;—so that, between the few who pay according to the low old rate, and the many who do not pay at all, this fund of first fruits, from the richest church in the world, does not average more than 370*l.* a-year.

‘ Nor is even this pitiful amount always duly forthcoming ; for it appears from the official statement returned to parliament, that there was not a single penny paid on account of the first fruits, either in the year 1803, 1810, 1814, or 1822.’

We cannot refrain from showing who it is that does actually furnish the funds for the objects to which the *real* First Fruits ought to be applied. The following passage is an answer to all those who think that no relief can be expected for Ireland from wise legislative enactments :—

‘ Instead of this, however, through^o the greater part of Ireland, scarce a shilling is expended in building, repairing, or ornamenting the Protestant places of worship, that is not wrung, by parochial assessment, from the unfortunate Catholic occupants of the district. Excluded, too, by law, from attending the vestries, where these levies are voted, and their applotment agreed upon, the wretched Catholic is obliged, without even knowing for what, to pay his last penny to the parish officer—or else to see the cow driven away from his famishing children to the pound. All this, perhaps, for the repair and decoration of some church, whose congregation is as select as that of Swift, with his “dearly beloved Roger,”—or else to gratify the architectural taste of some prelate, like the last bishop of Limerick, who persuaded himself, that he had civilized the county of Kerry by means of ornamental spires.

‘ Dr. Darwin had a plan for getting rid of volcanos, by making chimneys in the earth, to let the fire or steam escape: but this scheme of tranquillizing Ireland by means of Protestant spires, erected, as conductors, throughout its most electric regions, is an idea still more original and happy.

‘ It will hardly be believed, that one of the church rates levied by rich Protestant ministers upon the famishing peasantry around them, is “for the purchase of elements for the Holy Communion.” The bishop of Cloyne (Woodward), in giving an account of some tithe transactions, which occurred in the year 1787, and in which I recollect having played rather a distinguished part, thus enumerates a few of our achievements in the ecclesiastical line: “They attacked the servants of the clergy—they demanded of them a surrender of old tithe notes—they intimidated vestries from levying money for the repair of churches, for the payment of the legal officers attending the church, and *for the purchase of elements for the Holy Communion.*”

‘ Well might an honest Dissenter, who answered this pamphlet of the bishop, exclaim, “What!—do the lords of the land even commemorate their Saviour at the expense of the poor?”

‘ An extract from one of the acts in force with respect to church rates, will sufficiently show the “tricks before offended Heaven” which our Protestant legislators play in Ireland.—After reciting that “several parishes are united by charters granted by the Crown, in some of which

there are *but very few Protestants inhabiting, and in others none at all,*" it proceeds to enact as "just and proper, that such parishes of the said Union as have not any church or chapel, or church or chapel fit for the celebration of Divine service, should contribute to the payment of the annual instalments of the loans granted, and to be granted, for the *building, and rebuilding and repairing of the churches or chapels of the parishes to which they are or may be so united.* That is to say, a parish where the inhabitants are all Catholics, and which neither has a Protestant church, nor wants one, is yet, in consequence of being capriciously united to some other parish (for the purpose of forming a rich benefice for some non-resident), obliged to contribute to the expense of "building, rebuilding, and repairing" the church of that parish to which it is so united, and in which there may happen to be a few Protestants, to avail themselves of such a place of worship.

'As it may be imagined by the reader, that this preposterous enactment is only one of the few remains of that Anti-Popery system, which modern liberality has long disavowed, it is necessary to mention that the act in question is dated March 1823, and is "*marqué au coin*" with the wisdom of the present secretary of Ireland.'—(p. 281).

The principal fault of these Memoirs is, that they want object,—the writer appears to be aiming at nothing; and he cannot allege, as an excuse for this, that his business was to follow the events of the life of his imaginary personage, for the truth is, that the author has not attempted to endow the Captain with any other personal attribute than a name. The matter of the book is really nothing more than remarks or anecdotes of Irish history. We do not complain of this; but at the same time think Mr. Moore might have aimed at something more important, more useful, and more permanent. To have succeeded in communicating a knowledge of facts in the case of Ireland, however, is no trifling service, and we can fully appreciate the difficulties he has had to encounter.

'Matthew Lanesburgh—the Francis Moore of the continent—in apologizing for the delay of his Almanack for 1824, pretty plainly intimates that it was owing to the interference of the Holy Alliance, who had denounced some parts of his works as dangerous to the peace of Europe; "I have, therefore," he says, "consented to sacrifice these passages, because, *je tiens infiniment à ce qu'on me lise.*"

'From the same motive I have, myself, in the course of these pages, rejected many historical facts and documents, though of considerable importance to the illustration of my subject; because I am well aware that, in the present times, matter-of-fact has got much into disrepute, and that statements, to be at all listened to, must be measured by a minute-glass—because I know, too, that of all the *bores* of the day, poor Ireland is (what some of her antiquarians wish to prove her) *Hyperborean*—and because, in short, like the worthy almanack-maker just mentioned, "*je tiens infiniment à ce qu'on me lise.*" (P. 135.)

It will have been seen from the quotations we have made, that Mr. Moore's prose very closely resembles his poetry. The

style of both is exquisitely polished; both abound rather in elegant fancies than in eloquent and heart-stirring appeals,—in allusions to curious parts of learning, and ingenious turns of thought, than in a profound knowledge of the human heart. In both there is a constant effort at effect; he always gets on sentence by sentence, and rarely comes to a period without having achieved an epigram or an antithesis. It is seldom that he inspires enthusiasm, and never; either by narration or description, does he identify the reader and his subject, and hurry both along in one impetuous and overwhelming stream of historic interest or poetic passion.

Mr. Moore is a man of very extensive reading, and appears to be an accomplished scholar—We would warn him against a too lavish use of the advantages which these acquirements confer on him. We should alarm the *English* public were we to throw together a collection of the immense number of erudite, and often far-fetched and strained allusions, which he has scattered over this little book, neither to the advantage of the author nor the reader. He must beware of pedantry—he must be cautious lest he should appear to read only to write—and only to write for the sake of showing his reading. His ten thousand illustrations drawn from Herodotus and other favourite ancients, put into the mouth of Captain Rock, can scarcely be justified by the extraordinary prevalence of classical learning among the *lower Irish*, for which we have the undoubted authority of Mr. Smith the historian of Kerry. In the character of this Captain, however, there are graver inconsistencies, which were unavoidable in such a personage, and very much impeach the judgment of the author in selecting him as the vehicle of his opinions. He is represented as living and prospering solely by discord and anarchy, while the tone which he maintains throughout, is that of bitter indignation against the oppressors of Ireland, and consequently against his best friends. The smallness of the volume may seem scarcely to justify either the tone or the extent of our notice of it. But in the first place, every production of Mr. Moore is worth attention and examination—and in the next—the subject is one of deep interest, on which he evidently feels warmly—has studied most assiduously, and concerning which he has amassed a variety of information, which must astonish those who associate ideas of indolence and ignorance with amatory poetry—and, more than all, from Mr. Moore's popularity, from the beauty of his style, and his knowledge of the matter under discussion, we are desirous of an opportunity of recommending that this should be made only his *first* work on the "maladies" of his unhappy native island, and but the prelude to more important exertion.

ART. X. PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

Edinburgh Review.

IN a former article, we analysed the various misleading interests under the influence of which the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews are placed; both as periodical publications, and as the organs of the two great parties into which the British aristocracy is divided. We then proceeded to criticize the Edinburgh Review in detail; and we began to prove, by quotations from the work itself, that it has really exhibited the vices, which we described as likely to characterize a periodical publication attached to the Opposition party.

The most prominent feature in its character—its disposition to compromise—to say a little for the aristocracy and a little for the people alternately, and always to give up so much of every important question, as to avoid an irreparable breach either with the one side or with the other; this characteristic quality of the Review we illustrated by numerous quotations, selected from the volumes preceding the year 1812. We shall now prove, by further citations, that it has since persevered, and does still persevere, in the self-same course.

The first passage which we shall extract is from an article on Spain, in the twenty-third volume. The conduct of Ferdinand in re-establishing the old despotism, contrary to the expectations which had been held out to the Spaniards, in order to stimulate their exertions for the expulsion of the French, is here spoken of with that abhorrence which it so justly deserves. The writer appears, however, to have trembled lest he should have gone too far; lest the aristocracy should take the alarm at so severe a censure on an established government; on one, too, which it was the fashion of the day to call legitimate: and he continues,

‘ We have but a word or two to add on the moral of this strange drama. We subscribe unreservedly to the doctrine of Mr. Hume, that every people, not absolutely subdued by foreign force, must be governed by opinion; or, if the admirers of Mr. Paine object to that word, by prejudice. Government is founded—not on divine right—not on a social contract, but on the general consent and tacit agreement of the people, as at the moment subsisting. But we are not to conclude, because power is derived from the people, that all governments in which they do not reserve a portion for themselves are illegitimate. For it is very clear (notwithstanding what has been written), that the people can

as easily give the right of raising taxes on themselves to one hereditary officer, as to five hundred, renewed every seven years.' (Vol. xxiii, p. 380).

This passage is a specimen of the vague language, so convenient for the purpose of compromise, which the Opposition party makes use of when it takes the popular side of any question.

"All power is derived from the people;" "government is founded on the general consent and tacit agreement of the people:" and the like. It is obvious that the people are not in any respect benefitted by this verbal recognition of their sovereignty. It does not bring them one particle nearer to obtaining good government. This they can obtain, only by providing real and efficient *securities* for it. But these vague phrases, though of no service to the people, are admirably suited to the purpose of the Whigs; which is, to please the people, just as far as is consistent with not alarming the aristocracy. A well-turned rhetorical sentence asserting popular supremacy, is expected to be grateful to the ears of many among the people, who not having a clear conception of what constitutes efficient securities for good government, are incapable of discerning that mere declamation gives no security whatever. The aristocracy, on their side, risk nothing by conceding to their adversaries a general maxim which leads to no consequences. Their power and emolument remain untouched. The only thing which they have any reason to dread—the establishment of efficient securities against misrule—the Edinburgh Review, from the first, has strenuously opposed. If the people will be cajoled with fine language concerning their sovereignty, they may have as much of it as they please from the Edinburgh Review. But, if they require any thing tangible—if they ask *what they are to get* by this boasted sovereignty, it calls them radicals and democrats, who wish for the annihilation of property, and the subversion of the social order.

We may explain on the same principles, the warmth which the Edinburgh Review has constantly shown, in defence of the people's right to resist oppression by rising against the government. The following passage is extracted from an article in the twenty-seventh volume, on the dangers of the Constitution:—

'What is it that secures the system against such attacks as we have alluded to, and in like manner against more direct and open invasions of power?—It is unquestionably the influence of public opinion, and the apprehension of resistance, intimately connected with it. As long as the proceedings of parliament occupy the attention of the people, an

effectual control is exerted over them ; and the discussions in the two houses, how little soever they may seem to influence the votes, are engines of the highest power in controlling the executive through the public. As long as judges sit in the face of the country, and, above all, in the face of an enlightened and jealous bar, the most scrutinizing and unsparing of all auditories,—the Crown can neither fill the bench with its tools, nor can better instruments degenerate into that occupation. As long as all the proceedings of government are public,—canvassed freely by the press, and made known through that and other channels of information ; and as long as there is reason to believe that gross mis-rule will engender resistance,—a corrupt judicature and a venal parliament may in vain combine with a despotic court, in defiance of public opinion. Tyranny will dread going beyond a certain length, and this fear will supersede the necessity of applying the ultimate check. This sacred principle of resistance is the very foundation of all our liberties ; it is the cause to which we owe them :—Let it only be destroyed, and they are gone.’ (Vol. xxvii, p. 249).

To suppose resistance necessary, is to suppose the existence of bad government ; and to speak of it as a security, is only calculated to make the people contented with a bad government, by looking to resistance as a remedy for its evils. The fact is, that resistance is any-thing but a remedy : and this for two reasons. One reason is, that from the aversion which all men feel to commit their persons and their property to the hazards of a civil war, they are willing to submit to a great degree of mis-government before they will resist. But, besides, a revolution, even when it does happen, is not, in itself, productive of any good. It is useful, only in so far as it contributes to establish permanent securities for good government. Take away this effect, and the whole cost of the revolution is unmixed evil. Yet the *Edinburgh Review*, which has always earnestly deprecated the establishment of securities for good government, holds up the principle of resistance as our only safeguard against oppression. Why ? Because this principle, like all other principles which appear to be, without really, being a security, is calculated to catch the favour of the less clear-sighted part of the people ; while it does not alarm any but the more timid portion of the aristocracy. All among them whose fears do not entirely overcome their reason, are aware that a successful insurrection, the only kind of resistance which they have any reason to dread, rarely happens under a regular government ; and that an ordinary share of prudence on their part, might, in most cases, prevent it from happening at all. They are, therefore, well contented that the people should be hindered from turning their attention to the remedies which are effectual, by having it fixed upon remedies which are not.

The whole language of the Edinburgh Reviewers, on the subject of government, proves their wish to prevent the people from looking out for securities against misrule. They do not approve of a law or of an institution, because it is conducive to good government, but because it is favourable to liberty. They do not disapprove of a ministerial measure, because it opens a door to oppression, but because it is unconstitutional. These phrases, as we shall presently show, are extremely convenient to those who wish to compromise the question of good government.

“The constitution” either means nothing at all, or it means the aggregate of the securities, such as they are, which our present form of government affords us, against misrule. These securities are either adequate to their purpose, or they are inadequate to it. The doctrine of the Edinburgh Review is, that they are not adequate. For it is continually asserting, in the most unqualified terms, that parliament, instead of being, as by the constitution it ought to be, an efficient check upon the conduct of ministers---is, on the contrary, a ready tool in their hands. We shall only quote one passage among many, in which this charge of inefficacy is brought against the constitution:—

‘After all that we have seen of parliaments, it would be a vain fancy to imagine that the representation of the people is of itself a security for their rights. Even if that representation were much more perfect than it is, it would be liable to the influence of the Crown, and might be intimidated by violence. In fact, to what baseness has not the parliament, at one time or another, made itself a party?’ (Vol. xxxvii, p. 247).

If the securities provided by the constitution are inefficient, so inefficient as not to prevent the government from being party to any act of baseness whatever; most men will probably conclude, that it is time to think of providing more perfect securities. Not so the Edinburgh reviewers: their ideas of amelioration go no farther than to bid us cling more closely to the imperfect securities which we have. To improve the constitution, is with them a very secondary object. To preserve it is the one thing needful. The necessity of guarding it against the encroachments of ministers, is the burden of their song, even in the very article from which the above extract was taken. They admit that misgovernment may be carried very far, with the concurrence of parliament, and therefore without violating the constitution. To this kind of misgovernment, however, it appears, we are to submit. If ministers will compound not to violate the constitution, they may oppress,

as much as they please, in any other way. Is this not compromise? If not, the word is without a meaning.

We are aware that, on other occasions, the *Edinburgh Review* has represented the constitution as standing in need of improvement, and even of considerable improvement. But this, far from invalidating the truth of our observations, is only another instance of the habitual see-saw. When the tide ran high for reform, the *Edinburgh Review* was compelled, to a certain extent, to go with the tide. It is enough, that it has never proposed any plan of reform which would, to any practical purpose, diminish the power of the aristocracy, or add to the people's securities for good government. To do so would have been to renounce the compromise, to break with the aristocracy, and to adhere to the people. This did not suit the Opposition party; nor, consequently, did it suit their faithful and devoted organ.

Liberty, another favourite word with the *Edinburgh Review*, is equally suited with the word "constitution," to the ends of compromise. Liberty, in its original sense, means freedom from restraint. In this sense, every law, and every rule of morals, is contrary to liberty. A despot, who is entirely emancipated from both, is the only person whose freedom of action is complete. A measure of government, therefore, is not necessarily bad, because it is contrary to liberty; and to blame it for that reason, leads to confusion of ideas. But to create confusion of ideas, is essential to the purpose of those who have to persuade the people, that small abuses should be reformed, while great ones should remain untouched. The true reason for reform is evidently much stronger in the case of a great abuse than of a small one. They cannot therefore put forward the true reason; they must put forward something, which shall have the semblance of a reason, but which they can explain away when they please, and which, therefore, cannot be turned against themselves.

Liberty is the word which they make use of for this purpose. Small abuses are to be reformed, because they are contrary to liberty. There are minor reasons, as, that they hurt the prosperity of the country, and so forth, but this is the main argument. On the other hand, when a great abuse is to be upheld, these gentlemen proceed to explain away their own doctrine: they tell us that freedom may be carried to a dangerous excess; that it is apt to degenerate into licentiousness; and they coin certain convenient phrases, "rational liberty," "constitutional liberty," "liberty rightly understood," and the like: with which elegant kinds of liberty they declare the great abuses to be consistent.

The above remarks afford a key to much of the language which the Edinburgh Review has held, and still holds, concerning government. Whatever it may be necessary to say concerning their plans of reform in the detail, will be said hereafter in a separate article.

Among the instruments of misgovernment which the rulers of this country have at their command, the law of libel is justly considered one of the most dangerous: as it enables them to free themselves from that which is in itself a considerable check upon them, and without which all other checks are ineffectual, free discussion. There is no legal definition of libel: there can be no definition, so long as libel law continues in its present state, that of common, or unwritten law. A judge, dependant upon the government, is left with full power to decide any publication libellous, or not, as he pleases: whatever disposition the jury might have to set aside his opinion, being got rid of by the practice of packing special juries.* As might have been expected under such circumstances, the judges have allowed themselves no small latitude in declaring publications to be libellous. Lord Ellenborough once said from the Bench, that a libel was *any thing which hurt the feelings of any body*. The common judge-made definition of a public libel, is, *any thing which tends to bring the constituted authorities into hatred and contempt*. But all censure of their conduct must, *pro tanto*, have this tendency; and most so, when their misconduct is most glaring, and the censure which is bestowed on it most urgently required. With the help, therefore, of so convenient a definition of libel, and of such convenient instruments as English judges, government have it in their power to suppress all censure whatever.

The twenty-seventh volume of the Edinburgh Review contains an article on Holt's *Law of Libel*, in which this subject is canvassed at considerable length. For the people, there is abundance of general remarks on the importance of free discussion; remarks such as we hear from no one more frequently than from Lord Eldon himself. But when the reviewer comes to something specific; when he undertakes "to find the quan-

* The special jury system is one of those abuses which the Edinburgh Review has uniformly slurred over. In an article in the thirteenth volume, (p. 172) it professes not to believe that any evil arises from the practice of packing juries. More recently (vol. xxxvi, p. 174) it declares that the principal part of the evil has been corrected in recent practice. It remains, however, uncorrected to this day; and yet the Edinburgh Review, which professes so much regard for free discussion, and for trial by jury, has never dropped one word in reprobation of it.

tity of liberty, and the species of restraint, which will secure to the press the greatest amount of free discussion consistent with the tranquillity of the community, and the safety of private character;" he proceeds in the most deliberate manner to surrender up all the essential points to the aristocracy.

The undefined nature of the offence of libel; that which is really at the root of the mischief; that which enables the government to punish as libellous any publication containing sentiments displeasing to themselves; this enormous evil, the *Edinburgh Review* not only does not suggest the means of *correcting*, but expressly declares not to be an evil.

'One charge which has been urged against the system, we are inclined to dismiss at once, as founded in an extremely superficial view of the matter. It has been stated as a great defect, that there is no law defining a libel; or expounding what shall be considered libellous. In no code, either formed by successive acts of legislation, or composed at once by speculative lawgivers, was ever such a definition attempted. The attempt would in truth be vain. The nature of the thing precludes all minute definition; and a general description is useless for the end in view.' (Vol. xxvii, p. 108.)

In the next page, however, we are told that "means may be found of limiting the sense of the word in practice as effectually as is desirable, and preventing the prosecution of *any thing that at any time displeases any body*, as the modern practice has been alleged to have described the offence."

The inconsistency of this doctrine with itself is remarkable. We are to limit the meaning of the word: if we do not, all kinds of mischief will ensue. But we are not to limit it in the only mode in which any man in his senses ever thought of limiting the meaning of a word; namely, by a definition. What is the tendency of this doctrine is evident. It is to give us something which should *appear* to limit the meaning of the word, without *really* limiting it: to deceive the people into a belief that freedom of discussion exists by law, when in fact so much of it only exists as public opinion renders it unsafe to destroy.

The two following passages form an appropriate comment upon the preceding:—

'It is manifest, that a statement, either against the government, or an individual, may be libellous; or, to use a phrase which no one can object to, may be criminal, although founded in truth. Undoubted facts may be involved in furious or inflammatory invective. Some cases may be conceived (though they are exceedingly rare) in which a simple statement of facts respecting the government would be an offence against the public tranquillity; but innumerable cases may be put, in which the publication of the truth, without any comment, would be an offence against private individuals.' (Vol. xxvii, p. 109.)

And further on,

' That there are public libels, properly so called, which may be criminal, though true, is easily shown. The instances are no doubt rare, but they exist. It may be libellous to state in an inflammatory way, that which, if plainly stated, would be innocent; as, to address the passions of the multitude about scarcity of provisions, or of soldiers about pay. It may be libellous to address to particular classes a plain statement of that which, published generally, would be innocent, as to disperse it among a mob or an army. It may be libellous to state, even plainly, truths of a delicate nature at a peculiar crisis—as, during an invasion, a rebellion, or a mutiny. Finally, there are certain truths (but the number is extremely small), of so peculiarly delicate a nature, that the plainest statement of them at any time would be libellous; as, the legitimacy of the reigning sovereign;—his right to the crown generally;—his political conduct, for which he is not responsible;—his private conduct, of which the law takes no notice.' (Vol. xxvii, p. 126.)

Mark the concessions which are here made to the aristocracy. "It may be libellous to state in an inflammatory way, that which, if plainly stated would be innocent." We are sorry the reviewer did not teach us how to draw a precise line between two modes of stating the same fact, one of them an inflammatory mode, the other not. Only entrust a judge dependant on the aristocracy, and a packed special jury, with the power of punishing all statements conveyed in what they may call inflammatory language; and nothing more is wanting to enable them to punish any statements whatever.

The other passage, however, goes even beyond this in open and undisguised enmity to free discussion. In some cases "a simple statement of facts respecting the government would be an offence against the public tranquillity:" much more, a statement accompanied by a comment, however calm and dispassionate. This gives a degree of latitude to the government, which is scarcely claimed even by the Tories themselves. Moderate Tories usually admit that calm and dispassionate discussion on the conduct of the government should be allowed. The Edinburgh Review, however, tells us, that in some cases, which it is impossible to define by law, not merely all discussion, however cool and unimpassioned, but a bare statement of facts, ought to be punished. It tells us, indeed, that these cases are rare. Happily it would not be safe, in this age and country, to say that they are *not rare*. But, rare as they are, it tells us that they cannot be defined: and as there must be somebody to judge, and as the Edinburgh Review has not told us who this somebody shall be, we are left to conclude that it means the government to judge: and to judge what? To judge what shall, and shall not be spoken of itself!

In return for all these concessions to the aristocracy, what is to be done for the people? Truth should be permitted to be given in evidence on the trial, and should have some weight in determining the verdict of the jury: although it would rest with the judge and packed jury to decide what degree of weight it should have. The greatest benefit of a free press is, the discussion which it calls forth concerning the conduct of the government. This discussion consists in the statement of facts and expression of opinions. We have seen how the *Edinburgh Review* disposes of the statement of facts; and as for the expression of opinions, how would freedom in this respect be increased by the adoption of the only remedy which the *Edinburgh Review* proposes for the defects of the law of libel?

Within the last six or seven years, when the desire of efficient securities for good government has become much more general than it has been at any previous period of history, the interest of all other political questions has been to a considerable degree swallowed up by that of parliamentary reform. It was to be expected, therefore, that this subject should occupy a more conspicuous place than before in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*. And in the tone which the *Review* has adopted on this most momentous of all topics, there appears not less of the disposition to compromise than on every other subject of importance. Its ordinary course has been to speak loudly of reform in general, but specifically to approve only such plans as, if adopted, would leave the means of misgovernment with unimpaired strength in the hands of the aristocracy; and to impute either the grossest folly, or the most detestable wickedness, to those who desire a more extensive reform, as well as to those who would have no reform at all. In conformity to the habitual see-saw, they have occasionally deviated from this course.

Thus an article on America, in the thirty-first volume, contains an unusual proportion of democratic sentiments. The same observation applies to another article on the same subject; in the thirty-third volume, where a charge which had been brought against the *Review* of illiberality towards America, seems to have extorted from it sundry expressions in favour of popular governments, exceeding perhaps, in boldness, any which had yet appeared in its pages. America is quoted as an instance to show "within what limits popular institutions are safe and practicable, and what a large infusion of democracy is consistent with the authority of government and the good order of society." (Vol. xxxiii, p. 405.) Then follows a prediction that, ere long, a struggle will take place in all the countries of

Europe, for the amelioration of their political institutions ; “ even in England,” says the reviewer, “ the more modified elements of the same principles are stirring and heaving around, above, and beneath us, with unprecedented agitation and terror ;” and he observes that the assistance of America may be needed to give preponderance to the good cause.

In the very next number we find an article on France, which almost returns to the anti-jacobin tone of the early numbers. In direct opposition to the doctrines of the article to which we just referred ; it repeats the wretched aristocratic fallacy, of which too many well-meaning persons are even now the dupes, that “ wherever universal suffrage is actually established, Agrarian law may be expected to follow.” (Vol. xxxiv. p. 28). It laments bitterly over the decay and discredit into which, fortunately for France, the old feudal nobility have fallen. It says as much as it can venture to say in palliation of the vices of the old French despotism : thus, it doubts whether the abolition of the *jurandes*, the *maîtrises*, and similar commercial restrictions, was a benefit. It lauds the *parlemens* for the purity of their administration of justice, as if it had forgotten the fate of Calas, and other transactions of a similar stamp.* When at last it is compelled to admit that great evils existed, it tells us that “ France had never been in so fair a way to see the defects of its old institutions corrected, and civil liberty introduced with success, as it was just before the Revolution. But the restless impatience of reformers could brook no delay.” And then it goes on imputing all the evils of the revolution to the impatience of the reformers, and none of them to the opposition of the court. It accuses the French government, subsequent to the restoration of the Bourbons, of too great a tendency to liberalism ! and vindicates Louis XVIII. from the accusation of mistrusting the people, and of being insincere in his professions of a desire to establish a constitutional government in France ! Be it observed, also, that this article was written, not immediately after the return of the Bourbons, when it could only as yet be surmised what course they would pursue ; but after the passing of the election law of 1820, by which a permanent majority in the Chamber of Deputies was secured to the Court, and but for which, neither the Spanish war, nor any of the other iniquitous measures of the French

* In an article as early as the 10th volume (a review of Capmany's *Questiones Criticas*) ; we are told distinctly that in France, under the Bourbons, the administration of justice was not only bad, but nearly as bad as in Spain. (Vol. x, p. 425.)

government would probably ever have taken place.* On this law the Edinburgh Review bestows unqualified praise; because, forsooth, “the republican principle predominates in the French monarchy;” a defect which, it seems, is to be remedied by giving preponderance to a very different principle—the despotic. After this we need not feel surprise on being told that our own complaints against our government, including, of course, those of the Edinburgh Review, are unfounded.

‘Foreigners are apt to be misled by what they read in our newspapers, or hear from their own travellers. Complaints against the government, and dismal forebodings about the loss of liberty, are nowhere so frequent and so loud as in those countries where there is, on the whole, the least reason for such apprehensions.’

We know not whether the following sentence is more remarkable for the boldness with which it begs the question, or for the unintelligible jargon in which the assumption is wrapt up, to conceal its utter falsehood:—

‘We think ourselves warranted in saying, that most of the abuses and troublesome results of our institutions may be traced directly to some principle of exuberant vigour shooting beyond the mark; they are the price we pay for overbalancing advantages; the wrong side of a good government, and the reasoning of those who condemn them on that account, would prove, if admitted, that a bad government is the best.’

From the length to which our remarks upon the see-saw have already extended, we have only room for one additional instance. This we shall select from an article in the thirty-seventh volume, on the Liberty of the Press and the Constitutional Association; in which, by the way, a defect in the law which, in a former article, was affirmed to be irremediable—the absence of all definition of libel—is acknowledged and complained of (p. 116). The frequent use which government has sometimes made of the privilege of *ex-officio* informations is here spoken of as meriting the severest censure. But the reader will judge how much value is to be attached to those declarations, when we tell him that it complains as loudly of the “culpable indifference” with which, at other times, government has abstained from prosecuting certain periodical works (p. 112); although “every one else,” says the Review, “was daily sickened at the audacity and activity of their authors;” an assertion which, if true, proves, conclusively, that the publica-

* This is a remarkable instance of see-saw. Five years before, when the Bourbons had not yet done half so much to re-establish despotism as they had in 1820, the Edinburgh Review itself charged them with all those iniquitous designs, from which it afterwards endeavoured to exculpate them. See a long article on France, in the twenty-fifth volume.

tions in question cannot have done any mischief, and, consequently, that it would have been altogether unjustifiable, upon all principles, to punish the authors.

That the spirit of compromise has been a marked characteristic of the Edinburgh Review, from its commencement to the present day, insomuch that there is scarcely a question of any importance, of which it has not either given up half, or preached alternately, first on the one side and then on the other, is now, we hope, sufficiently clear to all our readers. •

It shall next be our business to prove that it has been equally distinguished by the other vices to which we have shown periodical literature to be liable. And first, we shall examine how far it has made a practice of chiming in with existing prejudices.

Of its sacrifices at the altar of aristocratic prejudice, two remarkable instances occur in the first number; the one in a review of Southey's *Thalaba*, the other in an article on the sugar colonies.

To most of our readers Mr. Southey is probably known only as the warm advocate of every existing abuse, and the reviler of all who think that governments were made for the people, and not the people for governments. He, and the other Lake poets, however, commenced writing with higher objects. They saw that the aristocracy, while they profess a whining sympathy with the poor as individuals, inflict the most tremendous evils, without compunction, upon the poor, *en masse*; and they resolved to set the example of condemning murder and robbery on a large as well as on a small scale. They saw that the aristocracy, as a class, claim merit for every crime which they do not commit; while it is urged as a reproach against the poor, that they are not always proof against temptations, which nothing less than heroic virtue could withstand. They saw this, and were indignant: they contrasted the vices of the people with the vices of the aristocracy, and bestowed the severest condemnation, where every candid mind will admit that the severest condemnation was due. In such a cause, even some exaggeration would have been excusable; there is certainly no want of exaggeration on the other side. Hear, however, the Edinburgh Review:—

‘ A splenetic and idle discontent with the existing institutions of society, seems to be at the bottom of all their serious and peculiar sentiments. Instead of contemplating the wonders and the pleasures which civilization has created for mankind, they are perpetually brooding over the disorders by which its progress has been attended. They are filled with horror and compassion at the sight of poor men spend-

ing their blood in the quarrels of princes, and brutifying their sublime capabilities in the drudgery of unremitting labour. For all sorts of vice and profligacy in the lower orders of society, they have the same virtuous horror, and the same tender compassion. While the existence of these offences overpowers them with grief and confusion, they never permit themselves to feel the smallest indignation or dislike towards the offenders. The present vicious constitution of society alone is responsible for all these enormities: the poor sinners are but the helpless victims or instruments of its disorders, and could not possibly have avoided the errors into which they have been betrayed. Though they can bear with crimes, therefore, they cannot reconcile themselves to punishments; and have an unconquerable antipathy to prisons, gibbets, and houses of correction, as engines of oppression, and instruments of atrocious injustice. While the plea of moral necessity is thus artfully brought forward to convert all the excesses of the poor into innocent misfortunes, no sort of indulgence is shown to the offences of the powerful and rich. Their oppressions, and seductions, and debaucheries, are the theme of many an angry verse; and the indignation and abhorrence of the reader is relentlessly conjured up against those perturbators of society and scourges of mankind.

‘It is not easy to say, whether the fundamental absurdity of this doctrine, or the partiality of its application, be entitled to the severest reprehension. If men are driven to commit crimes through a certain moral necessity; other men are compelled, by a similar necessity, to hate and despise them for their commission. The indignation of the sufferer is at least as natural as the guilt of him who makes him suffer; and the good order of society would probably be as well preserved, if our sympathies were sometimes called forth in behalf of the former. At all events, the same apology ought certainly to be admitted for the wealthy, as for the needy offender. They are subject alike to the overruling influence of necessity, and equally affected by the miserable condition of society. If it be natural for a poor man to murder and rob, in order to make himself comfortable, it is no less natural for a rich man to gormandize and domineer, in order to have the full use of his riches. Wealth is just as valid an excuse for the one class of vices, as indigence is for the other.’

To blame a man for being “filled with horror and compassion at the sight of poor men shedding their blood in the quarrels of princes;” and to accuse him, on that account, of a “splenetic and idle discontent with the existing institutions of society,” is to put forth a doctrine which we could not characterise in adequate terms, and on which, therefore, we shall abstain from offering any remark. Nor will we refute the assertion, that the vices of the poor are not more excusable than those of the rich: it would be an insult both to the understanding and to the feelings of our readers. But do the rich try themselves even by *the same* standard as the poor? We give them full credit for their virtuous horror of poachers

and of sabbath-breaking orange-women ; but we submit that if vices are to be weighed by their tendency to deprave and corrupt the character, gambling, the vice of the rich, is entitled to rank somewhat above even sabbath-breaking and poaching : yet those very gentlemen who habitually enforce against poachers the utmost penalties of an atrocious law, daily receive into their houses persons notorious for gambling at Newmarket, if not in Pall Mall ; but who are not, on that account, less “moral men” in the eyes of their vice-suppressing friends. While these are the habitual feelings of the higher classes—feelings which ninety-nine out of every hundred poets foster, and will continue to foster, so long as the aristocracy shall continue, as at present, to lead public opinion ; what are we to think of a writer who, like the Edinburgh Reviewer, blames the hundredth for bestowing “exclusive sympathy” upon the poor ?

The other article to which we alluded presents a remarkable contrast with the tone which the Edinburgh Review afterwards assumed, on the subject of negro slavery. Its object is, to prove that we ought to wish success to an armament which the French government was then fitting out against Hayti ; and that we ought even, if necessary, to assist the French in their enterprise. When we consider what that enterprise was—an enterprise for the purpose of reducing a whole nation of negroes to the alternative of death, or of the most horrible slavery ; and when we consider upon what ground we are directed to cooperate in it, namely, the danger to which our colonies would be exposed, by the existence of an independent negro commonwealth, we can have no difficulty in appreciating such language as the following :—

‘ We have the greatest sympathy for the unmerited sufferings of the unhappy negroes ; we detest the odious traffic which has poured their myriads into the Antilles ; but we must be permitted to feel some tenderness for our European brethren, although they are white and civilized, and to deprecate that inconsistent spirit of canting philanthropy which, in Europe, is only excited by the wrongs or miseries of the poor and the profligate, and, on the other side of the Atlantic, is never warmed but towards the savage, the mulatto, and the slave.’ (Vol. i. p. 227).

To couple together “the poor” and “the profligate,” as if they were two names for the same thing, is a piece of complaisance to aristocratic morality which requires no comment. Then all who venture to doubt whether it is perfectly just and humane to aid in reducing one half of the people of Hayti to slavery, and exterminating the other half, are accused of sym-

pathizing exclusively with the blacks. We wonder what the writer would call sympathizing exclusively with the whites. We should have thought that the lives and liberties of a whole nation, were an ample sacrifice, for the sake of a slight, or rather, as the event has proved, an imaginary addition to the security of the property of a few West-India planters. This is, indeed, to abjure "canting philanthropy." What it is that the reviewer gives us in the place of it we leave to the reader to judge.

In the third volume there is a passage, in an article on Millar's View of the English Government, where the writer, attempting to draw a character of Millar, thus expresses himself:—

'There never was any mind, perhaps, less accessible to the illusions of that sentimental and ridiculous philanthropy which has led so many to the adoption of popular principles. He took a very cool and practical view of the condition of society, and neither wept over the imaginary miseries of the lower orders, nor shuddered at the imputed vices of the higher.' (Vol. iii. p. 158).

By all in whom aristocratic bigotry has not extinguished every spark of candour or honesty, but one judgment can be passed upon a writer who can apply to the unmerited sufferings of the poor the appellation of "imaginary miseries," and who can insinuate that the "imputed vices" of the higher orders are imputed to them without foundation.

He continues,—“While no man could be more convinced of the *incapacity and worthlessness of the clamorous multitude*, he thought that the indirect influence of public opinion was the only safeguard of our liberties.” Can Toryism go beyond this? The passage is, besides, an amusing specimen of seesaw. The attempt to unite contradictory opinions is more undisguised, less carefully wrapped up in vague and obscure language, than is usual with the Edinburgh Review. For the aristocracy, abuse is heaped upon the people, under the name of the “clamorous multitude;” for the people, the influence of public opinion is described as the only safeguard of our liberties: the opinion of that public which, in the preceding part of the very same sentence, is accused of incapacity and worthlessness.

The Edinburgh Review could have hoped for no success with the aristocracy, had it let slip any opportunity of possessing them with high ideas of their own importance to the community. We need not wonder, therefore, to find it describing a resident gentry as one of the greatest of all blessings; and one, of which the infallible consequence would be, “the im-

provement of their lands, and the improvement of their tenantry in morals, in comfort, and in industry." (Vol. v, p. 302; see also Vol. xxiv, p. 523; Vol. xxxiv, p. 326, *et passim.*) There is only one thing of which the writer has neglected to inform us: how these most desirable effects are brought about. The tenants, at least, are not impressed with a due sense of them; for in Scotland (and the same, we suppose, would be found to be the case in England), a higher rent is commonly paid for a farm, when it is known that the proprietor is not to reside in the neighbourhood. It is a pity that so flattering a picture as the reviewer holds up to us, should differ so widely from the real state of the facts.*

The only remaining instance which space will permit us to notice, of the obloquy thrown upon the people by the Edinburgh Review, shall be selected from a very recent article on the Westminster Infant School.

The reviewer mentions with regret, that this establishment, though well attended so long as it continued a free school, had fallen off considerably when the payment of three pence a week was required. This he ascribes to "that vulgar feeling which makes the poor too often greedy at once, and ungrateful; expecting as a kind of right, what their richer neighbours give in charity, and almost thinking that whoever volunteers his services in their behalf, has a personal interest in their good, and should pay for his fancy." (Vol. xxxviii, p. 445). We do not precisely see what the writer means. If he is finding fault with the poor, for not liking better to pay for what they want than to receive it gratis, we suspect it is a fault to which all men, not excepting even the reviewer himself, must plead guilty. But if he means to insinuate, that they refrain from sending their children to the school, because they suspect the motives of the gentlemen who set it on foot, the absurdity is so palpable as scarcely to need a refutation. The idea that any one, in determining whether he will avail himself of a proffered benefit, is influenced by any other considerations than, first, whether it is really a benefit, and secondly, whether the cost does not exceed the advantage, almost provokes a laugh. In this instance, there can be no doubt as to the cause of the falling-off of the school. The parents uniformly evinced the acutest sensibility to the benefits they derived from it. But a great proportion of them were from the very poorest of the peo-

* It is the less excusable in the Edinburgh Review to flatter this aristocratic prejudice, as from the general goodness of its political economy, it cannot be the dupe of the vulgar error that landlords benefit their estates by spending their money there.

ple, and really could not spare three pence a week, much less fourpence or sixpence. Mark, however, the uncandidness of the reviewer; he knew that some parents chose rather to withdraw their children, than to pay threepence a week. He knew also, that some parents formerly paid fourpence or sixpence a week to the dame schools. He immediately lays it down as certain, that these two classes of persons are the same; and on these premises he accuses the poor in general of giving a preference to the dame schools!

That the poor, in all countries, instead of erring on the side of distrust, have uniformly erred on the side of confidence, is proved by their habitual submission to misgovernment. Perhaps, if it were admitted that they are habitually suspicious of the rich, the influence would be more unfavourable to their superiors than to themselves. To borrow an illustration from another branch of morality; the veracity of that man must be more than suspected, whose word is disbelieved even when he speaks the truth. By the same rule, then, if the poor habitually suspect that the rich, when they profess to serve them, are really serving their own sinister purposes, the fair inference would be, not that these suspicious habits had grown up, as suspicious habits never were known to grow up, of themselves; but that, from the frequency with which the poor have seen their interests disregarded by the rich, they cannot bring themselves to repose any confidence in the professions which they hear from those rich, of a desire to serve them.*

The *Edinburgh Review* has pandered with as much perseverance to national as to aristocratic prejudices. English and excellent it employs as synonymous terms; that a foreigner admires England, is a sure passport to its praise; that he does not, is of itself sufficient to draw down upon him its censure. The habits and institutions of other nations are praised exactly in proportion as they approach to the English standard; blamed in proportion as they depart from it. On the other hand, the prejudices which prevail in this country against the French, are carefully nourished and fostered. Every opportunity is taken of showing how much the character and habits of that nation differ from excellence; meaning, of course, by excellence, the English habits and character. Sometimes,

* In another place, the reviewer quotes with approbation a passage from Pole, on Infant Schools, in which an attempt is made to account for this imputed suspiciousness, by a supposition of which it is difficult to say whether the candour or the liberality be most remarkable—"The poor scarcely know how to believe others can be actuated by dispositions so superior to what they have been accustomed to cherish in themselves."

indeed, a torrent of mere abuse is poured out against the French, for the sole purpose of gratifying national antipathy.

We could fill a whole article with instances of these practices; but the few which we shall select are so flagrant, that any one who peruses them, will readily dispense with the remainder.

In an article in the second volume, on Dallas's History of the Maroons, the writer, after very properly deprecating the use of bloodhounds in hunting down the insurgent slaves, adds the following note:—

' If common fame may be credited, the French are at present engaged in a campaign against the St. Domingo rebels, with the aid of bloodhounds. Considering the nature of the consular government, and the wretched people over whom it is stretched, we cannot avoid being astonished at this measure having only now been adopted.'

The consular government was not worse than any other despotism. Nevertheless, we should not object to the censure, were it levelled against the government alone. But why are the people held responsible for the cruelties of the government? For this reason, that when the above passage was written, the English aristocracy abhorred every thing French—the government as well as the people; but the people most: because they had incurred the guilt of throwing off despotism; the government only that of substituting one despotism for another. On any of the occasions on which the Edinburgh Review has declared the English ministers worthy of impeachment; on the occasion, for instance, of the Walcheren expedition—would they have dared to lay the guilt of the ministers at the door of the English people? Yet the English people had as great a hand in the Walcheren expedition, as the French people had in the employment of blood-hounds in St. Domingo—a reflection which the reviewer probably thought not likely to occur to his anti-gallican readers.

An article on Dr. Black's Lectures, in the following Number, is remarkable for its offerings both to national antipathies and to national vanity. Upon the French men of science, the writer is peculiarly severe. He who could ascribe the invention of the most beautiful system of weights and measures ever yet known, to a combination of "innovating phrenzy and puerile vanity," must have sat down with a predetermination to find matter for censure. In his next charge he is almost equally unfortunate. Some French *savans*, it seems, in the warmth of their self-congratulation upon a most important discovery, had indulged in certain ludicrous ceremonies, repugnant indeed to English

gravity, but of which the worst that can be said is, that they were a harmless piece of child's play :—

‘ When the Parisian chemists, it seems, had finished their grand experiment on the composition of water, they held a sort of festival, at which Madame Lavoisier, in the habit of a priestess, burnt Stahl's *Fundamenta* on an altar, while solemn music played a *requiem* to the departed system.’ (Vol. iii, p. 23).

We confess we do not see any thing very atrocious in this ; and we suspect no one but an Edinburgh or a Quarterly reviewer would have thought of magnifying it into a proof of “ that universal *charlatanerie* (the word cannot be translated by a people so destitute of the thing) which renders the French national character the least *respectable* of any in the civilized world.” John Bull, whose gullibility has been the subject of so many sarcasms, would no doubt feel agreeably surprised at being told that no such thing as *charlatanerie* is known in England. If he reflected, however, that this very England is the only country where a quack doctor ever succeeded, we fear he would feel inclined to doubt the sincerity of his panegyrist.

In another article in the same Number (Vol. iii, p. 125), “ a vicious and perverted love of obscenity” is described as “ peculiarly and characteristically the disgrace of French literature.” (Vol. xxi, p. 283). In a subsequent article this charge is repeated, and directed more peculiarly against Diderot, whose works are affirmed to be characterized by a peculiar and revolting kind of indecency. We think it sufficient to appeal to the knowledge of any one who is well versed in French literature, whether there is as much indecency in any French writer of reputation—probably in any two French writers of reputation—as there is in Shakspeare alone ; Shakspeare, whom the Edinburgh Review holds up as the *ne plus ultra* of literary excellence.

For some years, when the cry of the Edinburgh Review was for peace ; to continue reviling the French, would have been to fight against its own object. In the more recent volumes, however, it has returned to its former practice, which it had never more than partially intermitted.

The charge of indecency against the French is one which it has thought proper frequently to repeat. At the end of an article in the thirty-first volume, on Madame d'Epinaÿ's Correspondence, the writer observes—“ But if all the decencies and delicacies of life were in one scale, and five francs in the other, what French bookseller would feel a single moment of doubt in making his election ?” Now, we take the case to be, that in this, as in most other respects, a French bookseller is very like any other bookseller. The love of gain, we are apt to think, is

not peculiar to the French people : and when a writer inveighs against a particular nation, for being acted upon by the same inducements which influence men all over the world, we are at no loss in what terms to characterize his conduct.

Three recent articles, one in the thirty-fourth, one in the thirty-fifth, and another in the thirty-seventh volume, are devoted to the express purpose of extolling all English, and depreciating all French books and authors ;* of extolling the morality, taste, and knowledge of the English public, and depreciating that of the French. The writer appears not to be aware, that there are two sides to a question. In as far as he is concerned, there is only one. On the English side he enumerates nothing but excellencies ; on the French side, nothing but defects. As if this were not enough, he draws largely upon his imagination for fresh excellencies to be ascribed to the English, and fresh defects to the French. Not content with 'pronouncing in favour of the English national taste, on every point on which it differs from the French ; he traces up all such differences to the superiority of the English over the French public—first in good sense, and next in morality. A detailed analysis of these articles would not convey an adequate conception of their spirit to those who have not read them, and would be superfluous to those who have. Our limits will admit only of one specimen. Flagrant as that specimen is, it is not the worst. He presents us with what is meant to be a parallel between the eminent men of the last half-century in England and France. With this view he makes a pompous display of all the English authors who have attained, during that period, any, even the smallest, share of celebrity ; down to the merest party scribblers, or vulgar versifiers, and including many whose names we never heard before (Vol. xxxv, p. 184). On the other hand, he sets up on the French side a sort of *index expurgatorius*, and instead of a page and a half of names pronounced worthy of immortality, he furnishes us with a list of authors whom he, by his fiat, consigns to oblivion. Among these are not only Jouy, Millevoye, and Raynouard, poets, to say the least, not inferior to many who are enumerated in the same article among the ornaments of the British nation ; not only Ségur, Thouret, and Boissy d'Anglas, authors unquestionably far superior, both in

* It is not strictly correct to say that the Edinburgh Review depreciates *all* the French writers. Upon one of them—upon Montesquieu, it bestows even more than the due praise : but why ? It almost confesses the reason—Montesquieu *admired England. The English institutions were the standard by which Montesquieu judged of all other institutions. To eulogize Montesquieu, therefore, was one way of eulogizing England.

liberality, in talents, and in style, to average English historians ; but Say,—one of the few French writers who never sacrifices truth to display,—who is never led astray from the path of reason, by sentimentality, or by a taste for floridity and declamation,—Say, who first introduced the French nation to the true principles of political economy, and whose name will be mentioned with honour among the philosophers who have raised that important branch of knowledge to the rank of a science ; he, too, is ranked among those “ revolutionary worthies” (Vol. xxxv, p. 180), who will be utterly forgotten in half a century, and the very ablest of whom “ would find in this country, and at this moment, at the least ten persons of more ability than himself, yet whose names are absolutely unknown.”

If there is a fault with which French authors, collectively, can be charged (though even to this rule there are exceptions), it is declamation and sentimentality. And when we consider what has been the character of English literature since Johnson and Burke wrote,—when we see that, in this country, the meanest creature who can hold a pen aims at being eloquent, we cannot pronounce even declamation and sentimentality, though the common faults of French writers, to be characteristic of French literature. Observe that these, the only faults which can be justly ascribed to the French authors generally, are almost the only faults which have not been ascribed to them by the *Edinburgh Review*. This is not wonderful, considering of what stamp some of the works have been upon which the *Edinburgh Review* has been the most prodigal of its praise ;* and considering also the examples of declamation and sentimentality with which its pages, abound.

The sentiments which the *Edinburgh Review* has put forth concerning female character, are as little creditable to itself, and exemplify as completely the characteristic malady of periodical literature, as any which we have yet quoted.

He who is restrained by indolence from improving himself, has a direct interest in preventing the improvement of others ; since, if others improve, and he does not keep pace with them, he must necessarily lose his rank in their estimation. But he is most of all interested in the non-improvement of his wife. For he thinks, and he believes that others think, that he ought to be her guardian and protector : to rely, therefore, upon her for protection and guidance, instead of extending it to her, is more than usually humiliating. There is another and a very powerful

* For instance, Alison's Sermons ; Hazlitt's Lectures on the Drama ; Madame De Staël's Work on Germany, &c.

motive, which renders ordinary men averse to instructed women. Every man desires that his wife should prefer him, and prefer him beyond comparison, to all other men. But if she is capable of discriminating between merit and no merit, she will not reserve for her husband alone that admiration which ought to be given wherever it is deserved; and if he is neither wiser nor better than others, he will not, by her, be rated higher, or valued more.

To these causes must be ascribed the morality which is usually chalked out for women. It is a sort of morality, the prevalence of which it would be difficult to account for in any other way. The qualities which are said to constitute excellence in a woman, are very different from those which constitute excellence in a man. It is considered meritorious in a man to be independent: to be sufficient to himself; not to be in a constant state of pupillage. In a woman, helplessness, both of mind and of body, is the most admired of attributes. A man is despised, if he be not courageous. In a woman, it is esteemed amiable to be a coward. To be entirely dependant upon her husband for every pleasure, and for exemption from every pain; to feel secure, only when under his protection; to be incapable of forming any opinion, or of taking any resolution without his advice and aid; this is amiable, this is delicate, this is feminine: while all who infringe on any of the prerogatives which man thinks proper to reserve for himself; all who can or will be of any use, either to themselves or to the world, otherwise than as the slaves and drudges of their husbands, are called masculine, and other names intended to convey disapprobation. Even they who profess admiration for instructed women, not unfrequently select their own wives from among the ignorant and helpless.

That the Edinburgh Review has never stood up manfully to resist this prejudice, is in itself no trifling charge. But it has done more: it has repeatedly given a direct sanction to it. Madame De Staël, Miss Edgeworth, and other eminent women, were to be praised; it could not, therefore, in distinct terms, number incapacity among female virtues. But it could say, "Shakspeare has expressed the very perfection of the feminine character, existing only for others, and leaning for support on the strength of its affections" (Vol. xxvi, p. 103). A character which has nothing to lean upon but the strength of its affections, must be a helpless character indeed. This is vague enough; and, like almost every thing which the Edinburgh Review says in defence of prejudices, admits of being explained away. The tendency of it, however, is manifest; and

it is equally evident, that the vague language in which it is wrapped up, only serves to render it the more pernicious, by inveigling many into assent, who would shrink from the proposition, if presented to them in its naked deformity.

Such additional remarks as our limits will admit of shall be devoted to illustrate the morality of the *Edinburgh Review*.

This, it might be thought, is a labour which, after the specimens already exhibited, might be spared. What can be more immoral than the see-saw? a practice which is, throughout, a mere sacrifice of truth to convenience: a practice which habituates its votaries to play fast and loose with opinions—to lay down one, and take up another, with every change of audience? Can there be a spectacle more repugnant to that candour and sincerity which are so essential a part of morality, than a continual attempt to varnish over inconsistencies, and to reconcile in appearance doctrines which are really irreconcilable? What immorality, again, can exceed that of pandering to those prejudices which render one nation the enemy of another, or one portion of the people the enemy of the mass?

In the Whig morality, however, as delivered in the *Edinburgh Review*, there are some features which call for a more detailed examination.

In the following passage, extracted from an article in the twentieth volume on Leckie's *View of the English Government*, we have a tolerable specimen of the sort of conduct which answers to the Whig ideas of public virtue:—

‘Parties are necessary in all free governments—and are indeed the characteristics by which such governments may be known. One party, that of the rulers of the court, is necessarily formed and disciplined from the permanence of its chief, and the uniformity of the interests it has to maintain—the party in opposition, therefore, must be marshalled in the same way. When bad men combine, good men must unite—and it would not be less hopeless for a crowd of worthy citizens to take the field without leaders or discipline, against a regular army, than for individual patriots to think of opposing the influence of the sovereign by their separate and uncombined exertions. As to the lengths which they should be permitted to go in support of the common cause, or the extent to which each ought to submit his private opinion to the general sense of his associates, it does not appear to us—though casuists may mask dishonour, and purists startle at shadows—either that any man of upright feelings can be at a loss for a rule of conduct, or that, in point of fact, there has ever been any blameable excess in the maxims upon which our parties in this country have been generally conducted. The leading principle is, that a man should satisfy himself that the party to which he attaches himself means well to the country, and that more substantial good will accrue to the nation from its coming into

power, than from the success of any other body of men whose success is at all within the limits of probability.—Upon this principle, therefore, he will support that party in all things which he approves—in all things that are indifferent—and even in some things which he partly disapproves, provided they neither touch the honour and vital interests of the country, nor imply any breach of the ordinary rules of morality.—Upon the same principle he will attack not only all that he individually disapproves in the conduct of the adversary, but all that might appear indifferent and tolerable enough to a neutral spectator, if it afford an opportunity to weaken him in the public opinion, and to increase the chance of bringing that party into power from which alone he sincerely believes that any sure or systematic good is to be expected. Farther than this we do not believe that the leaders or respectable followers of any considerable party, intentionally allow themselves to go— (Vol. xx, p. 343).

Observe the course which is here chalked out for a public man. The first thing he has to do is to choose a party. As he is to fix his choice upon the party of whose measures he approves, one would think he ought to stand by it so long as he approves of its measures, and no longer. Such would be the dictate of honesty; but such is not the dictate of the *Edinburgh Review*. To stand by it in all things which he approves, in all things which are indifferent, and in some things which he disapproves: this is the Whig morality. By supporting it in things which he approves, he is only doing what he might have done, and kept, notwithstanding, perfectly clear from the trammels of party. The only thing peculiar to the party system, is the obligation to stand by his party in things which are indifferent, and in things which he disapproves. Observe, now, what this implies. To support the party in things which are indifferent, he must profess to believe them not to be indifferent. To support the party in things which he disapproves, he must, where he really disapproves, profess to approve. He must pretend to hold, and act as if he held, opinions directly contrary to his real opinions.

Another rule of party morality is pretty clearly expressed in the foregoing passage—“He will attack not only all that he individually disapproves in the conduct of the adversary, but all that might appear indifferent and tolerable enough to a neutral spectator, if it afford an opportunity to weaken him in the public opinion.” For the sake of weakening the minister in the public opinion, a deception is to be practised upon the public: means are to be used for misleading them, by instilling into them a false opinion, by persuading them that the minister has acted wrong, when in truth he has acted right. We presume it would be meritorious to invent any convenient

sophism which should have the effect of furthering so laudable an object.

The reader will do well to peruse, as a specimen of the Whig style of argument, an elaborate article on the state of parties in the thirtieth volume, in which all this jesuitry is vindicated under the name of concert and co-operation. The ministry—such is the language—have an organized and well-disciplined body of adherents constantly at their devotion: when bad men combine, good men must unite; and in this, as in every thing else, small things must be yielded for the sake of great ones.

Let us bear in mind what sort of “concert” it is, which is here recommended: a concert which consists in opposing the ministry when they are right, supporting the opposition when they are wrong: a concert of which the fundamental principle is, that every thing to which the majority of the party is favourable, shall be supported by the whole; every thing to which the majority is adverse, opposed by the whole. To call this “yielding in small things for the sake of great ones,” is to beg the question. There are sufficient reasons to make it certain that the yielding will be precisely in those things which are the most important of all.

While public men continue to be, what public men, with few exceptions, are at present, so little versed in the science of human nature, so little skilled in predicting effects from their causes; excessive timidity must be, in the great majority of cases, the governing principle of their conduct. A short-sighted man is ever timid. He sees that under, the present system, person and property are to a certain degree secure. Change the system, and he knows not what will happen. Not knowing what will happen, he fears the worst. And though he dreads great changes most, his opposition extends even to the smallest. Innovation once begun, though it be but in a trifle, he knows not when or where it will end.

In the present situation of Great Britain, and of all countries in Europe, extensive and searching reforms are imperatively required. All half measures are useless, with reference to the production of any great or permanent good. To effect extensive and searching reforms, boldness and decision are absolutely necessary. Boldness and decision, however, are qualities, in which, for the reasons which we have stated, the public men of the present day, at least the great majority of them, are, of necessity, and to a lamentable degree, deficient. All decisive measures, therefore, are sure to meet with opposition at their hands. They never venture to strike at the root of the evil. Some miserable palliative is all they dare to apply.

It is to the more manly and clear-sighted alone, that the advocate of effectual improvement must look for support. Here, however, the evils of the party system are most clearly shown. The clear-sighted and manly, who would have been instruments of good, become instruments of mischief. Instead of aiding effectual improvement, they are compelled to oppose it. They are dragged down to the level of the meanest animal who can give a vote; they dare not advance a step without *his* previous sanction; they are pressed into the service of every abuse which he in his wisdom may consider it unsafe to remove.

This is to “yield in small things for the sake of great ones.” But what are the great ones? What is the end, for which every thing which is of most importance, and almost every thing which is of any importance, is to be sacrificed? Simply the displacement of the ministry: an important object, we admit, to those who hope to succeed them; but would it be of any benefit to the people? Even on the principles of the Edinburgh Review it would not. For if the removal of a particular set of ministers is of so much importance, that ministry must have been guilty of immense mischief: of what sort then must be the constitution which permitted them to do so? And if the constitution be such as not to prevent an abuse of trust, by what right does the opposition lay claim to more confidence than the ministry?

When such is the state of the question; to talk of the necessity of concert, is to talk in the air. No one is more sensible of the necessity of concert than ourselves. Not that sort of concert which consists in speaking and voting on one side, thinking and feeling on the other—but a concert which involves no sacrifice of principle—a concert for mutual aid among those who agree, without imposing fetters upon those who differ; a concert, in short, not for men, but for measures. All would then co-operate, where all were agreed; and the advocate of bold and decisive measures—of the only measures which in the present state of the world can be of great or permanent utility; would have the support of every sincere man whom he could convince.

Even, though it had not been in our power to quote, as we have done, from the pages of the Edinburgh Review, explicit declarations in favour of bad morality—the morality of party—that Review would still have been far from blameless on the moral score. There is such a thing as negative immorality—there is the immoral by omission; and of this it stands convicted out of its own mouth. Witness the following extracts from an article in the twenty-first volume. In what respect

does a moral work differ from one which is not moral? In aiming at rendering mankind wiser and better. What, then are we to think of a publication which declares all improvement in wisdom and in virtue, to be hopeless?

‘ All knowledge which admits of demonstration will advance, we have no doubt, and extend itself; and all processes will be improved, that do not interfere with the passions of human nature, or the apparent interest of its ruling classes. But with regard to every thing depending on probable reasoning, or susceptible of debate, and especially with regard to every thing touching morality and enjoyment, we really are not sanguine enough to reckon on any considerable improvement; and suspect that men will go on blundering in speculation and transgressing in practice, pretty nearly as they do at present, to the latest period of their history.’ (Vol. xxi. p. 12.)

Then follows a series of paragraphs to corroborate this assertion. We copy one or two of them. They throw some light upon the logic as well as upon the morality of the Edinburgh Review.

‘ Take the case, for example, of war—by far the most prolific and extensive pest of the human race, whether we consider the sufferings it inflicts, or the happiness it prevents—and see whether it is likely to be arrested by the progress of intelligence and civilization. In the first place, it is manifest, that instead of becoming less frequent or destructive, in proportion to the rapidity of that progress, our European wars have been incomparably more constant, and more sanguinary, since Europe became signally enlightened and humanized,—and that they have uniformly been most obstinate and most popular in its most polished countries. The brutish Laplanders, and bigotted and profligate Italians, have had long intervals of repose; but France and England are now pretty regularly at war for about fourscore years out of every century. In the second place, the lovers and conductors of war are by no means the most ferocious or stupid of their species,—but for the most part the very contrary;—and their delight in it, notwithstanding their compassion for human suffering, and their complete knowledge of its tendency to produce suffering, seems to us sufficient almost of itself to discredit the confident prediction of those who assure us, that when men have attained to a certain degree of intelligence, war must necessarily cease among all the nations of the earth. There can be no better illustration indeed, than this, of the utter futility of all those dreams of perfectibility, which are founded on a radical ignorance of what it is that constitutes the real enjoyment of human nature, and upon the play of how many principles and opposite *stimuli* that happiness depends, which, it is absurdly imagined, would be found in the mere negation of suffering, or in a state of Quakerish placidity, dulness, and uniformity. Men delight in war, in spite of the pains and miseries which it entails upon them and their fellows, because it exercises all the talents, and calls out all the energies of their nature—because it

holds them out conspicuously as the objects of public sentiment and general sympathy—because it gratifies their pride of art, and gives them a lofty sentiment of their own power, worth, and courage,—but principally because it sets the game of existence upon a higher stake, and dispels, by its powerful interest, those feelings of *ennui* which steal upon every condition from which hazard and anxiety are excluded, and drive us into danger and suffering as a relief. While human nature continues to be distinguished by those attributes, we do not see any chance of war being superseded by the increase of wisdom and morality. We should be pretty well advanced in the career of perfectibility if all the inhabitants of Europe were as intelligent, and upright, and considerate, as sir John Moore, or lord Nelson, or lord Wellington,—but we should not have the less war, we take it, with all its attendant miseries. The more wealth, and intelligence, and liberty, there is in a country, indeed, the greater love there will be for war;—for a gentleman is uniformly a more pugnacious animal than a plebeian, and a free man than a slave. The case is the same with the minor contentions that agitate civil life, and shed abroad the bitter waters of political animosity, and grow up into the rancours and atrocities of faction and cabal. The actors in these scenes are not the lowest or most debased characters in the country,—but, almost without exception, of the very opposite description. It would be too romantic to suppose that the whole population of any country should ever be raised to the level of Fox and Pitt, Burke, Windham, or Grattan; and yet, if that miraculous improvement were to take place, we know that they would be at least as far from agreeing, as they are at present; and may fairly conclude, that they would contend with far greater warmth and animosity.

‘ For that great class of evils, therefore, which arise from contention, emulation, and diversity of opinion upon points which admit of no solution, it is evident that the general increase of intelligence would afford no remedy; and there even seems to be reason for thinking, that it would increase their amount. If we turn to the other great source of human suffering, the abuse of power and wealth, and the other means of enjoyment, we suspect we shall not find any ground for indulging in more sanguine expectations. Take the common case of youthful excess and imprudence, for example, in which the evil commonly rests on the head of the transgressor,—the injury done to fortune, by thoughtless expense—to health and character, by sensual indulgence, and to the whole felicity of after-life, by rash and unsorted marriages. The whole mischief and hazard of such practices, we are persuaded, is just as thoroughly known and understood at present, as it will be when the world is five thousand years older; and as much pains are taken to impress the ardent spirits of youth with the belief of those hazards, as can well be taken by the monitors who may discharge that office in the most remote futurity. The truth is, that the offenders do not offend so much in ignorance, as in presumption. They know very well, that men are oftener ruined than enriched at the gaming table; and that love marriages, clapt up under age, are frequently followed by divorces: But they know, too, that this is not always the case: and

they flatter themselves that their good luck, and good judgment, will class them among the exceptions, and not among the ordinary examples of the rule. They are told well enough, for the most part, of the excessive folly of acting upon such a presumption in matters of serious importance:—But it is the nature of youth to despise much of the wisdom that is pressed upon them, and to think well of their fortune and sagacity, till they have actually had experience of their slipperiness. We really have no idea that their future teachers will be able to change this nature; or to destroy the eternal distinction between the character of early and mature life; and therefore it is that we despair of the cure of the manifold evils that spring from this source; and remain persuaded, that young men will be nearly as foolish, and as incapable of profiting by the experience of their seniors, ten thousand years hence, as they are at this moment.

With regard to the other glittering curses of life—the heartless dissipations—the cruel seductions—the selfish extravagance—the rejection of all interesting occupation or serious affection, which blast the splendid summit of human fortune with perpetual barrenness and discomfort—we can only say, that as they are miseries which exist almost exclusively among the most polished and intelligent of the species, we do not think it very probable, at least, that they will be eradicated by rendering the species more polished and intelligent. They are not occasioned, we think, by ignorance or improper education; but by that eagerness for strong emotion and engrossing occupation, which still proclaim it to be the genuine and irreversible destiny of man to earn his bread by the sweat of his brows. It is a fact indeed rather perplexing and humiliating to the advocates of perfectibility, that as soon as a man is delivered from the necessity of subsisting himself, and providing for his family, he generally falls into a state of considerable unhappiness; and, if some fortunate anxiety, or necessity for exertion, does not come to his relief, is generally obliged to seek for a slight and precarious distraction in vicious and unsatisfactory pursuits. It is not for want of knowing that they are unsatisfactory that he persists in them, nor for want of being told of their folly and criminality;—for moralists and divines have been occupied with little else for the best part of a century; and writers of all descriptions, indeed, have charitably expended a good part of their own *ennui* in copious directions for the innocent and effectual reduction of that common enemy. In spite of all this, however, the malady has increased with our wealth and refinement, and has brought along with it the increase of all those vices and follies in which its victims still find themselves constrained to seek a temporary relief. The truth is, that military and senatorial glory is neither within the reach, nor suited to the taste, of any very great proportion of the sufferers; and that, the cultivation of waste lands, and the superintendence of tippling-houses and charity-schools, have not always been found such effectual and delightful remedies as the inditers of godly romances have sometimes represented. So that those whom fortune has cruelly exempted from the necessity of doing any thing, have been led very generally to do evil of their own accord, and have fancied that they rather diminished than added

to the sum of human misery, by engaging in intrigues and gaming-clubs, and establishing coterics for detraction or sensuality.' (Vol. xxi. p. 14-17.)

We must call the attention of our readers to one short passage more.

' There will be improvements, we make no doubt, in all the mechanical and domestic arts ;—better methods of working metal, and preparing cloth ;—more commodious vehicles, and more efficient implements of war. Geography will be made more complete, and astronomy more precise ;—natural history will be enlarged and digested ;—and perhaps some little improvement suggested in the forms of administering law. But as to any general enlargement of the understanding, or more prevailing vigour of judgment, we will own, that the tendency seems to be all the other way ; and that we think strong sense, and extended views of human affairs, are more likely to be found, and to be listened to at this moment, than two or three hundred years hereafter.' (Vol. xxi. p. 21.)

We are here told, not obscurely, but distinctly—not indirectly, but in as many words—that morality will never be better understood than at present ; that morality will never be better practised than at present ; that mankind will never be more prudent than they now are ; that vigour of intellect and sound views of human affairs are oftener found and better listened to at this moment, than they are likely to be at any future period.

This is a bold attempt to catch the favour of aristocracy, by affording a new pretext for checking the diffusion of knowledge. In the mean time, how gross is the hypocrisy of which, by its own confession, the Edinburgh Review must have been guilty, as often as it has cried out, and it has cried out often, for the instruction, and, above all, for the moral instruction of the people ! We think also, that it may fairly be asked, by what title a work which sets out by assuming the impossibility of human improvement, can be supposed to have human improvement at heart, or to have any object whatever in view, beyond the mere temporary amusement of its readers ?

And, indeed, if the value which a writer sets upon morality can be gathered from the judgments which he passes upon other writers, the Edinburgh Review has not traced its own portrait with too severe a pencil.

The examples which we shall adduce of this part of its character are not to be viewed as isolated instances, but as illustrative of its general practice. To be over-partial to this or that writer is a trifling offence. But habitually to bestow praise, not upon one production only, but upon many, without

for a moment adverting to their moral tendency, implies a state of mind on which we shall leave the reader to his own reflections.

We shall select, as our first instance, the tenor of its criticism upon Shakspeare: if that can be called criticism, where all is unmingled admiration.

No one, we suppose, will dispute to Johnson the title of an admirer of Shakspeare, though not, perhaps, an admirer to the taste of the *Edinburgh Review*: for he contented himself with being the ablest and most successful of the eulogists of Shakspeare as a poet; and did not, as some have done, hold him up as a perfect teacher of morality also.

“His first defect,” says Johnson, “is that to which may be imputed most of the evil in books or in men. He sacrifices virtue to convenience, and is so much more careful to please than to instruct, that he seems to write without any moral purpose. From his writings, indeed, a system of social duty may be selected, for he that thinks reasonably must think morally; but his precepts and axioms drop casually from him; he makes no just distribution of good or evil, nor is always careful to show in the virtuous a disapprobation of the wicked: he carries his persons indifferently through right and wrong, and at the close dismisses them without further care, and leaves their examples to operate by chance. This fault the barbarity of his age cannot extenuate; for it is always a writer’s duty to make the world better, and justice is a virtue independent on time and place.*

We should be sorry to be suspected of affecting prudery. It is one thing to be a moralist, another thing to be a poet; and a high degree of excellence in the one capacity is not incompatible with great deficiency in the other. But we assert that in a species of writing which admits so easily of being made subservient to morality, to be without a moral object is one of the greatest of defects; and we do say, that amid all the praises which the *Edinburgh Review* has lavished upon Shakspeare, its never having uttered even a wish that the moral tendency of his plays had been more decided, gives the lie direct to all its professions of zeal for morality. But the *Edinburgh Review* is written for Englishmen: Shakspeare is the idol of Englishmen: Shakspeare, therefore, must be praised, and for the more complete satisfaction of his admirers, all his merits must be exaggerated, and all his demerits must be sunk. To render

* Johnson’s Preface to Shakspeare, in his Works Ed. 1806, vol. ii. pp. 146, 147

men wiser or better is but a secondary concern : to please the public taste, is the first.

If to write without a moral purpose be a fault which the barbarity even of Shakspeare's age cannot extenuate, we presume it will be held to be still less excusable in Sir Walter Scott. He too shows no decided leaning between virtue and vice. There is no one of his productions from which, unless it be by chance, any one useful lesson can be derived. It is impossible to peruse them without being convinced that amusement, and amusement only, is there studied. This highly-gifted author, is, like Shakspeare, an object of admiration to the Edinburgh Review ; but not, like Shakspeare, of unqualified admiration. It has not judged him faultless ; it has found defects ; other defects, but never that of wanting a moral purpose ; never has it abated, on this account, one iota of its praise ; never for a moment has it lamented that his productions were not useful, as well as agreeable.

This indifference to the moral tendency of a work is perfectly consistent with the declaration of the Edinburgh Review, that the human race is without the capacity of moral improvement. But it forms a notable contrast with the scrupulosity which the same Review has assumed, when opprobrium is to be heaped upon an unpopular writer : upon Voltaire, for example : towards whom it seems to think that it is scarcely possible to be too foul-mouthed. " To him, more than to any other individual, the eighteenth century owes, we fear, its crimes"—(vol. xxxv. p. 171). Such is its ordinary language. Yet it cannot be said of Voltaire as it can of Shakspeare, that virtue and vice appear to be nearly indifferent in his eyes. He was even remarkable for the contrary quality. With Voltaire, even in his lighter pieces, to make the reader wiser and better is the consideration to which all others are subordinate. It is the part, not of moralists, but of bigots, to be blinded by the irreligious tendency of some of his writings, to the transcendant importance of the services which he rendered to mankind. It is the characteristic of fanaticism to find nothing which is not odious in the objects of its pious abhorrence. As to the hackneyed charge of licentiousness, we do not hesitate to meet it with a direct contradiction. Excepting, perhaps, the *Pucelle d'Orleans*, one of his earlier productions, and published, as is well known, not only without his consent, but against his will—bring together all the licentious passages in all his voluminous works—set them against the indecencies of a single play of Shakspeare—and let any man of common candor and honesty be judge between them. But the besetting sin of Voltaire was, that he

waged war against aristocratic prejudices. This it is which has drawn upon him the hatred of the aristocracy; this it is, which constitutes his title to the reproaches of the Edinburgh Review.

There is one part of the language of the Edinburgh Review concerning morals, on which it is necessary to offer a few remarks: as it might otherwise lead to the supposition, that we have been guilty of misrepresentation; that our accusation against it, of a disregard for morality, is untrue; that far from showing disregard, it has gone into the opposite extreme. This might be said, and, at first sight, with some appearance of truth. It is no doubt true, that there is one branch of morals on which it has affected even prudery. Of this we gave some instances in our former number. We could point out many articles, which, as examples of what is termed cant, have, we think, rarely been surpassed. Of such a kind are the various articles on Moore's amatory poetry. Even the ancients are considered very immoral, if their ideas, on this branch of morality, do not precisely correspond with those of the Edinburgh Review—(Vol. viii. pp. 456—463, *et passim*). In the second volume, (pp. 463-4), there is a long *tirade* against the morality of Anacreon; and at a later period (Vol. xiv. p. 367, *et passim*) Plato is represented as exceedingly wicked, for having expounded, in his Republic, the footing upon which he thought that the marriage contract could most advantageously be placed. Still more recently (Vol. xxxiv. p. 122) Mr. Edgeworth is blamed for having informed the world, in his posthumous memoirs, of his successive marriage of two sisters, that is, for not having made himself appear to the world other than what he really was.

That one offence is at all palliated by committing another, is what we cannot admit. Among all conceivable methods of atoning for the offence of leaving all other virtues to shift for themselves—to lay an excessive and disproportionate stress upon those which are of least importance to society, is surely the most extraordinary. Why this class of acts is thus exalted above all others, one obvious consideration will go far to explain. This is a branch of morality of which the priests have been suffered, for their own purposes, to assume the regulation: and they have accordingly laid down, not that system of rules which is most conducive to the well-being of the two sexes, or of society at large; but that which is best calculated to promote *their* ascendancy. To these virtues, therefore,—the virtues of priestcraft—the aristocracy clings, as the firmest support of the consecrated prop: and that the Edinburgh Review, habituated

as it is to disregard inconsistencies, should, notwithstanding its declaration that mankind can never be made better, have gone to the full length of the prevailing cant on these subjects, can to us, after what we have seen of that Review, be matter of no surprise.

On the only remaining feature of its morality upon which we shall at present insist—its sentimentality—our limits necessarily compel us to be brief. All, however, which it is absolutely necessary to say, may, we think, be said in few words.

There is a class of persons who rest their claims to admiration, not upon any thing which they have done to benefit mankind, or even that portion of mankind with whom they are immediately in contact, but upon the possession of fine feelings and acute sensibility. They would have us believe them emancipated from all the chains which attach other mortals to the earth. To the acquisition of wealth and power, they would willingly persuade us that they are indifferent; and the pleasures of sense have no charms for them. Not satisfied with this, they insist that all others shall feel exactly as they profess to feel. Gross, sordid, grovelling, are the mildest of the epithets which they deal out against all who set any value upon the ordinary objects of human desire. To think of himself, is an offence which they can pardon in no man. Virtuous creatures! In their minds, all sordid and selfish considerations are swallowed up in the intensity of their tenderness for their fellow-men. So strong are their sympathies, so distressing their sensibility, that their reason is completely mastered, and it would be as impossible for them to withstand the irresistible strength of their emotions, as to resist the action of the elements, or to overcome the force of gravitation. It may be very fine, they admit, to be able to sit down coolly and weigh the consequences to ourselves and to others, of every thing that we do: for their parts, they never could bring themselves to endure so cold and calculating a process. What they regard with the greatest horror of all, is to look after our own interest. Many of them go so far as to stigmatise the virtue of prudence by name. But to reflect, though it be only on the best mode of serving others, though not altogether so heinous, is still considered very unfeeling; and unfeeling, with them, is synonymous with wicked. Their hearts revolt at the idea of subjecting all the refined feelings of our nature to a heartless calculation of public utility, and restraining the indulgence of every generous emotion, until every item of good and evil which can result from it, is weighed and appreciated. Does a fellow-creature in distress stand before them? The frigid systems of philosophers

may teach that, in giving alms, they are encouraging idleness and improvidence, and inevitably creating more distress than they relieve. This may be very true, they allow; but heartless indeed must be the man whose hand would be stayed by such considerations! When a crime has been committed, they regulate the quantum of punishment, not according as more or less is necessary for the future prevention of the offence, but according as they do or do not sympathise with the offender. In the former case, they can scarcely endure that any punishment should be inflicted at all. They complain bitterly of the cruelty of the law, and sometimes even of law in general: they are continually placing justice and humanity in opposition, and lauding to the skies injustice under the name of mercy. On the other hand, is the offence of a sort with which they do not sympathise (and both their sympathies and antipathies are in the highest degree capricious and unreasonable), then no infliction appears too severe. Their virtuous horror of crime cannot descend to compute the exact amount of punishment which the nature of the case requires: of what consequence to them are a few degrees more or less of suffering endured by a criminal? They have another curious method of showing the intensity of their sympathies. This is, to make violent demonstrations of feeling on occasions on which practical good sense would tell them that there is no demand for more than ordinary emotion. They will not indeed submit to more labours and privations than other people, for the relief of distressed fellow-creatures: but they make amends by whining over them more.

It is not difficult to trace this sort of affectation to its cause. It originates in the common practice of bestowing upon *feelings* that praise which actions alone can deserve. By properly regulating his actions, a man becomes a blessing to his species. His mere feelings are a matter of consummate indifference to them. And who will say that praise is well bestowed on that which by no possibility can be of any use whatever? Not to mention that nothing is so easily counterfeited as feeling, and that the most intense demonstrations of it are not inconsistent with the total absence of the reality; what can be more absurd than to praise a man because he has a feeling; to praise him because he has something which he can no more help having, than he can help having ten fingers, or two feet, and which, for any good which it does, he might as well not have at all. The effect is, to create fictitious virtues, and thus to hold out the means of atonement for the absence of real ones; to render it possible, nay easy, to obtain a reputation for virtue, without the trouble of deserving it. Whether this is likely to give any

great encouragement to real virtue, is a question which we may fairly leave it to the reader to determine.

There is a class of moralists, however, and this class unhappily includes almost all who have written on the subject of morals, who, instead of correcting, make it their business to find excuses for, the sort of persons whom we have described. To benefit mankind is, in their eyes, a secondary merit; since it is possible to benefit mankind without having fine feelings. So far do they carry this perversion of the moral sanction, that even when they bestow praise upon actions, it is not according as those actions are useful, but according to the motives which they conjecture to have influenced the actors. Another inference from their doctrine is, that to think of consequences, instead of being essential to virtue, is inconsistent with it: a man of fine feelings ought to take those feelings exclusively for his guide: and there is no one so virtuous as he who disregards consequences altogether.

That this is altogether a false doctrine, and that it is, moreover, an exceedingly pernicious doctrine, must be apparent to every one who thinks that the happiness of mankind is at least deserving of some little regard, and is not altogether to be left out of the consideration, when the fine feelings of sentimentalists are in question.

The above description may perhaps appear exaggerated, as applied to the Edinburgh Review. But it must be remembered that we have been describing an extreme case. There is probably no one who carries the sentimental principle to its full extent, but some carry it further than others. There is a certain average rate of sentimentality, which may be considered habitual among ordinarily educated English gentlemen. A periodical publication is interested in going to the full length of the existing prejudices; but it lies under no inducement to go beyond them. Whenever any one carries sentimentality beyond the average rate, he is assailed by the Edinburgh Review with the double weapon of argument and ridicule. Witness its articles on the poets of the Wordsworth school, on Karamsin's Travels, Kotzebue's Travels, Montgomery's Poems, Goethe's Life, and many other works.* But this is only when

* We quote the following passage to show the light in which the Edinburgh Review regards all *unusual* affectation of strong and fine feelings:

'Mr. Montgomery is one of the most musical and melancholy fine gentlemen we have lately descried on the lower slopes of Parnassus. He is very weakly, very finical, and very affected. His affectations, too, are the most usual, and the most offensive, of those that are commonly met with in the species to which he belongs; they are affectations of extreme ten-

it has the reader on its side. It will never do any thing to set the reader right—to correct his errors—to overcome his prejudices. When he is right already, it will be right along with him: a poor merit!

In a very early article, which we have already had occasion to quote, we find the following explicit declaration in favour of the *principle* of sentimentality:

‘Is it by such a reference, made by cautious deductions in every situation of public feeling, that generosity, patriotism, and all the devotions of benevolence, are to be fostered into habits? We blame the system of those calculators of the general good, who prohibit the indulgence of any sentiment of affection, until we have compared it, as to its result, with every other feeling’—(Vol. i. p. 183).

But it is in a review of Mr. Bentham’s *Traité de Legislation* (Vol. iv.), that the most elaborate attempt is made to erect sentimentality into a system, to clothe it in the garb of philosophy, and to support it by arguments having the semblance of being drawn from the principles of human nature. Utility is here declared to be a very unsafe standard, whether in morals or in legislation; and feeling to be the only secure guide, even in making laws between man and man. This article will bear a comparison with the most barefaced specimen of *petitio principii*, which ever proceeded from the pen of man. To dissect its sophistry in detail would require more space than we can at present devote to the task.

derness and delicacy, and of great energy and enthusiasm. Whenever he does not whine, he must rant. The scanty stream of his genius is never allowed to steal quietly along its channel, but is either poured out in melodious tears, or thrown up to heaven in all the frothy magnificence of tiny jets and artificial commotions.”—(Vol. ix. pp. 348, 349.)

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*Sayings and Doings*. Colburn, 3 Vols. 8vo.

THIS is a work to which we should scarcely have thought it worth while to call our readers' attention, were it not for the inordinate pains which have been taken to drag it into notice. But when all the *authorities* conspire in holding up the author of *Sayings and Doings*, as "a fellow of infinite wit," original genius, elegant taste, erudite accomplishment, profound knowledge of society and the world, in fact, as a sort of little "Great Unknown;" it becomes a duty in us to expose the cheat. We have the less reluctance in doing this in the present instance, because the writer before us, from what we learn of him in the course of his work, seems far from being a person with whom it is necessary to be very tender. There is no fear of crushing modest merit here; and if we should do no good to the world, we shall certainly do *him* no harm.

In the first place, the advertisement prefixed to *Sayings and Doings*, and extracted thence into all those "friendly notices" of the work to which we have above alluded, is a gross attempt at deception. It states the object of the work to be, "to compare the 'SAYINGS' of the ancients with the 'DOINGS' of the moderns,"—and thus to "illustrate '*wise saws*' by '*modern instances*.'" Now this is a tolerably happy, and unquestionably a *taking*, idea; and if worked out with a moderate portion of skill, judgment, and knowledge of the world, might have been made to produce very amusing as well as instructive results. But in point of fact, the work before us neither does, nor attempts to do, any such thing. And we have no doubt, whatever, that the adaptation (such as it is) of the work to its professed object, was a mere *after-thought* of the writer. At all events it consists simply in appending a *proverb* to the end of each story: and there never was a story written to which some proverb or other might not be appended in a similar manner, and with equal aptitude. For instance, the first of these "Doings," relates to a person who had a competent fortune and was happy; and who afterwards attained to an enormous one and became miserable: and the "saying" which this story is intended to "illustrate" is, "*too much of a good thing is good for nothing*." In the next tale we have a foolish lord who suffers himself to be duped by a rascally attorney; and this, forsooth, is to prove to us that "*all is not gold which glitters*." And so of the rest.

The next complaint that we have to make against the *getting up* of this work, is of a similar nature with the above—namely, an attempt to engage attention, and excite interest by a mere subterfuge. The writer endeavours to persuade us, by means of pretty plain language, both in the preface, and from time to time in the body of the work, that the persons he is bringing before us, are, or have been, real persons (nothing being disguised about them but their names, and the *locale* of their actions), and that the events he relates did in fact happen to the persons in connection with whom he relates them;—that, in short, his stories

are true. Now, this assertion—or rather the various assertions from which inadvertent readers are led to draw these inferences—(for the bare assertion, as we have put it, is no where made)—we hold to be, of the two, a less excuseable deception than that we have noticed above; for that it is a deception no intelligent reader can doubt.

So much for the plan of “Sayings and Doings;” the execution of this plan scarcely warrants us in having paid even this attention to it. In fact, with the exception of the first story, and a small portion of the second, the work is executed in a style below mediocrity. In place of wit, we have puns that have passed the ordeal of the Morning Post, and would scarcely now go down in one of Mr. Theodore Hook’s farces. The characters, if such they can be called, are all, without exception, drawn with extreme feebleness; and in many instances they are utterly inconsistent, not only with human nature, but with themselves. As for passion, we are not to look for much of that, since the scenes are all laid in our own day, nearly all in a *certain* rank of society; but in place of it, we are favored with numerous insights into what we suppose the writer would term *life*. And then, in the midst of the most laudable contempt for *sentiment*, we meet with the most maudlin sentiment in every chapter; with a pretended horror of the common-places of novel-writing, more than half we encounter is common-place; with an affected superiority over all cant, we have canting of all descriptions—cant loyal, cant political, cant moral, cant religious. Then for the style in which all this is clothed, it is all that a pure idiomatical style (which is evidently what is aimed at), should *not* be. Where it seeks to be strong it becomes coarse—where ease is aimed at, we have slovenliness and false grammar—when it would be lively and original, it is affected and “*low fantastical*;” and when our author betakes himself to “the *foreign* aid of ornament,” he cuts a most ludicrous figure indeed—being no other than Lingo and Mrs. Malaprop in his own proper person.

That we have not under-rated this writer in the particular qualities which can be illustrated by extract, we will proceed to prove. For the rest we must refer the reader to the work itself. In the matter of puns it will be enough to tell him, that he will, among others, meet with such old acquaintance, as “*le char-l’attend*” (Charlatan), applied to Buonaparte—“*les N-mis partout*”—marriage described as “ringing a *belle*,” &c. The first of these he will also find related in so bungling a manner as to change it into mere nonsense. As specimens of the writer’s original and spirited manner of depicting characters, what follows will speak volumes. The reader may take the pair, just as they stand, as it were hand in hand:—“Dalling, that was the name of the new incumbent, was an able scholar, a pious minister, the sick man’s *hope*, the poor man’s *friend*; his house and his heart were alike open to the needy and distressed; his life was a round of kind and charitable actions; he practised as he preached, and not content with showing others the path to heaven, he led the way himself. If excellence be not always hereditary, it seems Dalling’s case afforded a proof that it might be sometimes so. He had a daughter—and such a daughter!—Rose Dalling was not a beauty, she had not what a painter would call, a fine feature in her face; but she was all loveliness and

loveableness—her eyes” (few who have seen Mr. Hook’s “Killing no Murder,” will fail to remember, on reading the above passage, Liston’s delicious description of his dear Lucilla—“She was’nt a beauty, Billy—not exactly handsome—but then her eyes!” &c.)—“her eyes could talk all languages” (it is a pity our author, during his acquaintance with her, did not take a few lessons of them in the rudiments of Latin, French, and Italian, in which, as the reader will see presently, he is sadly deficient!)—“her mouth was all smiles—her cheeks full of dimples, and a colour on her cheek, ‘at which the envious rose grew pale.’ To say that she drew, and sang, and played, and did all the thousand winning, witching things that well-bred girls do, would, in these days of refinement, be to say nothing; but there was the beautiful veil of modesty flung over all her perfections. Were they called forth naturally, her talents developed themselves inartificially; as were her talents so were her virtues. She was religious without ostentation, well-read without pretension, and accomplished without being *a show!*”—(Vol. i. 207).—This is about the ordinary run of this writer’s descriptions touching character, person, &c. In his horror of anything in the shape of *sentiment*, our author is in the habit of being frequently guilty of passages like the following. This particular one relates to a heartless libertine who has just been killed in a duel, and who, in the next page, is talled “a fiend in human shape:”—“The proud, the haughty, inheritor of fortune, rank, and, probably, title; who, the night before, in the full possession of every faculty, every feeling, the sense of honor, and the dread of shame, gaily carousing with his friends, had thrown the glove of defiance at the feet of his enemies, and who then boldly stood forward to vindicate his worldly reputation—who rose that very morning full of youthful vigour and the glow of health; in the full exercise of thought, of feelings, of senses, of appetites, now lay extended on a stranger’s bed—a corpse!”—(ii. 163). Again—the delights which follow a declaration of love:—“Those who have tasted such feelings will appreciate the heavenly calm of pleasure which followed this reciprocal, this honest, virtuous burst of passion—all sorrow, all care, all anxiety seemed at an end; and, oh! to love and be beloved as these loved! it is a joy to be felt but once in our existence!”—(i. 242). Is the author of “Sayings and Doings,” really trying to be eloquent in the following passage? or is he merely canting? or is he impudently laughing at his reader and his subject?—“There are thousands of persons in the world whose astonishment will be moved to hear of cheerfulness and gaiety in a house whose inmates were, as I have already said, truly devout. But why should it?” “The Protestant religion does not possess such an attribute as gloom in its whole composition. What a satire is it upon humanity” (upon *religion*, one should think), “to say that rational beings—all faculty, all intelligence—should never be cheerful or happy without being necessarily impious! Is the social union of society irreligious? Is the ardent cultivation of brotherly affection irreligious? Is the exercise of any, of all the fine arts irreligious? Is mirth, excited by no improper means, irreligious? Is music, dancing, conversation, or even cards, if not indulged in with improper views—are these, or any one of them, irreligious? We should say *not*, &c.”—(i. 208). In what

follows he unquestionably is serious:—"Upon the receipt of this intelligence" (i. e. the suicide of his mistress), "Count Leavingstake departed from Paris, bearing with him as a relic the shawl of his beloved Kate, which he kissed a thousand times, reproaching himself, at least ten times as often, for having, by his indiscreet exposure of her at the gaming-table, driven her to the commission of that dreadful act by which she had destroyed herself here and hereafter, and moreover deprived him of the pleasure of her agreeable society!!"—(iii. 156). The reader may take the following as an example of our author's easy, idiomatical style:—"When *one* leaves a small town for a large *one* as a residence, although, perhaps, *one* is stricken with the magnificence of the new view, *one* does not feel the increased extent of prospect, the width of the streets, or the height of the houses, in their full force, till *one* gets back again to the objects which *we* left, and to which the eye had before become familiarised; it is on the return to the smaller and more confined domain, that *one* feels the superiority of that which, when *we* first saw it, did not strike *us* as so much finer." It is for the correctness and precision of the style that we have quoted this passage; but the reader may, if he pleases, admire, in passing, the important discovery which it announces!—One more, to show in the space of three lines, our authors extreme nicety of observation, his skill in picturesque description, and his easy pleasantry,—and we have done, except in regard to his knowledge of languages. The hero of a tale, after having called the people of the inn into his bed-room in a great hurry to order post horses, continues in manner following:—" 'Don't say another word,' said Henry, dressing himself with the most perfect carelessness of the presence of either waiter or chambermaid, *who stood staring and picking her nose*, and wondering what could put any gentleman so much out of his way"—(ii. 176). It only remains to show the use which the author of "Sayings and Doings" makes of his acquirements in the way of foreign phraseology. *Ecce signum!* as he would say. And first, for his Latin, speaking of a lawyer, he says, "he could only get an *ex parte state* of a case"—(i. 325). Of a carriage, that was passing quickly through a town, he says, "but the *impetus* with which the vehicle rolled away," &c. Touching the difficulty of getting out of a county gaol, when once a man has got into it, he exclaims, "Such is the '*facilis descensus*,' even to the minor pandemonium of a county gaol!"—(iii. 120). "Where is Henry going, did you say?" inquires some one, the said Henry being *absent* at the time. The acquaintance (for he is no more) of whom the inquiry is made, replies, "I forget the place—somewhere in Sussex, I think," said Wilson; "but," added the *fidus Achates*, "he will be here to take leave," &c. That our accomplished author has a glimmering of the meaning of all these phrases, there can be little doubt, and as little that he has no more.

In Italian we are favoured with but two quotations; but to make up for this deficiency, both of those are not only entirely misapplied, but the principal one contains no less than *three* blunders. We must in fairness give the passage preceding the latter, that the reader may discover, if he can, what the author would be at. It is a young girl

who is thinking of (not *singing about*) her absent lover:—"she could not sleep, she fancied she heard his voice in the still hour of night—it was the storm that whistled through the trees, or the drifting rain pattering pitilessly against her chamber casement—he was far away, and thinking not of her while she continued to call on his name.

' *Quel Rosignol* che si soave piagne,
Forse *suo* figli, o sua cara consorte,
Di dolcezza empie il cielo, e le campagne,
Con tante note si 'pietose e 'scorte'—(ii. 169).

The other is used by a young lady in an ill-humour, and is thus applied:—"without you, as Petrarch says, every thing is desolate and wretched—the world itself 'un deserto, e fere aspre e selvagge'—(ii. 239), which being interpreted, signifyeth that the said "world itself" is not only "a desert," but also sundry rough and savage wild-beasts!"—Two or three specimens of our author's French, and we have done:—"he dragged her to the door"—"where the carriage being *en attendant*," &c. He is perpetually telling us of persons being "*au fait*," WITH—*au fait*, IN, &c. Plotters he calls "*manceuvrers*"—(ii. 23†). He describes some one as having "turned out a complete *roué*—not a gentlemanly spendthrift—not an aristocratic *vaurien*!"—and he goes on, for the benefit of country gentlemen, to explain the word, "*roué*," to mean "a sot, an associate of vulgarity and low-lived vice!"—(iii. 207). As our readers will probably think these illustrations of our author's acquirements as a linguist *quantum sufficit* (to use, for shortness, an original quotation of his own, signifying enough), we shall here leave him in their hands—recommending them, however, by all means, to read "Sayings and Doings," if it be only to satisfy themselves that we have done it justice.

2.—*A Grammar of Infinite Forms.* The Mathematical Elements of Ancient Philosophy and Mythology. By William Howison. 12mo. pp. 142, Edinburgh.

THIS is a German book, written, unluckily, in the English language. In its right place and in its proper form, it might receive all the appropriate honours of academical distinction: it might become a text-book for lectures from the most approved philosophical professors at Jena or Halle, Tübingen or Heidelberg. But here! If the judgment were taken of the first hundred graduates of any faculty who may to-morrow pass beneath Temple-bar, or cross the new bridge at Edinburgh, we are sure that ninety-nine at least would assign Mr. Howison a professor's chair at no other college than the one now raised in St. George's Fields; or rather, we should say (to avoid an injurious misconception of our meaning), of Lambeth Marsh, the *westernmost* of our suburban establishments. Our readers may decide for themselves, nor will we anticipate their judgment. "The author" . . . "has been led to suppose that the whole system of Grecian mythology had a mathematical origin, and that the beautiful differences of character in the chief divinities were the same as those of the simple mathematical powers which are capable of flux and progression." And in

twelve brief chapters a character is given to the twelve chief heavenly divinities, with each of whom one of the twelve sons of Jacob is associated. We open the book by chance, "The third mathematical element, continuity, was represented by Apollo, whose chariot was drawn through the sky by celestial steeds, for the mystery of continuity relates to the yoking of different points together; and the point which advances is bound to that which is thrown behind in the same manner that the horses are bound to the car which they draw."—"This elementary power *must* have belonged to the sons of Levi! The angle was represented by Diana and the tribe of Judah: definition, by Vulcan and Zabulon; indefinite volume, or diffusion, by Neptune and Issachar; the parabola by Venus and Ashur; the hyperbola by Ceres and Naphthali; and the general curve, or succession of hyperbolic parts, by Mercury and Benjamin," &c. &c. &c. But these simple elements also admit of various modes of composition; and we have, therefore, in the sequel, a continued application of the complex mathematical powers to a vast variety of mythological beings, and not to these only, but, to what they represent,—the various forms of literary composition, and also to the poets of antiquity and of our own day. To the school of Proserpina, who represents the application of the angle to the hyperbola, are referred Michael Angelo and Dante, Wordsworth and Goethe, while the power of Pluto is said to have generated Raphael, Rubens, and Milton; and under Erichthonius we find grouped Hume and Rousseau, the Swiss nation and Chinese pottery, Titian and St. Matthew!!! Such is this little volume! Not a page without some startling paradox or whimsical absurdity; and yet every now and then coruscations of light illumine the thick darkness. All these wild positions are delivered drily as well as oracularly, and without proof, or what is worse, even illustration; for that many of them might be *ingeniously* supported we have no doubt. The analogies which subsist in nature, or rather in the mind, are infinite: the faculty which discerns them belongs to wit, not acuteness, according to the remark which Kant makes, that the witty man discerns resemblances where others perceive only diversity, while the acute man detects differences where others see only sameness. In the half sportive, half earnest, exercise of the mind in which this sort of riddle making and expounding consists, it is quite enough that what is advanced is possible or conceivable. Bacon delighted in it, as his "Wisdom of the Ancients" amply manifests; and some of his serious speculations partake of the same character: and since the speculative faculties of mankind have been as powerfully stimulated by Kant in the last age as they were quickened in the sixteenth century by Bacon, similar powers have been exercised by the post-Kantian metaphysicians of Germany, with a concentration of purpose bearing on a single point of abstraction, and at the same time with an extent of application over the manifold subjects of contemplative inquiry, of which the speculative philosophy of no other country has any living example. Of our English authors of the present age, Mr. Coleridge alone has displayed kindred talents and a congenial taste; for of Mr. Howison we can infer too little from the very equivocal evidence of powers of original thought displayed in this little book, to be enabled to assign him a

place among those philosophical mystics who have made either successful or abortive efforts to illumine the gloomy recesses of metaphysics by the dark lanthorn of imagination.

3.—*Nugæ Chirurgicæ.* A Biographical Miscellany, illustrative of a Collection of Professional Portraits. By William Wadd, Esq. F. L. S. Surgeon Extraordinary to the King, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, &c.

IT has been said that a book might be written on the fortune of physicians. There is, indeed, no class of men whose history would be more instructive. The narrative, ably and faithfully told, would form a striking exhibition of human nature and human life. It would show how often and how much men's fame and fortune depend on accidental and trifling circumstances; how possible it is to obtain splendid success with the absence of every quality which ought to secure it; and how easy it is to fail, with the possession of almost every attainment which ought to render disappointment impossible. It would exhibit the triumph of bold and daring ignorance; the success of fraud and cunning; and the comparative failure of men of the utmost skill and worth, who were too proud to stoop to artifice, and incapable of impudence. It would form a fine commentary on the observation of Johnson, that "a physician in a great city is the mere play-thing of fortune; his degree of reputation is for the most part casual: they that employ him know not his excellence; they that reject him know not his deficiency."

But the *Nugæ Chirurgicæ* is not such a narrative; it was neither undertaken with such a design, nor is it prosecuted with the requisite detail. It owes its origin to a collection of Professional Portraits, a catalogue being the necessary result of a collection. The names of the persons included in the catalogue are arranged in alphabetical order; to most of them is affixed the period of their birth and death, and there is also added either a brief notice of some circumstance illustrative of their fortune and attainments, or some anecdote characteristic of the spirit and manners of the age in which they lived, or of their own. To this is likewise appended what the author terms "Memorabilia," that is to say, a further detail of events or anecdotes descriptive of the character or pretensions of the Portraits, arranged in the same order. Thus there are two accounts of the same individual, one at the beginning and the other at the end of the book, a solution of continuity (to speak professionally), the object of which it is difficult to conceive, for whatever portion of the Memorabilia deserves to be recorded at all, ought surely to have been incorporated in the first notice. We would recommend the author to alter this arrangement in any subsequent edition of his work; and in the meantime we hope that he will go on to accumulate his materials, in order that he may be enabled to render it more biographical, and even to approximate it to the kind of work of which we have spoken. He is evidently capable of writing such a book; his style is clear and chaste, his judgment is sound, and he is without prejudice and without affectation. Even as it is at present, the work

forms an excellent nucleus for a general biography of the *Medici Family*, which any one may extend for himself according to his taste and knowledge, nor can it be read without amusement and instruction by any member of that family.

As an example of the pleasant manner in which the author narrates the anecdotes connected with his Portraits we take, but do not select, the following—

‘ Coytice, James,
• *J. Roberts, pinx. François, sc.*
• Died 1506.

Physician to Lewis XI. of France.

Memorable for nothing in particular but the dexterity he showed in managing this monarch. Lewis had not a single principle by which any one could lay hold of him; but he had an intense fear of dying, of which most contemptible cowardice Coytice took the advantage, and often threatening his master with a speedy dissolution, obtained, from time to time, great and innumerable favours.

‘ Lewis, however, once recovered strength of mind enough to be ashamed of his weakness, and feeling a momentary resentment for what he then thought the insolence of his physician, ordered him to be privately dispatched. Coytice, apprised of this by the officer, who was his intimate friend, replied that the only concern he felt about himself was, not that he must die, but that the king could not survive him more than four days; that he knew this by a particular science, and only mentioned it to him in confidence, as an intimate friend. Lewis, informed of this, was frightened more than ever, and ordered Coytice to be at large as usual.*

‘ Cordus, Euricus,
Wood Cut.—Died 1535.

‘ Cordus, who was accustomed to receive his fees only at the termination of his patient’s disease, describes, in a facetious epigram, the practitioner at three different times, in three different characters—

‘ Tres medicus facies habet; unam quando rogatur,
Angelicam: mox est, cum juvat, ipse Deus:
Post ubi curato, poscit sua præmia, morbo,
Horridus apparet, terribilisque Sathan.

‘ Three faces wears the doctor: when first sought,
An angel’s—and a god’s, the cure half wrought:
But when, that cure complete, he seeks his fee,
The Devil looks then less terrible than he.

‘ The epigram of Cordus is illustrated by the following conversation, which passed between Bouvart and a French marquis, whom he had

* The following Letter to M. Cadonel, Prior of Nôtre Dames de Selles, written by Lewis, is truly characteristic:—

‘ Sir Prior, my friend, I most earnestly entreat you to pray to God and our Lady of Selles for me, that they will be so good as to give me a quartan ague. For my physicians tell me that I have a disorder of which I cannot recover, unless I am so fortunate as to have the quartan ague. When I get it I will immediately let you know.

attended during a long and severe indisposition. As he entered the chamber on a certain occasion, he was thus addressed by his patient; 'Good day to you, Mr. Bouvart, I feel quite in spirits, and think my fever has left me.' 'I am sure of it,' replied the doctor, 'the very first expression you used convinces me of it.' 'Pray explain yourself.' 'Nothing more easy; in the first days of your illness, when your life was in danger, I was your *dearest friend*; as you began to get better, I was your *good Bouvart*; and now I am Mr. Bouvart,—depend upon it you are quite recovered.'

Bouvart's observation was grounded in a knowledge of human nature; every day's experience shows that 'accipe dum dolet,' should be the medical man's motto, particularly the more laborious branches of the profession, whose remuneration comes when the impressions of fear, hope, and gratitude, are almost effaced, and who are then often paid with indifference, hesitation, reluctance, and reproach.

4.—*The Albigenes, a Romance.* By the author of *Bertram*, &c. (4 Vols. small 8vo. Hurst, Robinson, and Co.)

ENGLISH literature of the present day is written almost exclusively for the day; and the fame which its writers seek, and are content to obtain, is that which they can hear pronounced upon their efforts, not that which exists only in the futurity of the imagination. We shall not pretend to say, that this very limited ambition is the one most likely to lead to the production of works of extensive and permanent value; though we are far from denying, that it may produce, and that in fact it has produced, many works of this description. But we do conceive that an author has a perfect right to choose the end to which his labours shall be directed, provided that end be not a positively mischievous one; and, that, if his ambition be of the above limited nature, he has even a stronger title to have his claims allowed, provided those claims are valid ones as far as they reach, than if they were of a more extended and prospective character. For the writer who labours, and is destined to labour, for posterity, is sure not to be disappointed in his anticipations of fame, inasmuch as he grasps it in imagination beforehand; and this, whether it ever exists for him in futurity or not; whereas he who limits his views, both of exertion and of distinction, to his own day, and never looks to futurity at all, is utterly disappointed, and has nothing wherewith to rest, if his hopes should, by whatever means, be frustrated. That the literature of the present day is, generally speaking, ephemeral, we shall not deny; but we hold that, on that very account, it is incumbent on the critics, in whose hands the price of that literature is for the most part deposited, to see that no portion remain unpaid, or be paid in coin that is not its due. Unquestionably one of the advantages that may be reckoned as a set off against the evils attending the present inordinate increase of periodical works of a critical nature, is the jealous watch and ward that is likely to be thus created and kept up between the individual members of this class. For ourselves, at all events, we can say, that though assuredly we shall not be found "pricking forth" on the plains of

literature, under the guise of critical Quixotes, and offering our aid to any distressed authors who may seem to need such interference; yet as certainly we shall find no stronger stimulus to examine the pretensions of any public writer whom we might otherwise have passed by, than that of hearing him virulently abused by any of the present leading authorities of the day;—seeing that, so far as we have hitherto had occasion to observe the proceedings of those authorities, there is not one of them that has not already shewn itself to be under the influence, at least, if not the guidance, of other interests than those of truth and justice.

We were a little disappointed in finding that Mr. Maturin's new work is not of a character that either entitles or entices us to make it the occasion of a general examination of his literary pretensions. For we could not do this effectually, without adducing various examples of the faults and the good qualities that are peculiar to his writings; and it so happens, that the work now before us is almost entirely deficient in either of these. It is, perhaps, not very difficult to account for this. Mr. Maturin, though now a tolerably practised writer, is far from having acquired that command over the efforts of his pen which the time that he has exercised it would, under ordinary circumstances, have given him: for his mind is not one that will submit to be "constrained by mastery," either in its strengths or its weaknesses. It may be *led*, we sincerely believe, to perform very valuable services to the republic of letters; but it may not be *driven* to do either good or evil. And if it *be* driven, the results will be a something between the two, and bearing no distinctive character whatever. Now, we conceive the work before us to have proceeded from an artificial and ill-considered impetus of the above kind. Mr. Maturin has publicly stated, as an excuse (*that* is the form under which he most unnecessarily puts it) for writing Romances at all, that his necessities oblige him to do so; and yet all the Romances he has hitherto written have subjected him to the most virulent abuse from several of those critical tribunals, on whose fiat the popularity of works of this class mainly depends—or, at all events, by which that popularity can be greatly advanced, and still more greatly retarded. And this abuse, too, when it has descended to detail, has, in almost every instance, been levelled at precisely those portions of the works in question in which the author must have felt, and every one else must have admitted, that the beauties, if beauties the works contained, were to be found. What could a writer, but little acquainted with the nature of his own powers, and avowedly employing them with a view to present distinction, be expected to do under such circumstances, but resolutely set himself to avoid the errors that seemed to lay in the way of his object? And in doing so, what could be expected as the first result of this effort, but what we, in fact, meet with in the work, the title of which stands at the head of this paper?—namely, a production in which all the most glaring faults that existed in his previous ones are in a great degree absent; and in which all the beauties which more than redeemed those faults, are absent too. The truth is, Mr. Maturin did not seek instruction from the right source. Instead of feeling contempt for those who expressed a con-

tempt which they did *not* feel towards him, he flew to *them* for that counsel which he should have taken of his own good sense, and his own heart. If, instead of hastily putting forth his works in the crude and indigested state in which they were first thrown off from his rapid and heedless pen, he had taken time to consider of that respect which is due to the opinions, and that tenderness which should not be withheld even from the prejudices, of the world to which he was addressing himself, he would not have given any excuse, much less any reason, for those attacks which have been made upon him. But when they *were* made, if, instead of succumbing to them, as he appears in part to have done, he had determined to show only that due sense of their value which consisted in proving them to be unmerited (which he might easily have done), his present work would have been very different from what it now is; for almost every noticeable part of it gives evidence of his merely wishing to escape that censure which, with an equally small share of pains, he might have set at defiance.

But, in considering what this work might have been, we have perhaps too long delayed to give an account of what it really is. Its plan is nearly similar to those of the purely historical Scotch novels; or rather of those which profess to illustrate the manners of a particular period, by building up a fictitious narrative on a foundation which has been laid by real historical events. It appears, by the author's Preface, to be one of "a series of Romances illustrative of European feelings and manners in ancient times, in middle, and in modern." The scene is laid in France, in the early part of the thirteenth century; and the events almost entirely grow out of the then existing wars between the Catholics, and the sect of early Christian reformists termed Albigenses; or rather out of the Crusades undertaken by the former against the latter: for it was only when the latter were occasionally supported by some of the powerful feudal nobles of the day, that they were in a condition to offer any resistance whatever to the attacks of their Popish persecutors. The state of society in Europe at this period, renders it peculiarly fitted in all respects for the scene of that class of work which is known to English readers of the nineteenth century under the name of a *Romance*; and accordingly we have, in the work before us, all the usual ingredients of that species of composition; namely, heroines of perfect beauty, and of immaculate virtue; heroes (for there are two of each) of corresponding beauty, who prove themselves models of wisdom, and perform miracles of valor; feudal lords, who are prodigies of cruelty, rapacity, and crime; churchmen of boundless ambition, insatiable avarice, and unbridled lust; knights of incomparable courage, and invincible force; captains of banditti, of matchless daring and measureless wickedness; to say nothing of a whole host of subordinate and collateral agents, under the characters of astrologers, enchantresses, witches, maniacs, monks, fanatics, &c. &c. By the aid of all these, however, together with the whole machinery of impregnable castles, interminable galleries, impenetrable dungeons, imperceptible openings in tapestried chambers, &c. the author of the *Albigenses* has produced a tale which is very far from being equal in point of general interest to those of the same class which have before proceeded from his pen; and which, as

we have before hinted, is almost entirely deficient in those detached passages of power, spirit, and tragic pathos which formed the most striking features of those works. The plot of the present tale is no less wild and un concocted than that, for example, of Melmoth; while it wants all that interest (such as it was) which arose from the supernatural machinery of the latter.

Another great failure in the work before us, arises from an attempt in the author to depict historical characters, and to represent them in something like the circumstances in which they were actually engaged. To depict *character*, at all is not Mr. Maturin's forte; and to construct a character which shall at once be consistent with itself and with human nature out of the fragments and hints (often contradictory) that occur in what is called history, requires a knowledge of human nature, and a delicacy of tact, that are rarely indeed to be met with. In this respect, as well as in some others, Mr. Maturin comes painfully in contact with his reader's ideas of his great cotemporary, and the silent, and perhaps unconscious, comparisons they are compelled to make in consequence, render them less easily satisfied than they might otherwise be. The only character in this work, whether historical or fictitious, which is drawn with any thing like vigour and consistency, is that of the bishop of Toulouse. And in his we have but a few striking and prominent points—none of those subtle and almost evanescent traits which escape the notice of the general observer, but on which half the truth and all the delicacy of the picture depend.

The other, and most crying and conspicuous general defects of this romance, are, the inordinate length to which the plot is spun out, and the consequent flaggings of the progressive interest on which so great a portion of the attraction, and therefore the merit, of a work like this depends; and the extremely unskilful manner in which the different portions of the plot are united with, or rather are disunited from, each other. This latter defect distracts and confuses the reader's attention, and causes the complication of the plot, which can be introduced for no other purpose than that of encreasing the interest, to produce a directly opposite effect.

The only positive defect that we shall notice in the detail of *the Albigenses*, is this: that the comic parts of it are all, without exception, totally bad. The marvellous appetite, and the mal-a-prop Latin of the abbot of Normoutier, are dull and dreary to the last degree; and the heavy trifling of Sir Ezzelin de Verac, is a mere impertinence.

We now turn with pleasure to the bright side of the work before us. We shall not attempt an abstract of the plot of this romance, because any such, to be intelligible, would greatly exceed the limits that we can allow to this notice. But we can confidently state, to the readers of works of this nature, that, with all its faults, they will find the *Albigenses* well worth a perusal. They will meet, in the first place, with a very vivid general picture of the manners, habits, and tones of feeling, of a most singular and interesting, if not a most enviable state of society—a picture, they may rest assured, very little if at all exaggerated, either in its individual features or its general effect. The relative conditions of the various classes of society—from the monarch on the throne down to

the vassals of the soil—they will find depicted, generally speaking, with considerable truth, and the distinctions between each class preserved with due care. They will find the modes of warfare, which were of such paramount importance at that period, described with much occasional force and spirit; the prevalent religious and moral feelings, and the superstitions of the day, illustrated and brought into action in various ways, and in a very lively and effective manner; the scenery, as connected with the kind of dwellings that were rendered necessary by the then predatory modes of life, sketched with a vigorous, and tolerably faithful hand. And finally, they will meet with some very interesting and poetical pictures, consisting of groups and of single figures, painted with a degree of elegance, distinctness, and finish, which they will scarcely find in this author's previous works, and at the same time free from that overwrought and extravagant style of colouring, as well as of design, which greatly detracted from the effect of his other performances, in the eyes of all but those who prefer tawdry and meretricious ornament to the simple beauties of nature and truth.

We take leave of this work, with a very favourable impression of the author's talents for this class of composition, even so far as he has displayed them here; but with a full conviction, gathered from this, and his previous writings jointly, that, with a due cultivation of his taste, and a not undue reliance upon his natural powers, he will one day or other produce works that shall at once satisfy the hopes of his friends and admirers, and put his enemies to silence.

-
5. — *Historical Life of Joanna of Sicily, Queen of Naples, and Countess of Provence.* With correlative details of the Literature and Manners of Italy and Provence, in the 13th and 14th centuries. 2 Vols. 8vo., Ealdwin and Co., 1824.

IT is a gratifying office to notice the publication of any work calculated to promote the study of the early literature of Italy, which appears of late to have been rather on the decline in this country. During the last century our men of letters were in general very imperfectly acquainted with this subject, which was considered one of little interest or curiosity. Warburton speaks with contempt of some of the most celebrated men who contributed their share to the revival of letters, and Warton preferred Metastasio to Petrarch. Since that period the scholars and poets of Italy have been more justly appreciated, and we should regret to see them losing any portion of that estimation in England, to which they are so well entitled. But, although the history of Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is now tolerably familiar to the English reader, that of Provence, a country at that time rich in arts and letters, is still little known amongst us. It is possible that the difficulty of the Provençal language, and the somewhat laborious research which would be required for the purpose, may have deterred our scholars from attempting to illustrate the literary history of Provence, but to whatever cause it is to be attributed, no one has yet devoted his pen to this rich and curious subject. Nor is it merely in a literary point

of view that these enquiries would be desirable. The character of the Provençals during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, furnishes a very singular chapter in the history of the human mind, and affords matter for deeper speculation than that which is usually employed upon the merits of a Troubadour and the metre of a *tenson*. Society, if we are to credit the representations which their poets have left us of it, was in a perfectly anomalous state, nor in the history either of barbarous or civilized communities, have we any thing to which it can be resembled. The priesthood were distinguished by their profane piety, the knights by their sensual sentiment and ludicrous valour, and the ladies by their strict and rigorous infidelity. The literature of Provence, and more especially its poetry, have employed the attention of several French writers, who have, however, seldom performed their task with credit, if we except the laborious researches of M. Raynouard. It is not uncommon to find the literary history of one country illustrated by the natives of another, and we should be happy to see that of Provence treated with the taste and judgment which it merits, by the pen of an Englishman. But little has been done in the present work towards the accomplishment of that object, nor indeed, could more have been attempted with propriety. The golden age of Provençal literature was considerably anterior to the times of Joanna, and the author has, therefore, only introduced a slight sketch of the Troubadours and their history, which appears to have been gathered chiefly from the pages of the late French writers.

The Italian historians, and more especially Costanzo and Giannone, have furnished the materials for the greater part of this work, which contains an agreeable mixture of biography and literary history.

6.—*Memoires et Correspondance de Philippe Duplessis Mornay, de l'année 1571 jusqu'à 1623.* Paris, 1823-24, 8vo, tom. 1 et 2. Treutel et Würz.

DUPLESSIS MORNAY, one of the most distinguished men of his age, the confidant of Henry IV, has left many MSS. of the greatest importance towards elucidating the history and politics of that period. The French have few historians, they are naturally inclined to paint the present, and if they attempt to describe the past, it generally happens that the colouring is that of the time in which they live. This, however, renders them so much the richer in materials for history, for their minds being always directed to what is passing around, gives them great facility and tact in portraying; and their detached pieces become very useful to the statesman and the historical enquirer. The *Mémoires* and MSS. of Duplessis belong to this class, and it is the more to be wished that they should be made known, since we are already acquainted with those of his rival and contemporary, Sully. It is only by means of these two statesmen that we can obtain a thorough knowledge of Henry IV and his government. There are as yet but two volumes published of this interesting collection, the others will shortly follow. Those which have already appeared, contain hitherto unpublished *Mémoires* of Mornay, written by his wife, and many other important pieces until now totally unknown.

7.—*The Outcasts; a Romance, from the German.* By G. Soane.
Whittaker, 2 Vols. 8vo.

LET not those who have read the "Outcasts," be surprised to find a notice of it here. The truth is, the names of the Baroness de la Motte Fouquè, and Mr. Soane together, have entrapped us into the perusal of, incomparably, the dullest work of its kind that we ever remember to have encountered; which is saying not a little: though we should certainly not have thought it necessary to communicate this fact to our readers, but for the names in question. When, however, we find, appended to a work professing to offer mingled amusement and instruction to its readers, and totally failing in both those objects, a name or names which had previously been considered as in some degree guaranteeing the performance of their implied promises, we shall always regard it as one among the most useful, if not the most agreeable, of our duties as public critics, to let the truth be known as speedily as possible: for, in fact, amid the multiplicity of works that are every day offered to the attention of the general reader, the only promise which can be trusted to with any safety, is that which is implied in a name. Unquestionably, therefore, if the most valuable duty of criticism is to discover and point out the beauties of nameless and unknown writers, it is not the least important of its uses to detect and expose the failures of known and established ones. In the case before us it is not necessary to perform this office much in detail. Suffice it that "The Outcasts" professes to embody into a half-true, half-fictitious narrative, certain passages of English history,—for the purpose, as it should seem, of impressing those passages more distinctly upon the reader's mind, and illustrating those characters more effectually and strikingly, than the mere general facts of history can be expected to do; and that it totally fails in both these objects: and, on the contrary, placing before us a picture at once crude, coarse, and *fâde*, of some of the most impressive portions of our annals—portions, too, which in themselves, and as mere true relations of known facts, are as deeply interesting as any fictitious narrative that ever was penned.

"The Outcasts" refers to that period of our history which immediately precedes and follows the execution of lady Jane Grey—skipping over, however, a portion of sixteen years, in order to introduce us to the court of Elizabeth. The principal historical characters (or rather names) which are introduced, are lady Jane and her young husband, Dudley; sir Richard Bertie and his wife, the duchess of Suffolk (the outcasts); a few of the principal Catholic bishops and German reformers; and afterwards (when the scene changes to the Protestant ascendancy under Elizabeth), the maiden queen herself, lords Willoughby, Essex, Burleigh, &c. &c.

8.—*Reveries of a Recluse.* 1 Vol. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.

IT is not either on account of its merits or its demerits that we think it worth while to notice this work; for, in point of fact, it possesses neither; unless, indeed, it be not the greatest of all demerits

to want any character or quality whatever, good or bad. Our object in recommending to the reader's attention these "Reveries for a Recluse," is, that in case a stray copy of them should chance to fall in his way, he may have an opportunity of seeing the kind of works which occasionally issue from the press of the "Modern Athens!"—We have here between three or four hundred pages of Essays, on various popular and interesting subjects, the very mention of which, one would suppose, were enough to inspire the dullest of thinkers with ideas, selections from which, if expressed in tolerable English, could scarcely fail to afford something like amusement, as well as instruction, to not fastidious readers—which, who shall say that modern ones are?—We have "a glance at the last half century;" a sufficiently fertile subject, as it should seem: also, on newspapers—on novels—on social conversation—on modern criticism—on curiosity—on the French and English populace—on Napoleon—and on various other themes equally susceptible of an almost endless variety of pleasant, spirited, and novel remark and illustration. And yet we will venture to say, that not one of these themes shall be started in any "social conversation," that shall take place even in the "Modern Athens" itself, during the next talking season, which will not be productive of as least as much originality and amusement as we meet with in these "Reveries of a Recluse."—Recluse indeed must the writer of these pages have been during "the last half century," if he imagines that, in fact, any one could even have *talked* what is here set down, in any company of elderly ladies of either sex who are in the habit of devoting their winter evenings to tea and tittle-tattle.

9.—*Translations from the German, and Original Poems.* By Lord Francis Leveson Gower, 8vo. 1814. Murray.

TILL within a few years, Wieland's Oberon, by Mr. Sotheby, and Göthe's Iphigenia, Lessing's Nathan, the Wife, and Bürger's Leonora, and other ballads, by Mr. Taylor, of Norwich, constituted the whole body of poetical translation from the German. Mr. Beresford's German Erato, though of very moderate execution, introduced to the English reader a number of lyrical pieces set to music. But, within a short period, German literature has become a study among our younger poets, and a copious anthology might already be collected from the versions which have recently appeared in our popular magazines. The present publication is a respectable addition to our stock of poetical translation, though we cannot class our author with Gillies or Carey, who have lately carried this elegant art to a high degree of excellence. Lord L. Gower has had the judgment to select compositions which have in their *matter* a claim to public attention, independently of their poetical form. This is particularly true of the poems of Schiller (of which eight are rendered in this little volume). A translator might distrust his power of transferring to a foreign language the exquisite grace, which a perfect mastery of style throws over all the minor poems of Göthe, be they elegies or epigrams, ballads or songs; who yet might hope to impart the sterling sense of the significant and weighty lines of Schiller. The Veiled Statue at Sais and the Ideal, are philosophical poems, much

better entitled to that character than the popular common-places of the *Essay on Man*. "The Gods of Greece" is a polemical ode, which, at its first appearance (like the author's first tragedy, the *Robbers*), drew down upon him a host of angry adversaries. But it will not be *mistaken* here. The orthodox Johnson at least has sanctioned it by the remark, that the Grecian mythology will always be the religion of poets. Even the *Epithalamium* has in it more of contemplation than of desire. We make one extract only from "Honour to Woman," that our readers may appreciate the translator's effort in copying the metre of the original, to give a male and female character to the verses which respectively characterise the sexes:—

Reason's voice and Truth's directions,
 Haughty man delights to brave;
 And the spirit's own reflexions
 Drive it forth on passion's wave.
 Furthest distance still exploring,
 Nearest forms content to lose;
 O'er the bounds of æther soaring,
 Man his shadowy bliss pursues.

But with the ~~charm~~ ^{charm} of her magical glances,
 Back to the joy which her presence enhances,

Woman can lure him to wander again;
 For she clings to the earth where her fortune has placed her
 And content with the charms with which nature has graced her,
 With a daughter's obedience submits to her chain.

With the exception of one romantic ballad from Goethe (the song of the *Imprisoned Knight*), the rest are from Burger, Salis, and Krcer, writers of far less importance than the great tragedian. The *original* poems will not engage the attention of any reader beyond the circle of the noble author's personal connections. They are entitled to this epithet only by the courtesy which gives it even to every novel which has nothing new but its names. There is a large class of writers (among whom Lord L. Gower is one) whom we would rather see applying their skill in versification, and their powers of language in the production of avowed translations of poetical master-pieces, than in repeating thoughts and ringing the changes on incidents, characters, and descriptions, familiar to us all, even to satiety.

10.1—*A Philosophical Dictionary, from the French of M. De Voltaire.*
 Vol. 1. 12mo. 1824.

IT is remarkable, that the only work of Voltaire which has not found an English translator, is the *Philosophical Dictionary*; a work, to say the least of it, not inferior to any of his others in wit and instruction. The *Philosophical Dictionary* was, originally, nothing more than a collection of the sweepings of the author's study in which numerous short essays on subjects of every description, some originally designed for parts of larger works, others written for public journals, and some composed without any view to publication at all, were arranged alphabetically for the purpose of more convenient reference. To these, some articles intended for insertion in the celebrated *Encyclopédie* were

