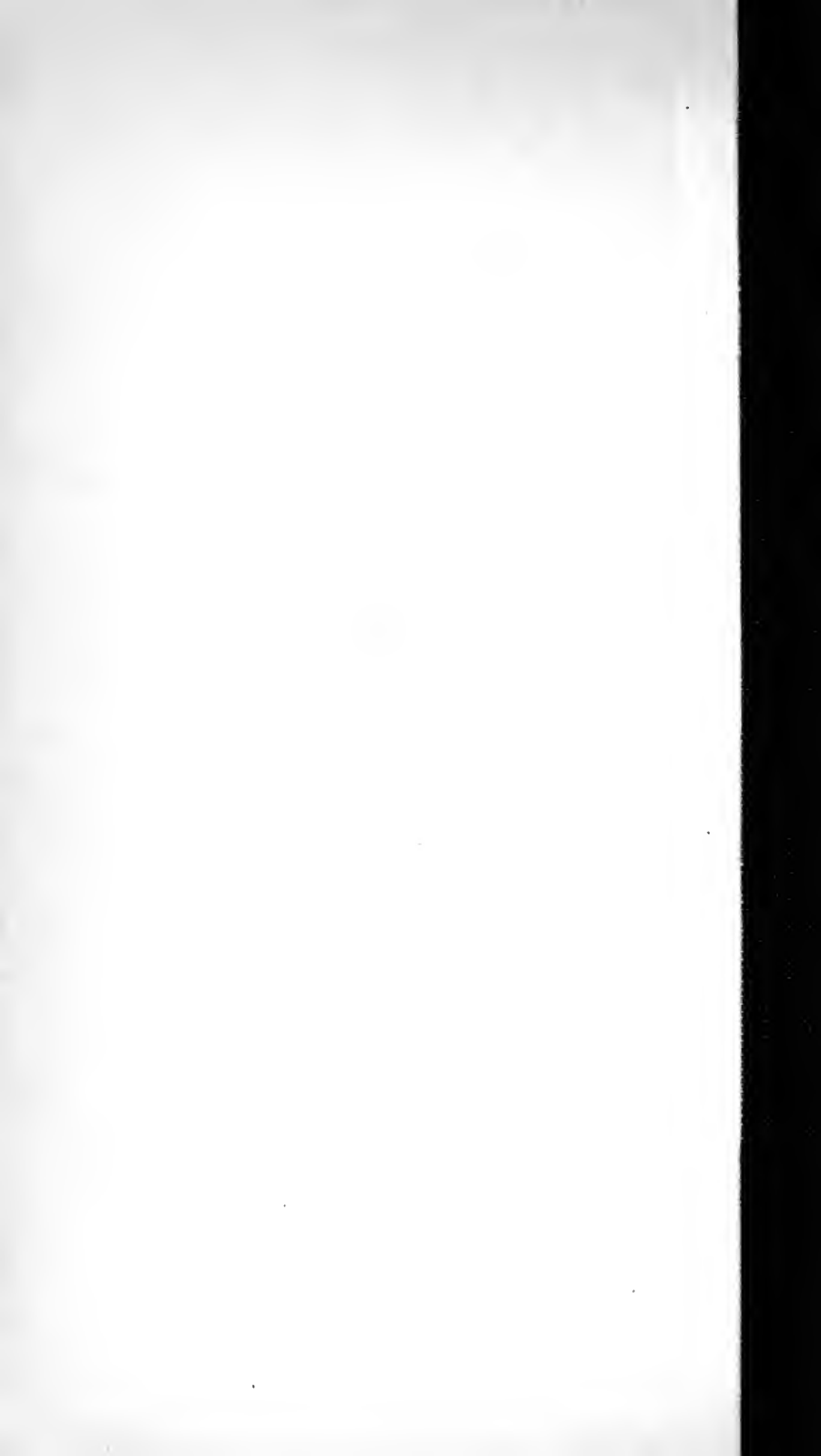




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THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

*CRITICAL JOURNAL:*

FOR

OCTOBER 1807.... JANUARY 1808.

*TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.*

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VOL. XI.



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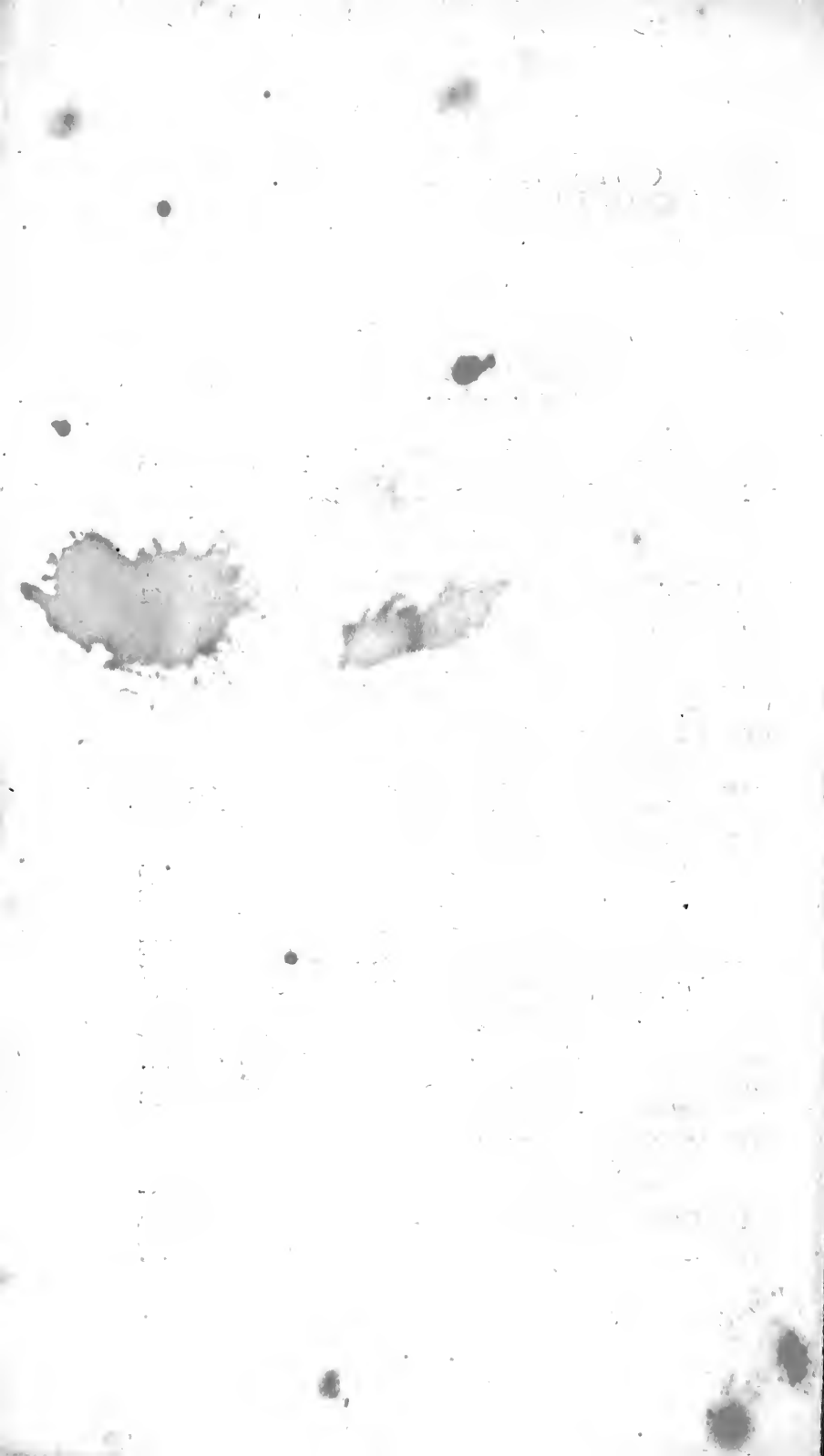
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THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER 1807.

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N<sup>o</sup> XXI.

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ART. I. *The Speech of the Honourable J. Randolph, Representative for the State of Virginia in the General Congress of America, on a Motion for the Non-Importation of British Merchandize pending the present disputes between Great Britain and America. With an Introduction by the Author of "War in Disguise."* 8vo. pp. 75. (New York printed.) London reprinted. Butterworth, 1806.

*Concessions to America the Bane of Britain: or, the Cause of the present distressed Situation of the British Colonial and Shipping Interests explained, and the proper Remedy suggested.* 8vo. pp. 63. London, Richardson. 1807.

*Oil without Vinegar, and Dignity without Pride: or, British, American, and West India Interests, considered.* By Macall Medford Esq. of America. 8vo. pp. 102. London, Richardson. 1807.

THESE three pamphlets relate nearly to the same subject,—the discussions which have for about two years existed in form between this country and the United States, which have in reality, however, been growing up with the increase of the American commerce since the beginning of last war, and which have now come to the point of being speedily terminated, either by mutual concessions, or by an appeal to arms. It is peculiarly interesting as well as important, at this particular moment, to examine well the ground on which the parties are taking their stand; and we are not without hopes that there is yet time to remove the ignorance in which the public of both countries have been studiously kept, until the voice of the multitude has seemed to decide for war. But it is not merely for its temporary interest that we have chosen to bring this subject fully before our readers up-

on the present occasion. There are questions of a general and permanent importance involved in the discussion ; some of them, too, never yet treated of by writers on public law, nor ever, so far as we can discover, introduced by statesmen into their views of national policy or rights. The consideration of these topics is not only called for by the great ignorance which appears to prevail respecting them, but it is peculiarly adapted to the plan of a literary journal. We purpose, therefore, to examine at large the questions of public law and policy suggested by the present state of foreign and colonial affairs. The subject of neutral commerce, and, in general, the disputes between Great Britain and the neutral powers, are no doubt intimately connected with the situation of our West Indian colonies. We shall endeavour, however, to separate the latter from the more extensive subject ; and shall examine it, in a subsequent article of this Number, with the care which its extraordinary importance demands. We shall begin, at present, with noticing the three pamphlets whose titles we have prefixed.

The speech of Mr Randolph is certainly the production of a vigorous mind. It abounds in plain and striking statements, mixed with imagery by no means destitute of merit, though directed by an exceedingly coarse and vulgar taste. But his arguments and opinions are of more importance than his rhetorical pretensions ; for he speaks the sentiments of a respectable party in the United States. He maintains, that a rupture with Great Britain is by all means to be avoided ; that America is in much less danger from the preponderance of the English marine in 1806, than she was in 1793, from the coalition against France ; that the French conquests have now reversed the policy of America towards Europe ; and that the only barrier between France and a universal dominion, before which America as well as Europe must fall, is the British navy. He ridicules the conduct of those who would quarrel with England for maritime rights, and at the same time truckle, or give bribes to Spain, the tool of France, after the greatest outrages have been committed upon the very territory of the Union. The cry for war, he says, is raised by the clamorous traders of the seaport towns,—men who cannot properly be said to belong to America, and who, at any rate, drive a commerce uncertain and transitory in its own nature, liable to be terminated at once by a peace in Europe, and much inferior, both in respectability and solidity, to those regular branches of industry which consist in the cultivation or the exchange of American produce. He treats with still greater severity those who undervalue the losses and risks of a war with England. The transference of the carrying trade to whatever nation

nation may remain neutral,—the ruin of American navigation by the British navy, without the possibility of gaining any equivalent by means of privateering,—the want of English manufactures,—the augmentation of debts and taxes,—the choice either of carrying on hostilities feebly, or of endangering the liberties of the country by strengthening the executive;—these calamitous effects of a rupture with England would, according to Mr Randolph, make even the present champions of neutral rights repent of their violence, in six months after they should drive the government into a war.

Such, abstracted from a good deal of declamation chiefly on local and personal topics, is the substance of Mr Randolph's speech, which the able and eloquent author of '*War in Disguise*,' the great leader of the argument on this side of the water, extols both for its own merits, and as a complete justification of his former predictions respecting the conduct of America in the dispute. This introduction, though very hastily prepared for the press, is, like all his other works, spirited and acute; but we must protest against quoting Mr Randolph's speech, as any conclusive evidence of the probable conduct of the United States, or, indeed, as possessing any weight beyond the intrinsic value of the arguments which it contains. Mr Randolph is the orator of a party professedly in opposition to the government: His evidence respecting the bent of public opinion in America, is not much better than the assertion of an English disputant, who espouses the same side of the question; and although his party succeeded in throwing out the first violent measure which was proposed to Congress, it has since failed completely in opposing the more moderate, but determined proofs of irritation against England, which, being given by a great majority of the legislature, cannot surely be regarded as the clamours of a few adventurers in seaport towns, whom Mr Randolph and his commentator are unwilling to call Americans.

With respect to the opinions maintained by Mr Randolph as an American statesman, we are for the most part disposed to speak in favourable terms. He seems, indeed, to give nearly the same advice to his country, which has been offered to England by those distinguished political leaders, whose counsels, if followed, would have saved Europe from the dreadful calamities of the present war. To cultivate a friendly intercourse with all their European customers, but, if forced to chuse in such a crisis as this, to prefer the alliance of England, and to make considerable sacrifices rather than go to war at all, appears to be the soundest policy for the Americans. But we cannot help observing, that Mr Randolph has gone a great deal too far in depreciating the importance of the

carrying trade now in the hands of his countrymen. Admitting that the American merchant merely performs the part of what has been termed 'a neutralizing agent;' that he purchases on a long credit in the French or Spanish Islands, and then sells in Europe on a shorter credit, or merely carries the colonial produce circuitously from the plantations to the planter or his consignee—thus effecting the transport of other men's goods without any adequate capital of his own,—does it follow that this is an unprofitable line of employment? Rather, is it not the very traffic of all others the most gainful to speculative merchants? A person of a very small capital, is, in this manner, enabled to share in the profits of large capitalists. He is repaid exactly as the consignees of our own West Indian planters are. Then, as to the persons so engaged being adventurers of no substance or respectability, we presume there must be a considerable mistake. How comes it that such persons enjoy an unbounded credit with the planters and their agents in Europe? How have they contrived to purchase, according to some statements, the whole French and Spanish shipping,—according to all accounts a very large proportion of it? After above twelve years of such lucrative practices, are they still needy adventurers? By the American public accounts, it appears, that in the year ending September 1806, the foreign goods exported from the United States, exceeded sixty millions of dollars in value. If they who began so large a traffic were once mere agents trading for a commission, they must now have become capitalists; and as the whole remaining exports of the country fall short of this by about nineteen millions, we may easily conjecture how great a proportion of the mercantile men are engaged in it, and how many of the commercial fortunes are derived from this quarter. About half of this branch of commerce, belonging to the French and Spanish colonies, is what England wishes to lop off, in order to hurt her enemies, who profit by it as well the Americans. Can she be much surprised, if those who are to be entirely ruined for the purposes of British policy, should endeavour by all means to prevent such a blow from being given? or, that other members of the community, who are but little injured by it, should still make common cause with their countrymen? It is, no doubt, the interest of the Americans not to quarrel with England, and it was still less their interest to rebel against her thirty years ago. By a rupture, too, they would infallibly lose the very object for which they threaten hostilities, besides incurring a great many other losses. But if such considerations had any weight in the councils of states, war would be banished from the world; for a declaration of war, whatever be

its motive, never fails to ensure in the mean time a repetition of the offence which provoked it. But by defeating the enemy, which is always expected, a stop may, in the end, be put to the evil. Just so may the Americans argue. They may hope to establish for the future the rights which they now claim, and may rather choose to fight for them, at the risk of losing more, than give them up without resistance.

The second pamphlet now before us, is written by a gentleman engaged in the West India trade, and, by its minute coincidence in several of the details with the evidence of Mr Maryatt before the West India Committee, appears clearly to be the production of that gentleman. It is well written, and shews the author to be practically acquainted with his subject. It exhibits marks of acuteness, too, in reasoning, which we are convinced would have led him to sounder opinions, had his mind been free from the bias of his professional habits, and indeed, interests. After describing the distressed state of the West India proprietors, (a task unhappily too easy), the author imputes it entirely to the surrender which England has made of her maritime rights. He speaks in a very declamatory manner, of giving up to America now, what we refused to the armed neutrality when our naval power was much more limited; as if the discussions of 1780 and 1801, had the least connexion with the points now in dispute.\* He replies, at some length, to the arguments upon the present question delivered in the '*State of the Nation;*' but, as a specimen of his success in the controversy, our readers may take the following. It had been maintained, that it was sufficiently detrimental to the enemy, to make him receive his colonial produce by a circuitous instead of a direct voyage. 'No; says Mr Maryatt, very triumphantly; the fact is, that notwithstanding the double voyage, our enemies have their sugars transported from 8s. 11d., to 12s. 6d. per cwt., cheaper than we can carry ours to the same market.' But has he forgotten, that we too must carry our produce there by a circuitous voyage? And can he deny, that however great the difference between our war expences and theirs may be, still there remains a great difference between their war and their peace expences?—and this difference they owe to the war and the loss of their maritime power. The only answer given to the very im-

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\* The only question then moved by the Northern Powers, which can be supposed to have any allusion to the rule of the war 1756, is that of '*Free ships, free goods;*'—but the rule was in that war maintained against the Dutch, to whom we nevertheless admitted the latter principle in virtue of the treaty of 1674.

portant argument, that France, by transferring her trade to neutrals, loses the nursery of her navy, is a sort of assertion, that Britain is doing so herself by the interference of the Americans, contrary to every statement of our commerce and navigation which possesses any claims to authenticity, and in utter contempt of the very obvious consideration, that the Americans never can breed or shelter sailors who shall afterwards man the French navy, while England is sure of receiving a large supply of American seamen, and a return of her own who have been employed there, as soon as the war is at an end. For one thing, we must give this author the praise due to frankness and candour; he fairly states, that the object which he proposes in blockading the enemy's islands, or rather in stopping entirely their commerce with the Americans and other neutrals, is to ruin their cultivation, and force the proprietors to turn part of their sugar and coffee plantations into provision grounds. This he thinks the best way of relieving our own planters. We shall in the sequel of the present article, and in examining the West India question, have occasion to consider this project more at length.

The title of Mr Medford's pamphlet is by much the worst thing we have found in it. The saying about the effects of an ill name, applies to books as well as other objects; and we fear, that this tract will suffer greatly from a circumstance almost wholly irrelevant to its merits. It is in truth one of the most sensible political essays that have lately appeared, far exceeding any other which has been produced by the present differences, in the rare qualities of candour and impartiality. The general doctrine of Mr Medford is, that both England and America are deeply interested in remaining at peace,—that the government and the most respectable part of the people in each country are averse to war,—but that certain individuals on both sides, have contrived to raise an outcry for hostile measures, and to engage the rabble in its favour. He maintains, that each party should carefully examine not merely what is its right, but what rights it has really an interest in asserting; that there should be mutual concessions of the unimportant points, and that a stand should be made for the objects of consequence only. This view of the matter leads him to consider the value of the things claimed on both sides; and he is strongly inclined to depreciate them. With respect to seamen escaping from the English navy under colour of American citizenship, he is at a loss to imagine how this evil can be remedied. There was a disposition to quarrel at Norfolk, he admits, which produced the offensive parading of the deserters; but if this had not taken place, the men would have privately



privately gone up the country, and embarked elsewhere, without the possibility of detection. The right of the mother country to monopolize the colonial trade, so as materially to injure the colonists, he stoutly denies. That she may tax, and legislate for them, he does not at all dispute; but he is unable to discover any principle upon which she can be entitled to starve her colonial subjects, for the sake of enriching her merchants at home, by the monopoly of the produce. Make the planter pay, he observes, as much as he now pays to government, but relieve him from the extortions of the broker and merchant. To every interference with the navigation law, he expects the keen opposition of all West India ship-owners; but the clamours which they will raise about the ruin of our marine, he thinks, are easily exposed by the statement, that of 21,700 ships, composing the mercantile navy of England, only 785 are engaged in the West India trade. The effects of the navigation law, he conceives, are greatly overrated; and so far from valuing the power of stopping a trade in contraband of war, he asks, when the want of stores ever kept an enemy from fighting? At the same time, he observes that the enemy has no right to complain of our maritime claims. Towards him every exertion of our hostility is justifiable; and he has no title to intermeddle with exceptions which it is the part of neutrals only to take against our conduct. He illustrates, by various cases, the embarrassments of the neutral traders, and their mercantile connexions in England, from the frequent detention of vessels by our cruizers; and shows how many houses in both countries are ruined, even when the prize courts at last refuse to condemn the cargoes. He also enlarges upon the inconsistency of throwing such impediments in the way of the American trade, when licenses are all the while granted with profusion to secure both our own traders and those of neutral states in their commerce with the enemy's ports. He enters into several details for the purpose of showing how greatly the expenses of the American trade with the West Indies are augmented by the regulation forcing the carriers of colonial produce to land and re-ship it in their own ports, and how frequently this interrupts the whole plan of a mercantile speculation. Mr Medford has been, for many years, engaged in this trade; and from the uncommon calmness of his general reasonings, we are disposed to pay great respect to his authority upon this point.

The remaining part of the tract is occupied with a comparative statement of the consequences of a war between England and America, to the interests of both countries. The progress of America in wealth and improvement, hitherto rapid beyond all example, and accelerated by the wars of other nations, would

now receive a most material interruption. Her commerce would be nearly destroyed, by the exclusion of her vessels from our ports, and their capture at sea when bound for other places. Her coasts, too, would suffer from the English navy. Her revenues must be raised to the war establishment; and both her debt and taxes greatly increased. Our author further admits, that she could derive no relief whatever from the profligate measure sometimes debated, of confiscating the debts due to British merchants. He asserts, that if a balance were struck, there would be found more money due in England to the Americans than by them, from the amount of their exports directly to the British dominions, and the shares which our traders have in the other branches of American commerce. Mr Medford then enumerates the advantages which his countrymen might derive from the war. They might easily conquer Canada, the inhabitants of which, though unfavourable to America, dislike England as much. To be sure, no great benefit could result from this accession; but it would materially injure the navigation of the English in those seas, and interrupt their supplies of ship stores. By their privateers they might almost destroy our West India trade; and though this would offer but a poor compensation for the loss of their own commerce, it would tend greatly to make England tire of the contest. They would also have the supply of the West Indies so completely in their hands, that they could occasion an insurrection in every island, by stopping the carriage of provisions;—another exertion of power, which, our author candidly admits, would only injure the enemy, without any benefit, nay, with much detriment to themselves. Of the various effects which the war would produce, the destruction of the American carrying trade would alone be beneficial to England. The loss of her North American colonies,—the danger of her West Indian settlements,—the want of a market for her goods,—the interruption of part of her supplies of grain, and of about half the cotton used in her manufactures,—the depredations upon her trade by innumerable privateers,—the defalcations which all these losses would occasion in her revenues,—are considerations of so serious a nature to a country already engaged in almost universal war, bent down by debts and taxes, and maintaining with difficulty its commercial station, that our author views them as fit to deter the most resolute enemies of the American carrying trade. He concludes, by attempting to strike a sort of general balance between the losses which the two countries would sustain, and affirms that England would suffer most; that to America the war would certainly be extremely injurious; but that to England it must prove ruinous. The former has done without commerce,  
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and may try the experiment once more. The latter with difficulty survived that crisis, and is now incomparably less able to meet it. We confess, that the question of, 'which will be most injured, by measures confessedly very detrimental to both,' strikes us as infinitely immaterial. There is no reason whatever for preferring a war which shall injure your enemy more than yourself, to one which shall injure him less, except the difference be so enormous, that, in the one case, he is likely soon to be in your power, or at your mercy;—a difference which, in the present instance, neither party can venture to assert. The short and plain view of the case, which we think ourselves entitled to adopt, is, that both nations would suffer more from a war than from any other event which can happen to them;—that it is their common interest to avoid it;—and that the points chiefly in dispute between them, are either such as justice requires to be abandoned, or a regard for their best interests should prevent them from insisting upon. We shall now illustrate this proposition, by examining the questions alluded to, and shall begin with the new claim urged on the part of England, of a right to search ships of war for seamen; both because this has never been argued, and because it will in all probability be made the avowed ground of the rupture.

It is evident, that the right to search a foreign vessel for deserters is of the very same nature, and governed by the same rules, with the right to search a neutral vessel for contraband goods. You have a right to search for those goods, only because you are injured by their being on board the vessel which trades with your enemy;—you have a right to search for your own runaway seamen who take shelter in the vessel, because you are injured by their being enabled to escape from you. If a neutral carries contraband goods, such as armed men, (which indeed treaties frequently specify in the list), to your enemy, he takes part against you; and your remedy—your means of checking his underhand hostility, is to stop his voyage, after ascertaining the unfair object of it. If the same neutral gives shelter to your seamen, he takes part with your enemy; or, if you happen not to be at war, still he injures you, and your remedy in either case is to recover the property, after ascertaining that he has it on board. In both instances, the offence is the same;—the foreign vessel has on board what she ought not to have, consistently with your rights. You are therefore entitled, say the jurists, to redress; and a detection of the injury cannot be obtained without previous search.

If the foreign vessel is a ship of war, such conduct is a direct injury, committed by the government of one nation against another

other nation. For if an American frigate either carries troops or other contraband to France, or carries away deserters from an English man of war, and refuses to give them up when claimed; and if the American government avows the proceeding of its ship, then is that government acting an hostile part towards England, who has, in consequence, a right to seek redress,—namely, by going to war. For all such proceedings, therefore, on the part of the foreign government, there is this proper and sufficient remedy. But if the offending vessel belong not to the foreign government, but to a private trader, the case is different. For no power can exercise such an effective controul over the actions of each of its subjects, as to prevent them from yielding to the temptations of gain, at a distance from its territory. No power can therefore be effectually responsible for the conduct of all its subjects on the high seas; and it has been found more convenient to entrust the party injured by such aggressions with the power of checking them. This arrangement seems beneficial to all parties, for it answers the chief end of the law of nations, —checking injustice without the necessity of war. Endless hostilities would result from any other arrangement. If a government were to be made responsible for each act of its subjects, and a negotiation were to ensue every time that a suspected neutral merchantman entered the enemy's port, either there must be a speedy end put to neutrality, or the affairs of the belligerent and neutral must both stand still. If the suspected vessel is a ship of war, no such inconvenience can follow from seeking redress by negotiation merely. A neutral has very few ships of war; if she has many, this is a circumstance of evidence against her, and a good ground of complaint. Not only is this remedy easy and safe to all parties, but it is the only remedy which is not exceedingly liable to abuse, and full of danger to the public peace of nations. No serious consequences are likely to arise from allowing men of war to search merchant ships; more especially if the right is confined to vessels of the state, and withheld from privateers. Nothing but hostility can result from allowing one ship of war to search another ship of war; because, if a national spirit is any where to be found, it is on board of such vessels. Moreover, the injury done to a private trader by searching is insignificant, compared to the benefit secured to both nations by such a practice. But the injury done to a ship of war by searching, is both much greater in itself, from the insult to the honour of the crew, and bears a much greater proportion to any good which can be supposed to result from the practice, even on the highest estimate, because there are very few such vessels to search.

For

For these, or similar reasons, the right of searching private ships has been acknowledged by the law of nations; but no such right has ever been admitted by that law with respect to ships of war. The following details not only prove this point, but positively demonstrate, that the claim alluded to is repugnant to the law of nations.

The right of searching merchant ships has never been denied, except by a few very speculative men. But such a modification of it has been more than once proposed by different powers, as would almost have amounted to an extinction of it. In 1780 and in 1801, it was maintained that the presence of a ship of war protected from all search a fleet of merchantmen under its convoy. This position was founded upon the inviolability of the national flag, and upon the pledge of fair dealing on the part of the merchantmen, which the presence of the convoying ship, and the word of its commander afforded. This pretension of the neutral powers was carefully examined, chiefly by English civilians, who were unanimous against it, and displayed great learning in refuting it. They reasoned both on the general consequences of extending to merchantmen the protection of the convoying flag, and from the authority of the writers on public law. Not one of their general reasonings even alludes to any right of searching the convoy ship itself, although an argument of this nature would have cut the whole question short. Not one of their authorities makes any mention of such a kind of search, although a quotation of this nature would have been the best authority against the pretensions of the armed neutrality, at a time, too, when our jurists were in no small degree pressed for authorities, even to make out the right of searching ships under convoy.\*—See *Sir W. Scott's Judgment in the Case of the Swedish Convoy*—*Dr Croke's Remarks on Mr Schlegel's Work*—*Letters of Sulpicius*—*Lord Grenville's Speech on the Russian Treaty, (Nov. 1801)*—*Vindication of the Russian Treaty*.

The treaty with Russia, in our humble opinion, very properly refused to acknowledge the pretensions of the armed neutrality. If there is any truth in the reasons above stated for searching merchantmen not convoyed, it must be admitted, that the presence of the convoy ship, so far from being a sufficient pledge of their innocence, is rather a circumstance of suspicion. If a neutral

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\* It may further be remarked, that, in the course of the discussions arising from the armed neutrality, several authorities were produced, (certainly not very eminent ones) even in favour of the neutral pretension; but no one was found expressly against it. So little do the writers on this subject afford countenance to the doctrine of a still more extended right of search!

tral nation fits out many ships of war, and escorts all its trading vessels with them, we have a right to conclude, that she is deviating from her neutrality. If her trade has been exposed to injuries, redress might have been sought by negotiation; and certainly it would be incumbent on her to show, in the course of this negotiation, either that the old rule had been abused, or that some new one should be substituted in its place. The presence of the convoy gives scarcely any better security to the belligerent, than the mere existence of the general law against contraband, while it exposes the neutrality of the parties to new risks of being destroyed. The article in the Russian Treaty which reserves the right of search, prescribes a visit to the convoy ship; but this is a concession to the neutral, to preclude, except in certain cases, any further search. In this visit, the papers relating to the merchant ships are the only subjects of inquiry. (*See Russian Treaty, June 1801, Art. IV.*)

If we examine the authorities themselves, we shall find reason to be satisfied, that the learned persons who maintained the argument for the belligerents, were guilty of no oversight in omitting to support their positions by asserting the right *now* claimed.

Wherever the right of search is mentioned, either by writers on the law of nations, or in treaties, *merchant-ships* are expressly specified. For the most part, this description is repeated every time the thing is mentioned; but it is always given so often, as to leave no doubt whatever, that it is understood, where by accident, or for the sake of brevity, it may have been omitted; or this is rendered equally clear, by the mention of *owners, subjects, &c.* See *Consolato del Mare*, cap. 273.—*Treaty of Whitehall*, 1661, Art. 12.—*Treaty of Copenhagen*, 1670, Art. 20.—*Treaty of Breda*, 1667, Art. 19.—*Treaty of Utrecht*, 1713, Art. 24.; *of Commerce with France*, 1786, Art. 26. & *seqq.*—*Treaty with America*, 1795, Art. 17. 18. 19.; and all others, where the right of search is mentioned.—*Vattel*, liv. 3. chap. 7. § 113. & 114.—*Martens, Essai concernant les armateurs*, c. 2. § 20.—*Hubner, de la saisie des Batiments Neutres*, Vol. I. part. 1. chap. 8. § 7.—*Whitelock's Mem.* p. 634.—*Molloy de Jure Mar.* Book 1. chap. 5.

The pretension of visiting ships of war, has never been brought forward, so far as we know, except accidentally in the two cases which shall presently be mentioned; and in these it was given up, before time had been allowed for discussing the subject. This is the reason why no direct authority can be found upon the point in writers on the law of nations, and no stipulation respecting it in treaties. But all the general principles which are recognized, both by authors and negotiators, most uniformly and positively exclude such a pretension.

It is unnecessary to prove, that the *territory* of an independent state is inviolable, and that no other state has a right to enter it without permission. Vattel lays down this principle as follows. ‘ Non seulement on ne doit point usurper le territoire d’autrui, il faut encore le respecter et s’abstenir de tout acte contraire aux droits du souverain ; car *une nation étrangere ne peut s’y attribuer aucun droit.* ’—“ On ne peut donc, (he infers), sans faire injure à l’état entrer à main armée dans son territoire pour y poursuivre un coupable et l’enlever. ’—*Liv. 2. chap. 7. § 93.* ; see also § 64 & 79. All other writers, without exception, agree in this ; and it is a common stipulation in treaties of peace,—not that one party shall refrain from pursuing criminals into the territories of the other, for this would be superfluous,—nor that one party shall have the right to pursue criminals in the other’s territory, for this never was granted in any one instance,—but that the parties shall themselves mutually give up the persons of certain criminals who may take refuge in their territories ; both the contracting parties thereby admitting, that the state from which the criminal escapes has no other means whatever of recovering him, and that he is under the power of the state alone into whose territory he has fled.

That the same principle of inviolability applies fully to the ships of a nation, and that these floating citadels are as much a part of the territory as if they were castles on the dry land, is another position equally incontestable. In what particular, at all essential to the argument, do those vessels differ from forts ? They are the public property ; held by men in the public service, and under martial law. Moreover, the supreme power of the state resides in them ; the sovereign is represented in them, and every thing done by them is done in his name. Accordingly, we find that those vessels of war are held by writers on public law to carry with them an extension of the territorial rights of the state. Vattel says expressly, that the territory of a nation comprehends every part of its just and lawful possessions ; and he adds, ‘ *Et par ses possessions il ne faut pas seulement entendre ses terres, mais tous les droits dont elle jouit.* ’ (II. 7. § 80.) In another part of his work, indeed, speaking of the *status* of children born at sea, he lays it down, that if they are born in a vessel belonging to any country, ‘ *ils peuvent être réputés nés dans le territoire ; car il est naturel de considerer les vaisseaux de la nation comme des portions de son territoire, surtout quand ils voguent sur une mer libre, puisque l’état conserve sa jurisdiction dans ces vaisseaux.* ’—(*Liv. I. chap. 19. § 216.*) But, if this means any thing more, in so far as it applies to merchant ships, than that they are parts of the territory of the country,

country, to the effect of rendering the children born on board natives of the country, it is inconsistent with the admission made by Vattel in another chapter, that merchant ships may be searched,—unless, indeed, we are to admit, that although those vessels are parts of the territory, yet the general convenience of nations has established the right of violating them, for the reasons formerly stated. Vattel further lays it down, that children born at the army, or at the residence of an ambassador, are in the same predicament; ‘*car un citoyen absent pour le service de l’etat, et qui demeure dans sa dependance et sous sa jurisdiction, ne peut être consideré comme etant sorti du territoire.*’—*Ibid.* § 217.

But the authority of Grotius is, in every respect, better entitled to regard than that of the above mentioned writer, whom, indeed, we have only quoted, because it is the custom to appeal to him on all occasions, and because he is exceedingly favourable to the claims of belligerents. Grotius lays it clearly down, that sovereignty over a portion of the sea (*imperium in maris portionem*) may be acquired, like other sovereignties, in two ways—‘*ratione personarum, et ratione territorii; ratione personarum, ut si classis, qui maritimus est exercitus, aliquo in loco maris se habeat; ratione territorii, quatenus ex terra cogi possunt qui in proxima maris parte versantur, nec minus quam si in ipsâ terrâ reperirentur.*’—(*De Jur. Bel. & Pac. Lib. II. cap. 3. § 13.*) Here, then, we find, that the sea, upon which a ship of war lies, is as much under the dominion, and part of the territory of the nation to which that ship belongs, as the sea under the guns of one of its forts, or within gunshot of its shores. ‘The vessel,’ says Grotius, ‘occupies the sea for its sovereign, in the same manner as an army does the land on which it encamps.’ If an Austrian army is marching through Prussian Poland to attack the French, and a Russian army encamps near it, on its march towards Turkey; should we not reckon it an act of direct hostility, were a detachment of the former to enter the camp of the latter forcibly, in order to search it for deserters? An English and American ship of war meeting on the sea, which is common to both, are exactly in this relative situation. *Classis maritimus est exercitus*—says Grotius. If the presence of the ship of war converts the neighbouring sea into national territory, much more is the ship itself to be viewed in that light.

There are several analogical cases in the law of nations, which add great weight to this doctrine, as applied to the inviolability of ships of war. It may be enough to mention the rights of ambassadors. The inviolability of their houses and persons has long been admitted in its fullest extent by all jurists, and by the practice of all civilized nations without exception. They cannot be arrested



arrested for crimes; nor can they, or their suite, be affected, either in their persons or goods, for debts. They are not held to be within the jurisdiction of the country in which they reside; and all attempts to touch them, even by the modes which the law of the land prescribes, are offences against the law of nations.—*Vattel*, liv. iv. chap. 7. § 8.—*Grotius*, *De Jur. Bel. & Pac.* xviii. 4. 4.—See, too, the English stat. 7. Anne, c. 12., which is only *declaratory* of the law of nations.—Now, there is no one reason for the inviolability of ambassadors, which does not apply to national ships. Whether we deduce that inviolability from respect due to the representative of a sovereign,—from the presumption that the sovereign never intended to submit his minister to a foreign jurisdiction,—from the necessity of entire independence to the transaction of the business committed to him,—or from the risk in which a contrary doctrine would involve the mutual good understanding of nations;—it is clear, that all these topics apply to the case of ships of war, and several of them with much greater force.

A consequence, of peculiar absurdity, and repugnant to every principle which jurists have laid down, would follow from admitting the right of nations to search each other's ships. If the search of a neutral vessel leads to the discovery of contraband; or, if it is resisted, when it is the right of the belligerent vessel,—then the former is detained, and brought into port for condemnation. But can it be maintained that a court of admiralty is to sit in judgment upon the mutual claims of sovereign states? The captor, indeed, may acknowledge its jurisdiction; but can a foreign and independent sovereign be required to do so? All jurists agree that there is no human court in which the disputes of nations can be tried; that every power is the sole judge of its own cause; and that, if aggrieved, it has but one remedy, viz. war. To prove this by quotations, would be endless.—In the case of private ships, the law of nations is explicit. The prize courts of the captor's country judge, according to that law, the questions which arise between the parties; and it is a usual thing to declare, by express stipulation, that this jurisdiction shall be exercised. (See c. 9. Treaty of Paris, 1763, Art. 16., and of Versailles, 1783, Art. 21. and Treaty of Com. 1786, Art. 32. 33. 34. & 35.) But no treaty ever alluded to such a jurisdiction over ships of war detained and brought into port. In the case of private ships, the jurisdiction thus constituted by the law of nations, and recognized by treaties, is an arrangement generally convenient, and called for by the right of search, upon which it is a necessary check. The total silence of all authorities and treaties respecting such a jurisdiction in the case of national ships,  
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and its direct repugnance to the general principles laid down, without any such exception, by all writers, is the clearest proof, that the right of search and detention is equally inapplicable to the case of national ships. If this right existed by the law of nations, the only conceivable mode of legally controuling its exercise would not be so entirely repugnant to the principles of that law.

But some thoughtless persons have maintained, that Great Britain has a right to search ships of war, in virtue of her naval supremacy; and they have attempted to connect this pretension with the old claim of a sovereignty over the sea. We shall therefore briefly advert to that question.

The doctrine, that the sea may be appropriated by a people beyond the portion of it immediately adjoining to their territory, and commanded by that territory, has been denied by the bulk of authorities on the principles of the law of nations. Grotius scarcely admits more than the possibility of appropriating the waters immediately contiguous; though he adduces a number of quotations from ancient authors (after his usual manner) which shew only, that such an idea, at some time, had entered somebody's head,—the common defect of his mode of treating a subject. For example, he quotes the passage where Virgil says of the Romans, 'Qui mare, qui terras omni ditione tenerent,' and the complimentary verses of Oppian to the emperor, telling him that 'the sea rolled under his laws.' (*De Jur. Bel. & Pac. II. 3. § 8—13.*) But he never dreamt of any thing more than a limited portion being claimed; and he uniformly speaks of '*pars, or portio, maris,*'—always confining his view to the effects of the neighbouring land in giving a sovereignty of this sort. Puffendorff lays it down, that in a narrow sea, this dominion belongs to the sovereigns of the surrounding land, and regulates the distribution of it, where there are several such sovereigns, by the same rules which are applicable to neighbouring proprietors on a lake or river, supposing that no compact has been made in favour of one by the rest, as is pretended, he says, by Great Britain. But he expresses himself with a sort of indignation at the idea, that the main ocean can ever be appropriated. '*Nullus probabilis prætextus,*' he says, '*adferri potest, quare unus aliquis populus in totum oceanum dominium velit prætere, cum hoc effectû ut cæteros omnes a navigatione ejusdem velit arcere.*' The whole passage is very eloquent, as well as judicious and satisfactory. (*De Jur. Nat. & Gent. Lib. IV. cap. 5. § 7.*) Selden devotes the first book of his celebrated treatise, to the proposition, that the sea may be made property; which he attempts to show, by collecting a multitude of quotations from ancient authors, in the style

style of Grotius, but with much less selection. For example, he quotes Julius Firmicus, who says, in his astrological work, 'that persons having, in the schemes of their nativity, the moon increasing in the 30th degree of Taurus, fortified with a friendly aspect of Jupiter, shall possess the dominion of sea and land whithersoever they lead an army.' (*De Mari Clauso*, B. I. c. 14.) He nowhere grapples with the arguments by which such a vague and extensive dominion is satisfactorily shown to be repugnant to the law of nations. And in the second part, which is indeed the main object of his work, he has recourse only to proofs of usage and of positive compact, in order to show that Great Britain has the sovereignty of what are called *the narrow seas*. In this part of his argument, he is more successful, and has had more followers. In truth, it does appear, that, from her great maritime superiority over all neighbouring nations, Great Britain, from very remote ages, enjoyed a preeminence upon the seas surrounding her territory to a considerable distance; and this was naturally increased by her extensive possessions on the opposite shores. The most important documents brought to prove this, are the *Ordinance at Hastings* in the 2d of King John, and the Record of the dispute between Edward I. and Philip the Fair, in which deputies from several maritime states, themselves parties in the discussion, took the part of England, and admitted her claim.\* (*Selden*, B. II., & *Molloy de Jur. Mar.* B. I. c. 5.) The claim comprehended, at the utmost extent in which England ever stated it, the sea from Cape Finisterre to Cape Stat in Norway. France never subscribed to it. When Holland, at the beginning of Cromwell's protectorate, denied it for the first time, she was repeatedly defeated in the war which ensued, and was effectually humbled. The treaty, 1654, by a declaratory clause, fixed the utmost amount of this claim which Holland could be induced to admit. No mention is made of sovereignty even of the British sea, although Cromwell proposed that this should be generally stated; but the ceremony of striking the ensign, and lowering the topsail, is stipulated on the part of 'all Dutch ships of war, and others, which shall meet any British ship of war in the British seas—eo modo quo ullis retro temporibus sub quocumque anteriore regimine † unquam observatum fuit.' (*Treaty*

\* England and the other states were neutral in the war between France and Flanders which then subsisted, and which gave rise to the claims of all those states, except England. No decision was given by the arbiters who were named on both sides.

† This refers to the pretext on which the Dutch had refused the honour of the flag, viz. that the salute was a compliment to the king, and not due to the commonwealth.

of *Peace and Alliance*, 1654, art. 13.) The same article was, from this treaty, copied into the Treaty of Whitehall, 1662, art. 10.; and the treaty of Breda, 1667, art. 19.

When Charles II., being resolved to make war on the States-General in 1671, sought for pretexts, and had recourse to some of the most groundless complaints,—as, that a Dutch fleet of war, on the Dutch coast, had refused to strike to an English yacht, (which had been sent for the purpose of creating the dispute)—no further claim was ever thought of than this absurd interpretation of the right of salute. The treaty of Westminster, which put an end to that war, merely stipulated the honours of the flag in terms of the former treaties. (*Treaty of Westm.* 1674, Art. 6.) The Treaty of Marine, concluded at London the same year, determined that *the British seas* extended ‘from Cape Finisterre to the land Van Staten in Norway.’ (Art. 4.) These, with the intermediate treaties of 1678 (Defensive), 1689 (of Concert), and 1701 (of Alliance), as well as the treaties of Breda 1667, and the Commercial Treaty of 1668, (by which England first admitted to Holland the principle of ‘free ships, free goods,’ and *vice versa*, art. 9. 10. 11.), were all renewed by the treaty 1703, and formed the terms upon which the alliance between England and Holland subsisted, until the latter part of the American war. The treaty of Paris between England and Holland in 1784, contains a renewal of the stipulation respecting the flag, though in more general terms, placing this point ‘upon the same footing on which it stood before the war.’ (Art. 2.) The Treaty of Amiens, 1802, contains no general renewal of former treaties, and no stipulation whatever touching the honours of the flag.

It is therefore manifest, that, in so far as the intercourse between England and Holland contains the evidences of this right of sovereignty over the sea, the following points are proved: That the *British seas* never extended beyond Cape Finisterre on the one hand, and Cape Stat on the other; that the claim never extended beyond the British seas; that it was admitted by the Dutch to have been well founded originally, and not to have been constituted by the treaty 1654; that it has never extended to any other right than that of the salute; and that even this right of salute was abandoned in 1802.

Some writers pretend, that the salute is only one consequence, or more properly an acknowledgement, of a general sovereignty; and enumerate other rights,—as of fishing, imposing customs on the navigation and fishing of foreign nations, and prescribing laws to the navigation of nations living on the banks of the British sea. But the only instances of such rights ever being exercised, are very ancient, if not doubtful; if we except a tradition of Queen Elizabeth

Elizabeth having prevented the French from building above a certain number of ships of war,—which is rather to be viewed as an exercise of power by means of threats, than an exercise of right: (*Molloy de Jur. Mar.* I. 5.) At any rate, all such pretences have long been given up. As far back as 1604, the proclamation of James I. shows that the jurisdiction anciently claimed, was now confined to those bays called the *King's Chambers*, i. e. portions of the sea cut off by lines drawn from one promontory to another of our own island. (*Selden, II. 22.*) The claim of salute itself, never was admitted by France; and Vattell expressly lays it down, that this is sufficient to disprove the existence of the right. (*Liv. I. c. 23. § 289.*) If the admission of it by other nations proves any thing, we must allow that the Venetians had the same right in the Adriatic, the French in the Mediterranean, and the Danes in the North Sea. The first has been repeatedly acknowledged both by the Turks, the Neapolitans, and the Spaniards. The honours of the flag were expressly admitted to France in the Mediterranean, by the Dutch, in the Offensive and Defensive Treaty of 1635: And Selden himself, proves that Denmark has always possessed the sovereignty of the North Sea, Britain having only what the Civilians call a *servitude* on it. (*II. 52.*) It is unnecessary to add, that our right never was acknowledged by America, although we have had two treaties with her; and that, in whatever way either question may be decided, no two points can be more foreign to each other, than the right of search now claimed, and the ancient claim of naval supremacy.

We have said above, that there are only two instances, so far as we know, of the idea of searching ships of war having been entertained; and, in only one of these, was the claim formally made. The history of both these cases, affords the strongest confirmation of the doctrine for which we have been contending.

The war of 1652, was the first rupture which had taken place between England and Holland, since the foundation of the republic. It arose entirely from maritime rivalry; and a refusal of the honours of the flag, was even the avowed justification of the first hostilities on the part of England. The Dutch were defeated in many great naval engagements; their fisheries were interrupted, their commerce nearly ruined, and they were willing to have peace on almost any terms. England demanded, in the 15th article of a treaty proposed to the States in 1653, that the salute of the flag should be stipulated, from all vessels, both of war and others, in the British seas, and that all vessels should likewise submit to be visited, if thereto required.' The former stipulation was acceded to, and made part of the treaty con-

cluded in 1654, (Art. 15.); the latter was peremptorily refused. No article respecting search was inserted; and in the subsequent Treaty of Commerce of London, 1674, the reciprocal right of search for contraband was stipulated, but confined to merchant ships. (Art. 5.) All that Cromwell could think of asking, then, after beating the Dutch to nearly entire submission, was a right to visit ships of war in the British seas. But, beaten as they were, the Dutch could not be brought to admit so monstrous a claim;—it was immediately given up, and never afterwards renewed.

Soon after the peace of 1654, a Dutch man of war, convoying a fleet of merchant ships, was met by an English man of war in the Downs. The English searched the merchantmen; and the affair was discussed by the States under two heads,—the search of ships of war,—and the search of merchantmen; the former question appearing to have been suggested by the latter, and by the presence of the Dutch man of war. The result of their deliberations, was a resolution, that ‘the refusal to let merchantmen be searched could not be persisted in;’ but, respecting the other point, they came to the following determination. ‘That, in conformity with their High Mightinesses’ instructions, taken in respect to the searching of ships of war, and especially those of Sept. 1627, Nov. 1648, and Dec. 1649, it is thought good, and resolved, that all captains, and other sea-officers, that are in the service of this state, or cruising on commission, shall be *anew* strictly commanded, told, and charged, that they shall not condescend to no commands of any foreigners at sea, much less obey the same; neither shall they anyways permit that they be searched; nor deliver, nor suffer to be taken out of their ships, any *people* or other things.’ Punishments are then threatened to such officers as yield on this point; but they are desired to give the customary salute to English men of war, according to treaty. (Thurloe. II. 593.) So peremptory a determination on the part of a nation but just escaped from the evils of a very ruinous and unequal war, is a sufficient proof of the light in which the point at issue was viewed. It deserves the more attention, when we consider that this had been one of the points argued in negotiating the treaty of peace; and proves that the Dutch were as much resolved to resist any silent encroachment upon their rights, while in a state of alliance with their powerful neighbours, as they had been to prevent an open attack upon them at the formation of the treaty. Since that time, the subject has never been broached,—England having completely acquiesced, even while most zealous for her maritime rights in the narrow seas, and most successful in maintaining them.

It appears most evidently, then, that all the general principles upon which the mutual rights of nations are founded, are repugnant to the pretension of searching ships of war; that all authors, even those who maintain the right of search most largely, confine their positions to the case of merchant ships; that all the various treaties which stipulate the visitation of ships, allude to merchant ships exclusively; that though, from the entire novelty of the pretension, no express opinion of jurists, or stipulation of treaties, can be found upon the point, yet, a variety of principles leading directly to the denial of the claim, are laid down by all jurists without exception, and uniformly recognized in the intercourse of civilized states; that no one principle can be found, upon which to ground the claim, and, more particularly, that the old pretensions of Great Britain regarding the narrow seas, are quite foreign to the question; and that, in the only instance in which England ever attempted to advance the claim, she confined it to the narrow seas—tried to obtain the acknowledgement solely by positive stipulation—failed completely, although placed in circumstances peculiarly favourable to the attempt—and has never since, during a century and a half, renewed it. So that it would be difficult to conceive a pretension, against which the whole law of nations, as well as their practice, is more clearly and strongly opposed.

Now, the practice of searching ships of war for deserters, is one from which scarcely the smallest benefit could be derived, if exercised with the most unsparing vigilance. If the two or three ships of war in the American service were wholly manned with British deserters, we might lose a few hundred seamen. But even this is not a necessary loss; for an application to the Government of the United States would certainly procure a regulation among their officers for enforcing the surrender of the greater part of the deserters; and the difference between the number of men lost in spite of such regulations, and the number lost in spite of our own actual search, would amount to a mere trifle—certainly not to any thing like fifty men in a year. It must therefore be regarded as exceedingly fortunate for this country, that the claim of searching is found to be utterly untenable. Had it been sanctioned by the law of nations, there would have been some reason for maintaining it, even at a considerable risk. It would have been a national right, of an invidious nature towards a friendly power—of no sort of intrinsic value—the abandonment of which might look like giving up a point of honour—the exercise of which was worth nothing—and the assertion of which might lead to war. It should be matter of congratulation, that so useless a pretension is found to be an unjust one.

To waive it, can no longer be injurious to our dignity; to stickle for it, can alone hurt our honour; and one barren, unprofitable ground of dissension is thus removed from between two nations, mutually interested in remaining always friends.

We now come to the right claimed, of searching private vessels for deserters. Some of the principles which were incidentally explained in discussing the first point, seem sufficient for the decision of this also. It was proved that a merchant ship is, in every respect, differently situated from a ship of war; and that no reason can be offered why it should not be subject to visitation, if suspected of carrying contraband. If a government pretends to be responsible for the conduct of each individual trader within its territory, we know that it is engaging to fulfil an impossible condition; and we are entitled to conclude, that it means to mock, or to deceive us. The method of searching seems the only way of preventing or detecting the unfair dealings of neutral merchants. When confined to national ships, \* it unites a degree of security to the rights of the belligerent, with an attention to the convenience of the neutral, which no other contrivance could possibly secure. Now, there seems to be no good reason for excepting the case of deserters from this right. If the crew belonging to an English man of war escape on board of American merchantmen, it is difficult to discover why they should not be pursued there, and brought back by their lawful commanders. It is preposterous to call each merchant ship a portion of the territory of the state, because the jurisdiction of the state extends to the persons on board of it. The same jurisdiction extends to the subjects of the state, though, by any accident, they should be swimming at a distance from the vessel. An Englishman who should commit murder in this situation on the high seas, would be tried at the Admiralty sessions; and yet he was on no part of the English territory. An English vessel, too, in a foreign port, is held to be foreign territory. If, then, deserters are pursued into a merchant ship on the high seas, they are only pursued on common ground; and no violation of territory takes place, any more than if they were picked up swimming at sea in their attempt to escape.

We have already shown, that all the reasons, derived from mutual convenience, are in favour of giving the belligerents the remedy of search for contraband in neutral merchant vessels. The same reasons apply almost as clearly to a search for deserters. There is only one circumstance, indeed, which can be supposed to distinguish the two cases. It is not so easy to determine  
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\* This was done in the Russian treaty 1801; and Lord Grenville expressed his approbation in his celebrated speech upon that occasion.



which of the crew visited are deserters, and to seize them alone, as it is to determine that there are contraband goods, or hostile property on board, and to bring the vessel in for condemnation. The danger is certainly somewhat greater of our cruizers seizing American seamen, instead of British, than of their stopping vessels laden with neutral or innocent cargoes, instead of vessels pursuing an illegal voyage. But though this may render the adjustment of the mode in which our right of search shall be exercised a little more nice, it does not amount to such a difficulty as will invalidate our title to use that remedy. Suppose the right of searching were strictly confined to national ships; that no seaman were liable to be impressed who could prove, by unsuspecting documents, his having been out of England a certain number of years in proportion to his age; that the master of the American vessel, upon affidavit, supported by two sureties residing in England, that an American born subject had been taken from his crew, should have a right to obtain his surrender, for the purpose of bringing an action against the English captain in a *court of common law*, where he might obtain exemplary damages:—Suppose, further, that every American merchant vessel were declared seizable, of which above a certain proportion of the crew should be British subjects who had left their country within a certain period of their lives, and that the cruizers visiting had the option, in all cases, either of seizing the men, or of suing the master and two English sureties, in an *English court of common law*, for penalty upon a bond entered into once every year, and always kept among the ship's papers, obliging him not to sail with any British seaman as above described;—it appears that sufficient checks would be imposed both upon the English cruizers and the American traders. The owners of the ships would find sureties among their mercantile correspondents in England, and would be forced to use some circumspection in hiring their crews. They would probably be satisfied with the power of applying for redress to an English court of common law, greatly as they are inclined to distrust our prize tribunals; and indeed, were the present fears of the abuse of the right of search realized, a single verdict obtained against a captain in the navy for impressing an American, would have the full effect of checking the evil. Some such method as we have sketched, of loading both parties with a considerable risk in the conduct of the business—of making each act at his peril—might be arranged without much difficulty, and check the desertion of our seamen, while it secured the American traders from vexatious detention.

We have now been stating the right of search, and the mode of exercising it, as high as possible; that is to say, the right, as

fully as we conceive it to exist, and such a mode of enforcing it as would be requisite, if the importance of the object to be gained were very considerable. We cannot help thinking, however, that this is in general a good deal overrated by those who discuss the question. The demand which our extensive commerce affords for seamen, must always produce a supply in some degree proportioned to it; and the blanks occasioned in their numbers by manning the navy during war, in so far as they cannot be filled up by the hands which that war throws out of employment, will operate as an increase in the total demand. To this augmented demand the supply of seamen will constantly tend to accommodate itself. The temptations held out by the American trade, if our seamen are allowed to engage in it, must operate as a still further increase of the demand, and a bounty upon the supply of seamen. Instead of breeding seamen, as it were, for our own commerce only, we should breed them for the whole commerce of England and America. We should therefore be much better supplied with them, than if we bred them only for ourselves; as a country is sure of having more corn for home consumption, the more it grows for exportation. This consideration deserves to be weighed against the inconveniences which we no doubt suffer during war, from the constant desertion occasioned by the peculiar advantages of the American service, and the sudden and extraordinary drain of seamen from our mercantile navy, especially at the commencement of hostilities.\* These evils, though serious, are much diminished by this view of the case; and it should be recollected, that the greater part of the emigrants or deserters who went over during war, return at the peace; that this augments our whole numbers of seamen while peace lasts; that, consequently, an increased degree of vigilance in the impress service, at the commencement of a new war, may still further diminish the evil. Such being the real amount of the detriment occasioned by a total abandonment of our right of search for seamen, it may possibly be admitted that we should, in prudence, abstain from the most rigorous possible enforcement of the right. The right is ours, clearly and in the fullest extent. The American government is too sensible, not to perceive this; we trust it is too faithful to its highest duties, not to admit so incontestable a proposition. But if it should have any invincible objection against our exercising our undoubted rights, and obtaining the redress which

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\* We need scarcely remark, that the whole of the reasoning applies to seamen who leave our merchant service, as well as deserters from our fleets; the right of our government is exactly the same to seize both, wherever it can find them without violating a foreign territory.

which is our due by the arrangement above pointed out, it must devise some other remedy which shall appear likely to be efficacious. In consideration of the evil not being extreme, it would surely be prudent for this country to make a fair trial of such a remedy as shall be proposed, and to adopt it in place of the rigorous search, though it might prove somewhat less effectual. But we venture to predict that the trial will entirely fail; that nothing short of the search above described will nearly answer the end proposed; that the failure of the experiment will convince the American government itself; and that, by delaying to insist on our undoubted rights, we shall obtain a peaceable and full recognition of them in the final adoption of some arrangement similar to the one already pointed out.

It is greatly to be feared, however, that, highly as the importance of the claims just now examined has been extolled in this country, they are rather the pretences, than the true reasons for desiring a rupture with America. In consequence of the long and successful war carried on by England against almost all the other maritime powers, a great portion of their commerce, and a share also of our own, has passed into the hands of the Americans. A certain class of politicians, therefore, regard them at once as rivals in trade, and as interfering with the course of our hostilities; and are anxious, not only to deprive them of all the benefit which they derive from our constant wars, but to injure them nearly as much as the enemy. The principle of these reasoners is, that the enemy shall trade with nobody, and the neutrals only with ourselves. We have already had an opportunity of discussing the principle of the rule of the war 1756; \* and we shall, at present, only advert shortly to the nature of that claim, for the purpose of adding a few remarks to those which we formerly offered.

It is contended, that England has a right to prohibit the neutrals from carrying on any trade during war, which was not open to them during peace. But why should not the same rule extend to a trade of which the neutrals, though permitted by law, did in fact not partake before the war? It is owing to our hostilities, that the Americans carry wine from Bourdeaux to Amsterdam; they came into this traffic, in order to shelter the French and Dutch traders from our cruizers; we have as good a right to prohibit it, as to stop their trade in sugar and coffee. In like manner, the French used to import American produce in their own vessels; now they only receive it in American ships: Instead of a part, therefore, the Americans have the whole of this trade,

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\* No. XV.

trade, and England has a right to confine them to their former share of it; but as this is utterly impossible, without stopping it altogether, she may exercise her belligerent rights in the only way practicable, and cut off the Americans from all intercourse whatever with her enemies. This is exactly what the French government has threatened us with; and it must be admitted to follow clearly, from the principles of the rule of the war 1756. Accordingly, some politicians recommend it to England. Now, let us see what follows. We are desired to cut off all intercourse between America and our enemies;—this will no doubt injure our enemies, but it will hurt America still more. For we are unfortunately at war with about ten different nations, each of whom will thus lose its American trade: but America will lose its trade with each of them; and will suffer, perhaps, ten times as much as any of them. † Being at war with almost the whole world ourselves, we shall, in revenge, monopolize the whole trade of a neutral and friendly power, and indemnify ourselves at its expense. But shall we, in fact, be benefiting ourselves by so singular a conduct? We may call it monopolizing the trade of America, but, in truth, it is equally giving her the monopoly of our own trade,—it is confining the Americans to intercourse with ourselves, and ourselves to intercourse with them; for, the keenest advocates of the rule 1756 admit, explicitly, that we have not a shadow of right to partake, under any pretexts, in a trade which we shut against the neutrals.\* If, then, we cannot cut off our enemy's commerce, without injuring the Americans a great deal more, so neither can we injure the Americans, without hurting ourselves equally; and such, in a few words, is the benefit to be derived, from the complete assertion of our pretended rights towards neutrals.

The progress of the demands which have been made by the  
assertors

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† The learned and ingenious author of '*War in Disguise*,' (p. 37. 5th edit.) treats with some contempt the assertion, that neutrals suffer hardship in not being allowed to supply themselves with colonial produce in the enemy's islands during war; a hardship, he observes, which they suffer equally during peace. But surely, if one belligerent interdicts all colony trade except her own, the neutrals, instead of having the market for produce open in all the mother countries, are confined to the market of that one belligerent. If America is prevented from buying French produce, and our market cannot supply her, she suffers as much as France does by the prohibition. And even if she can get a supply from us, she suffers a much greater restriction in her trade than if she were still an English colony.

\* See '*War in disguise*,' and the '*Introduction to Mr Randolph's Speech*.'

assertors of these rights, is exceedingly instructive as to their real views. The transport of produce from the enemy's colonies to the mother country direct, in neutral vessels, is first required to be stopt. The neutral trader then carries it to his own ports, and from thence to the enemy's. We are required to consider this as one voyage, and an evasion of the first prohibition. A second prohibition is therefore demanded;—the produce must be fairly landed, and pay duties; and it must not be reexported in the same vessel which brought it. Under all these restrictions, however, the neutral can afford to continue the trade; and the produce still finds its way to the enemy, though at very advanced prices. We are now desired, therefore, to enforce the rule of the war 1756, and to prevent the produce from entering our enemy's ports at all, in neutral bottoms, because, in time of peace, that commerce was interdicted by him. Suppose we again comply, and that the neutrals yield—they will carry the produce to some neutral European port, from which it may find its way to the market; that is, to our enemies. A new demand is therefore necessary. We are required absolutely to prohibit all traffic in colonial produce which came originally from an enemy's colony. Even this would be evaded; for, how is such produce to be distinguished from the very produce sold by ourselves to those neutrals, according to the strict letter of our own navigation law? We must, therefore, interdict absolutely all carriage of colonial produce in any vessels not being British. But this, though sufficient to outrage all public law, would still be inadequate to prevent smuggling, so long as any traffic remained between our enemies and the neutrals. There is but one other step to take, therefore. We must go to war with the neutrals, and put their ships upon the same footing with those of our enemy, whose places in trade they are now filling. By this chain it is that we are driven on from prohibition to prohibition, till we find that the prohibition of neutrality itself is our only remedy; and that we can only trust to the vigilance of our cruizers for the security of our colonial monopoly, and the interruption of our enemy's trade. The case is therefore short and plain. If all nations will not go to war with France when we choose to do so, we must go to war with them also. There is no other way of vexing our enemy, and protecting our mercantile profits.

Now, putting the morality of this doctrine entirely out of the question,—endeavouring to forget the old maxims of public law, in the eye of which *neutrality* is held to be a favourable object,—allowing that the present war is of a peculiar nature, and of a paramount importance (as indeed all wars are),—and that the rules which apply to other wars do not apply to so great a contest

test (though this has been regularly said of every one war from the time that men began to fight, and fully as often said of the most trifling as of the greatest disputes between nations),—let us simply ask ourselves, whether the destruction of all neutrality is likely to be so very great a gain to the most commercial and manufacturing nation in the world? With whom should we trade, if we went to war with America? Our foreign trade would be confined to Sicily and Sweden, and perhaps it might extend to Zealand. But a great contraband would enable us, through these channels, and by other more direct means, still to supply the enemy and the countries subject to him; that is to say, we should be compelled, by the approach of utter ruin, to relax our own hostilities, and to trade ourselves with the enemy. But in what way? If we send ships to his ports he will seize them;—then we must allow his ships to come to our ports, or to the ports of our allies and dependants. Is not this encouraging, not merely a foreign trade, but an enemy's trade and shipping? Is it not assisting France, for fear that America should help her? Is it not transferring the neutral privileges from our friends to our enemies? But can any body doubt, that the conversion of our whole foreign trade into contraband would greatly diminish the amount of it? Our enemies would indeed pay a little dearer, and consume a great deal less, of both their own colonial produce and our goods; but the loss would be reciprocal, and while the whole amount of it would be divided among all our enemies, we should ourselves lose upon our intercourse with each of them. The neutrals would no longer carry for us to France, Spain, and Holland, for example; nor to Germany and Russia. All those countries would therefore lose, arrange it how we please, part of their trade with us, and suffer each so much by the loss; while we should lose about as much with each of them, and many times more than France could lose.

It might be expected, that such obvious considerations would render all attempts against America fruitless in this country; and incline us rather to waive some rights which we possess, than insist upon claims founded in manifest injustice. But there are certain bodies of traders, who conceive that their interests are opposite to those of the country, and seem desirous of pursuing some imaginary advantages at all risks. The depreciation of West India produce, to whatever cause it may be owing, has brought a large and highly respectable class of men, into a situation of unexampled difficulty. The interruption of all trade with the enemy's colonies, they consider as the sure means of raising the price of their own goods. Reduced nearly to a state of despair, they conceive that no change can be for the worse, and, in  
their

their eagerness to make some effort to save themselves, overlook the risk which they incur of hastening their destruction. We shall, in a subsequent article, produce very satisfactory proof, that the deplorable state of the West Indies, is owing to an excessive cultivation of sugar all over the colonies. While the whole or the greater part of this reaches the market of Europe, there will be a glut, and the price will continue extremely low. No measures which our maritime superiority enables us to pursue, can prevent a considerable portion of this produce from finding its way over. Another portion will be captured by our cruizers in its attempts to reach the forbidden markets, and will, of course, come into our own market. In the mean time, the enemy will be enforcing *his* prohibitions with a rigour not likely to be diminished by our blockade of his islands; he will certainly obstruct the importation of our produce into the continental market, and assist the present tendency of the people in many parts of Europe to lessen their consumption of such articles. But, while the prices are thus prevented from rising so high as the West India body expects, the cost of raising the produce will be greatly increased. A war with America must not only raise the price of lumber and provisions, but increase incalculably the charges of freight and insurance. Let us only reflect, that during the last American war, (long may it be called the last!) West India *premiums* rose from five to twenty-three guineas *per cent.*; that the underwriters were, notwithstanding, ruined; that in the two first years of the contest, the Americans captured 733 of our ships;—and we shall be convinced, that the inconsiderable rise in the price of sugar, which is all the planters can expect, will be much more than counterbalanced by the increased expense of making and transporting it. But we are told, that such a blockade of the enemy's colonies must be enforced, as shall compel their planters to abandon the cultivation of the staple articles. This is utterly impossible, unless we pursue a mode of warfare too horrible to be described. For if our blockade succeeds so as to starve the islands, they will surrender—and by what law of war can we refuse to receive them? No one ever pretended that war gives a belligerent the right to do more than take possession of a subdued enemy; and, surely, the planters do not mean to insist that we should force all the foreign colonies into a state of universal anarchy, like that of St Domingo, in order to raise the price of the sugars in Jamaica and Barbadoes?

A variety of more general reasonings might be offered to show that the planters cannot expect to benefit by any system tending to increase the difficulties under which the rest of the community at present labour. A diminution of the national income is likely to affect,

fect, in the first instance, those who raise articles of mere superfluity: Bankruptcies and other great misfortunes in the commercial world, must injure those most of all who chiefly trade upon borrowed capital: The same class of men is sure to feel most seriously the draining of the money market, which always attends an augmented scale of public expenditure.—But, without entering into these considerations, we believe enough has been said to show, that the immediate interests of the West India body are likely to suffer as much as those of the country at large, by the adoption of the rash counsels which they have lately been pressing upon the government.

The inference which is suggested by the dry and tedious discussion now brought to a close, is, that there are no points at present in dispute between England and America, so important in themselves as to justify a war. The claim of searching ships of war must, both in justice and in prudence, be abandoned;—it is at once unfounded and unprofitable. The right of searching merchant ships is clearly ours; it is of some value, and should be insisted upon in the manner formerly pointed out. It is neither our right nor our interest to destroy the American carrying trade; and, in our endeavours to limit the benefit which our enemies derive from it, we should be satisfied with such regulations as may increase the obstacles already thrown in the way of fraudulent transactions, and perhaps augment the expenses of the circuitous voyage.

The doctrines we have now delivered, will not, we are much afraid, be very popular at this moment among the greater part of our readers; but, if they are substantially right, we have no doubt of their being ultimately adopted. The cry for the vigorous assertion of our naval rights, is partly founded in mere popular clamour, and partly in very rash and erroneous views of policy. Hostility with America can only be justified upon the principle of hostility with all neutrals; and this, we have attempted to show, leads evidently not to the increase of our trade, but to the suppression of all legal trade whatsoever, and the creation of a vast contraband, by which the enemy would profit at least as much as the power that produced it. We love our country, and are proud of its glory, and jealous of its privileges and customs. We feel intimately persuaded, that, while England remains unconquered, she is happy beyond all other nations, be her rulers as weak or as wicked as they may. But it is precisely because these are our feelings, that we wish to see no new rights asserted, and no new wrongs laid to our charge; and that we look with regret and aversion to the probable alienation of the only independent state with which we are still in amity.



ART. II. *Specimens of the Later English Poets, with Preliminary Notices.* By Robert Southey. 3 vol. 8vo. London. Longman & Co. 1807.

WE opened, with considerable curiosity, a work, entitled, *Specimens of the Later English Poets*, bearing the name of an editor so conspicuous for the singularity of his tenets in matters of poetical taste. Unable, however, to coincide with the editor in comprehending the distinct object of the publication, we have closed his volumes with the disappointment of perceiving, that nine tenths of his poets so denominated, have no visible title to such a name; and, that in almost every instance, his selections from the real tribe of Parnassus, are specimens of their secondary, if not of their worst compositions.

The work professes to form a worthy sequel to Mr Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets*. Mr Ellis ends with the reign of Charles II., this begins with that of James II. The work of Ellis is valuable on two considerations; it contains abundance of good poetry, and it is a cabinet of antiquarian curiosities. But in the tomes before our eye, Mr Southey seems to produce his specimens with no satisfaction to himself. The prefatory notices are generally, though not undeservedly, expressive of contempt for the miserable bard of whom he tosses us a morsel. Nor is this all; the former and the future reader seem to be sneered at, from the implied conjecture, that, as this has pleased so many fools foregoing, it may probably impose on as many admirers in time to come. What value Mr Southey's specimens may contract by the rust of antiquity, or possess an hundred and fifty years from the present time, it is not for hoary-headed reviewers to hope that they shall live to behold. Certain it is, that the editor seems to plume himself on the anticipation, that an *extrinsic* value of this kind will one day be attached to his *Specimens*, though composed for the most part of indifferent versification.

'Many worthless versifiers,' says Mr Southey, 'are admitted among the English Poets, by the courtesy of criticism, which seems to conceive that charity towards the dead may cover the multitude of its offences against the living. There were other reasons for admitting here the reprobate as well as the elect. My business was to collect specimens as for a *hortus ficus*, not to cull flowers as for an anthology. I wished, indeed, as Mr Ellis has done, to exhibit specimens of every writer whose verses appear in a substantive form, and find their place on the shelves of the collector. The taste of the public may be better estimated from indifferent poets than from good ones. Cleveland and Cowley,

who

who were both more popular than Milton, characterize their age more truly. Fame indeed, is of slow growth. Like the Hebrew language, it has no present tense. Popularity has no future one.\*

It seems to be here directly announced, that the object of this compilation is not to collect a body of valuable poetry, but to afford a key to posterity to judge of the prevailing poetical taste of the British public, from the reign of the Second James to the latter years of our present sovereign George III. Now the present publication, we conceive, with the help of a few others, such as the entire works of Dryden, Thomson, Pope, Akenside, Gray, Cowper, Collins, &c. &c. will enable posterity to guess pretty clearly, that some tolerable verses have been written from the date of the British to that of the French Revolution. But we really think, that by itself, it would scarcely warrant such a conclusion; for so little of the genuine poetry of that interval has been given, that we cannot calculate, without remorse, the vast expense to which the gentle reader of the twentieth century will be put, (in addition to the probably advanced price of Mr Southey's collection), before he can imbue his mind with

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\* We quote the last sentence of this paragraph, less for the sake of noticing its grammatical solecism, which gives Fame and Popularity, two honest substantives, the tenses of a verb; than for remarking the affected disdain of contemporary opinion which it conveys. To say that popularity has no future tense, which, if it means any thing, implies that it cannot protract its existence, is treating an inoffensive word with too much contumely. Shakespeare was popular in his own day, and *will* be popular, we venture to say, in spite of this new rule about the future. The assertion that Cowley was more popular in his day than Milton, we do not believe, in the more respectable sense of the word. If popularity mean the opinion of women and children, or the lower class of readers, the novels of the circulating library are at this day more popular than *Paradise Lost*. But, among good judges, Milton was early and classically worshipped. He was early translated into foreign languages,—which Cowley, we believe, never was. At all events, the popularity of Cowley is to be regarded rather as an exception to the rule—that demerit will not be overrated in its own day,—than a confirmation of the contrary. Cleveland was never so popular as Milton, in his own day, or in any other. The supposed neglect of Milton among his contemporaries has been greatly exaggerated. Neither the silence of Dryden, nor the political malignity of Winstanly, prove that the seventeenth century was not deeply sensible of his excellence, any more than Voltaire's laughing at *Paradise Lost* in the eighteenth century, proves his being contemned by the moderns.

with the best specimens of the modern muse. If he seek for the beauties of Otway, \* he will be forced to draw his purse for a copy

\* The Specimens begin with the following Ode of Otway.

THE POET'S COMPLAINT OF HIS MUSE.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am a wretch of honest race,  
 My parents not obscure, nor high in titles were;  
 They left me heir to no disgrace.  
 My father was (a thing now rare)  
 Loyal and brave, my mother chaste and fair.  
 The pledge of marriage vows was only I;  
 Alone I lived their much-loved fondled boy.  
 They gave me generous education; high  
 They strove to raise my mind, and with it grew their joy.  
 The sages that instructed me in arts  
 And knowledge, oft would praise my parts,  
 And cheer my parents' longing hearts.  
 When I was called to a dispute,  
 My fellow pupils oft stood mute;  
 Yet never envy did disjoin  
 Their hearts from me, or pride distemper mine.  
 But, oh! a deadly portion came at last!  
 As I lay loofely on my bed,  
 A thousand pleasant thoughts triumphing in my head,  
 A voice—it seem'd no more—so busy I  
 Was with myself, I saw not who was nigh—  
 Pierc'd through my ears—Arise, thy good Lænder's dead!  
 It shook my brain, and from their seat my frightened senses fled.

From thence sad discontent, uneasy fears,  
 And anxious doubts of what I had to do,  
 Grew with succeeding years.  
 The world was wide—but whither should I go?  
 To Britain's great Metropolis I hied,  
 Where fortune's general game is play'd,  
 Where honesty and wit are often praised,  
 But fools and knaves are fortunate and raised.  
 My forward spirit prompted me to find  
 A converse equal to my mind;  
 And, by raw judgment easily misled,  
 As giddy callow boys  
 Are very fond of toys,  
 I mis'd the brave and wise, and, in their stead,  
 On every sort of vanity I fed;—  
 Gay coxcombs, cowards, knaves and prating fools,

copy of the Orphan, or of Venice Preserved, before he can admit that that unhappy genius had any title to die the poetical death of hunger; for Mr Southey's book will only treat him to one of the wretchedest copies of verses that ever was written by a lord or an alderman. If he languishes for a sight of Dryden's commanding graces, he must seek for them somewhere else than in the Specimens of Mr Southey. He will only find in that collection, a paraphrase of some monkish Latin, and a couple of epilogues, which will not throw him into raptures. He may have heard of Thomson's enchanting Castle of Indolence; but again he must be put to the extra charge of purchasing the work, or groping for his beauties in the Elegant Extracts.

From the words of the preface which we have already quoted, it will still, however, be an obvious apology of the editor, that without including the best specimens of our best poets, the object of the publication will still be served, if posterity are enabled to judge of the taste of their predecessors, by the reprobate herd, as well as the elect few, of the writers in verse whom he has *specimenized*. 'If,' as Mr Southey says, '*the taste of the public may be better estimated from indifferent, than from good poets,*' a Whitehead or a Sprat may do as well for such selections, as a  
Dryden

Bullies of o'ergrown bulks and little souls—  
 Gamesters, half-wits and spendthrifts, such as think  
 Mischievous midnight frolics, bred by drink,  
 Are gallantry and wit,  
 Because to their lewd understandings fit—  
 Were those wherewith two years at least I spent,  
 To all their fullsome follies most incorrigibly bent;  
 Till, at the last, myself more to abuse,  
 I grew in love with a deceitful muse—

\* \* \* \* \*

But in this most transporting height  
 I look'd around and found myself alone.

\* \* \* \* \*

I tried if I a verse could frame,  
 The more I strove the more I fail'd—  
 I chafed—I bit my pen, curst my dull skull, and rail'd,  
 Resolved to force my untoward thought, and at the last prevail'd.  
 A line came forth, but such a one,  
 No travelling matron, in her childbirth pains,  
 Was more astonish'd at the unlook'd for shape  
 Of some deformed baboon or ape—  
 I tore my paper, slabb'd my pen,  
 And swore I'd never write again—

*Ohe! Jam satis.*

Dryden or a Thomson. But we have no hesitation to enter our protest against such an assertion. The taste of no age is to be deduced from the mere existence of a swarm of scribblers. Their existence may arise from the want of brighter geniuses to eclipse them, or they may be scintillations struck off from superior luminaries, like the train which follows the comet. If such petty sparks of literature fly up in the dark during a particular era, they may indeed prove the want of genius, but not the want of taste, in the age which tolerates them. But they receive, it may be said, encouragement and admiration. If Mr Southey had given us decisive evidence that one tenth part of the herd of indifferent poets, whom he seems himself so duly to contemn, had been favourites with the public, we should excuse their being registered as evidences against the taste of the age. But no such proofs are adduced. They wrote and published; and the public is neither to be praised nor blamed for their so doing.

We are perfectly aware how difficult it may be for the compiler of specimens, such as these before us, to fix the exact line of discrimination between admissible and inadmissible poets. In a work professing to give specimens of a long succession of poets, many indifferent specimens must necessarily enter. Our objection is not at finding some indifferent poetry, but at finding too much of it; and by far too little of what may guide the future reader, for whom it is professedly written, to form a *fair* estimate of the poetry written for an hundred and fifty years past. If, to ascertain the changes and appearances of British taste at different periods, it was necessary to rake together such trash as the works of Græme, Baker, Iliffman, Kenrick, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. we think it was incumbent on the editor to have given us nothing less than a graduated scale of the estimation that was attached to each of their works, to let us see how high or how low above zero they severally stood in the public opinion. Assuredly their works are, for their *own* sake, neither worth printing nor reading; but if they served to illustrate so curious a fact as the state of the public taste at this or that period, their value might be extrinsically increased. Here, however, a difficulty occurs: we know that they printed their works, for the printed books are before us; but we know not the exact reception they received from the reading public. It would be very unfair, all our readers will allow, to estimate their popularity by peeping into reviews. What, then, are we to know of the state of public taste from such a farrago;—or what useful purpose, under heaven, is accomplished, by preserving specimens of these verse-tackers? To think of serving the cause of taste by the preservation of insipidities and deformities, is like promoting the

study of sculpture, by collecting the bottled fragments of flesh, and the injected preparations of anatomy.

If the curious reader should be distressed to know the state of public taste in his father's, or his grandfather's time, he had assuredly better trust to the good than the bad poets of the age, for a cue to his researches. A few instances of neglected merit, no doubt, will occur; but if he wishes to know the taste of the period of Pope, let him read Pope, not Betterton; of the period of Thomson, let him read Thomson, not Mitchell. The existence of men of genius, such as Pope, Thomson and Gray, proves something definite and certain; it proves that there was genius in the eighteenth century, and taste to feel and revere it. The existence of half an hundred scribblers, proves nothing at all.

The nominal English poets have been extended in number beyond all toleration, by the ignorance, the bad taste, or the avarice of those who have edited their works for profit. To those who have been unworthily introduced, Mr Southey, though far removed above such motives, has added some very insignificant names. We recollect, however, his previous apology, that he wished to exhibit specimens of every writer, whose verses have appeared in a substantive form, and find their place upon the shelves of the collector. This was to accomplish his scheme of a *hortus siccus*. But if every writer, good, bad and indifferent, was to be haled into his system of dry gardening, we wonder that the list was so narrow. Many valuable bad versifiers, we are sure, have been defrauded of their place in this collection. It is quite impossible, that, since the age of James the Second, only 223 poets, of all descriptions, have published their works. We think, with tolerable industry, as many thousand might have been strung together; and the reader, instead of three, might have had the inestimable satisfaction of perusing thirty volumes, of evidences of the bad taste of his forefathers.

By the guarded title of 'Later English Poets,' Mr Southey seems not to consider himself bound to give us specimens of the last; yet he has included Cowper, one of the very latest deceased of our good poets. From such an extension of his boundaries, we should have expected Beattie and Anstey (author of the New Bath Guide) to have been admitted also. We regret also, that his industry has not been directed to discover some of the floating fugitive pieces of a man whose genius as a poet was still superior to his powers as a critic, Stephens, the colleague of Johnson in his edition of Shakespeare. It is true, the poems of Stephens were never put into a substantive or collective form; but the cause of good taste requires that his name should not be forgotten. A poem of this man, purporting to be written to his  
mistress

mistress on her marriage with a fortunate rival, possesses the very nerve and soul of nature and passion. It is probably so well known to many lovers of poetry, that we forbear to transcribe it. Another of his love-songs, concluding with the following stanza,

‘ And when with envy Time transported,  
Shall think to rob us of our joys,  
You’ll in your girls again be courted,  
And I’ll go wooing in my boys ’—

has so much simplicity and merit, as to make us regret it should be omitted in any compilation of English poetry.

In his specimens of the better sort of poets, the editor has frequently selected their worst pieces; either from inadvertency, or from an idea which we conceive to be erroneous, that because something they have written is already known and popular, it would be impertinent to introduce it in the present volume. To one of those causes we must attribute his presenting us with some indifferent pieces of Langhorne, instead of his beautiful story of Owen of Carron, which has, and has alone, made him acceptable to the bulk of judicious readers.

Among the new names of poets, introduced by this selection, there is one which poetry will be proud of admitting into the number of her votaries even with inferior pretensions. This is Sir William Blackstone. After so freely animadverting on what appear to us the blemishes of this collection, it affords us pleasure to thank Mr Southey for having presented the public with a copy of verses by that ornament of his country; whose poetical vein, we believe, is a fact hitherto little known, and whose verses, though not of the highest cast of poetry, are tolerably correct, and expressive of an amiable mind.

‘ THE LAWYER’S FAREWELL TO HIS MUSE.

‘ As by some tyrant’s stern command,  
A wretch forfakes his native land,  
In foreign climes condemn’d to roam,  
An endless exile from his home,  
Pensive he treads the destined way,  
Till on some neighbouring mountain’s brow,  
He stops, and turns his eyes below,  
There, melting at the well-known view,  
Drops a last tear, and bids adieu;  
So I, from thee thus doom’d to part,  
Gay Queen of Fancy and of Art,  
Reluctant move with doubtful mind,  
Oft stop, and often look behind.

‘ Companion of my tender age,  
Serenely gay and sweetly sage,

How blythesome were we wont to rove  
 By verdant hill or shady grove,  
 Where fervent bees, with humming voice,  
 Around the horned oak rejoice,  
 And aged elms, with awful bend,  
 In long cathedral walks extend ;  
 Lull'd by the lapse of gliding floods,  
 Cheer'd by the warbling of the woods,  
 How blest my days, my thoughts how free,  
 In sweet society with thee !  
 'Then all was joyous, all was young,  
 And years unheeded roll'd along.

- ‘ But now the pleasing dream is o’er,  
 These scenes must charm me now no more.  
 Lost to the fields, and torn from you,  
 Farewell, a long—a last adieu.  
 Me wrangling courts and stubborn law  
 To smoke and crowds and cities draw ;  
 There selfish faction rules the day,  
 And pride and avarice through the way ;  
 Diseases taint the murky air,  
 And midnight conflagrations glare.  
 Loose revelry and riot bold  
 In frighted streets their orgies hold ;  
 Or where in silence all is drown’d,  
 Fell murder walks his nightly round.  
 No room for peace—no room for you—  
 Adieu, celestial Nymph ! adieu.
- ‘ Shakespeare, no more thy sylvan son,  
 Nor all the art of Addison,  
 Pope’s heaven-strung lyre, nor Waller’s ease,  
 Nor Milton’s mighty self must please.  
 Instead of these, a formal band  
 With furs and coifs around me stand,  
 With sounds uncouth and accents dry  
 That grate the soul of Harmony.  
 Each pedant sage unlocks his store  
 Of mystic, dark, discordant lore,  
 And points with tottering hand the ways  
 That lead me to the thorny maze.
- ‘ There, in a winding close retreat,  
 Is Justice doom’d to fix her seat ;  
 There, fenc’d by bulwarks of the law,  
 She keeps the wondering world in awe ;  
 And there, from vulgar sight retired,  
 Like Eastern queens is more admired.



- ' O let me pierce the secret shade,  
 Where dwells the venerable maid,  
 There humbly mark, with reverend awe,  
 The guardian of Britannia's law;  
 Unfold with joy her sacred page,  
 Th' united boast of many an age;  
 Where mix'd, yet uniform, appears  
 The wisdom of a thousand years;  
 In that pure spring the bottom view,  
 Clear, deep, and regularly true;  
 And other doctrine thence imbibe,  
 Than lurk within the fordid tribe;  
 Observe how parts with parts unite  
 In one harmonious rule of right;  
 See countless wheels distinctly tend,  
 By various laws, to one great end,  
 While mighty Alfred's piercing soul  
 Pervades and regulates the whole.
- ' Then, welcome business—welcome strife,  
 Welcome the cares—the thorns of life,  
 The visage wan—the pore-blind sight,  
 The toil by day—the lamp at night,  
 The tedious forms—the solemn prate,  
 The pert dispute—the dull debate,  
 The drowsy bench—the babbling hall:  
 For thee, fair Justice, welcome all.  
 Thus let my noon of life be past;  
 Yet let my setting sun, at last,  
 Find out the still, the rural cell,  
 Where sage retirement loves to dwell.  
 There let me taste the homefelt bliss  
 Of innocence and inward peace;  
 Untainted by the guilty bribe,  
 Uncurs'd amid the harpy tribe—  
 No orphans cry to wound my ear,  
 My honour and my conscience clear.  
 Thus may I calmly meet my end,  
 Thus to the grave in peace descend!

Among the few pieces which are new to the public, we consider the following sonnet of J. Bamfylde entitled to notice; and regret that a poet, seemingly endowed with no small portion of feeling and elegance, should not have been known to the public by more numerous works.

- ' Cold is the senseless heart that never strove  
 With the mild tumult of a real flame,  
 Rugged the breast that beauty cannot tame,

Nor youth's enlivening graces teach to love.  
 The pathless vale, the long-forsaken grove,  
 The rocky cave that bears the fair one's name,  
 With ivy mantled o'er. For empty fame  
 Let him amidst the rabble toil—or rove  
 In search of plunder far to western clime.  
 Give me to waste the hours in amorous play  
 With Delia, beauteous maid, and build the rhyme,  
 Praising her flowing hair, her snowy arms,  
 And all the prodigality of charms,  
 Form'd to enslave my heart and grace my lay.'

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ART. III. *The History of the World, from the Reign of Alexander to that of Augustus.* By John Gillies, LL. D. 2 vol. 4to. Caddell & Davies, London. 1807.

THE countries of Western Asia afford no very flattering precedent to those who, confident in the perfectibility of mankind, see nothing but prospects of brilliancy before them, and anticipate ages of progressive improvement, with no danger of backward steps, and no boundary but the dissolution of the world. It is on the desolate plains, and among the degraded inhabitants of those regions, that we must look for the source of our arts, our letters, our religion, our population itself. There may seem to be a sort of compensation in the state of human society at different periods; and the polished kingdoms of Europe may be considered rather to have supplied the place of Egypt and Jonia, than to have been added to the permanent mass of civilized life.

The melancholy interest which the downfall of this portion of the globe has thrown over its history, is heightened by the difficulty with which that history is learned, and the mysteriousness which hangs over great part of it. It is lighted, indeed, in its earlier periods, with so faint and quivering a lamp of authentic testimony, that the acuteness and erudition of modern times has constantly been baffled in attempting to dispel the gloom. A stronger ray breaks upon us about the age of Cyrus,—a period which, so far as that part of the world is concerned, forms a line of demarcation between known and unknown history. But, relatively to the state of society in those countries, a more important epoch is fixed by the subsequent conquests of Alexander. The Persian dynasty, like those still more ancient, was barbarian: It was under the dominion of Greece, and afterwards of Rome, that Asia became, for a period of 900 years, the seat of regular military discipline, of diffused opulence, of legal government, and of philosophy.

It is during the earlier and more splendid part of this term, the interval between Alexander and Augustus, that the present author has undertaken to relate the revolution of the Grecian world, enlarged as that was by the successes of the former conqueror. A more interesting or honourable labour could scarcely have been chosen by the historian; nor one which presents more frequent opportunities of beguiling his own task and that of his readers, by illustrations from various branches of ancient and modern literature. In a former history of Greece, which has long since been given to the world, and which still continues, as we are told by the author in his preface, to experience public indulgence, Dr Gillies deduced the narrative to the death of Alexander. The military exploits of that hero fell, therefore, within its compass; but his political institutions, which were destined to become the groundwork of the Macedonian dominion in the East, seemed more properly reserved for the commencement of the present undertaking. Accordingly, Dr Gillies, in five preliminary chapters, has entered, as well upon these arrangements of Alexander, and upon the plans which were interrupted by his death, as upon the political geography of his dominions, and the history, so far as it can be known, of those considerable nations which had previously been melted down into the mass of the Persian empire.

In eleven years of perpetual victory, Alexander had traversed Asia from the Hellespont to the Hyphasis, and become the undisputed possessor of territories, nearly commensurate in their limits with the present kingdoms of Turkey and Persia. This conquest is not more memorable for the great and permanent revolution which it effected, than for the apparent inadequacy of the means. The throne of the successors of Cyrus, incomparably the greatest potentates who had hitherto existed within the limits of the ancient world, though protected, not more by the countless multitude of their own subjects, than by the disciplined valour of Grecian mercenaries, was subverted within two years, by an army which fell considerably short of 40,000 men. After the battle of Arbela, in which the Greeks, with incredible exaggeration, report 300,000 barbarians to have fallen, no further resistance was opposed by Persia. The remaining part of Alexander's career was employed, and; some may think, wasted, in reducing the fierce and independent barbarians of the Oxus and the Indus, with so prodigal a display of personal valour, upon occasions comparatively unimportant, that we may reasonably suspect the ruling passion of his mind to have been not so much ambition, as the love of that frivolous glory which the foolish Greeks lavished upon the fabulous heroes of their poetical romances. Yet the

the death of Darius may have been of considerable importance to his success ; it led the Persians to look upon him as a legitimate sovereign, whose title was sanctioned by conquest, and secured by the absence of competitors. It seems indeed a singular coincidence between his history, and that of the Roman hero most frequently compared to him, that each was relieved of his opponent by an assassination, in which he had no concern, and of which he reaped the full benefit, with the credit of punishing the traitor, and lamenting the treason.

Triumphs so easily achieved, may justly lead us as much to contempt of the vanquished, as to admiration of the conqueror. The unwieldy Colossus of the Persian empire tottered at the slightest blow ; the vast living masses which barbarian despotism mistook for armies, were never led to battle without discomfiture ; and the experience of a century and a half, from the memorable engagements of Marathon and Salamis, had proved, that nothing but the disunion of the Greeks could have preserved the Persian ascendancy upon the coasts of the Mediterranean. The weakness, indeed, of that monarchy, seems greater than might have been expected, from the natural bravery of some of its constituent nations ; and we are surprised to find, among those who so tamely submitted to the yoke of Alexander, the ancestors of those warlike and polite barbarians, who, under the Parthian kings, and the dynasty of the Sassanidæ, repelled the Roman eagles, and avenged the violation of their territory in the blood of Crassus and of Julian. But the Greeks overlooked this consideration in the splendour of their hero's exploits ; he obtained the name of the greatest, as well as the most successful commander whom the world had seen ; and is said to have been placed in this rank by some who might seem well entitled to contest it with him. Later writers, especially the Romans, who were jealous of his renown, came to dwell more upon the unfavourable parts of his character. His wild ambition,—his disgraceful intemperance,—his love for adulation and servility,—all the spots and blemishes of his fervid temperament,—became the theme of satirists and philosophers ; and the conqueror of Asia has been held up in no other light than that of a madman, and a destroyer. The ingenious refinement of our own times has done justice, and perhaps more than justice, to his political institutions. He certainly appears to have conceived enlightened commercial projects ; and the numerous cities, judiciously founded in different parts of his empire, are proofs of the precautions he took to secure its durability. Yet so much of vain ambition, and even mere geographical curiosity seems to have actuated the mind of Alexander, that we may doubt whether the celebrated voyage of Nearchus, and the correspondent march of the army through Caramania, had any

any object more precise than that of discovering and subduing what had been unexplored before. It seems still more doubtful to us, whether his assumption of the Persian dress, and exchange of the liberal spirit of free Greeks, for the baseness of oriental homage, was rather founded in deep policy, than in the intoxication which prosperity naturally produces, in a mind fond of power and of flattery. By this conduct, which is applauded by Dr Gillies, as it was by Robertson, he lost the affections of his Macedonian soldiers, which his own experience might have taught him to be more important, than those of the cowardly multitudes whom they had helped him to overcome. However generous the theory may appear, of regarding all denominations of subjects with equal favour, it should surely be effected rather by exalting the weak, than by degrading the strong. And, inconsistent with liberal government as we may think the vassalage of one nation to another, intermingled in the same territory, it has constantly recurred in the revolutions of the East, and is apparently inevitable, where great differences exist in the civil and military improvements of the two.

The predilection of Alexander for Persian customs will not appear the more judicious, if we consider his actual conquests as parts only of a scheme so extensive, that the countries east of the Euphrates would, had it been realized, have formed the least important portion of his empire. He bequeathed, as a legacy to his successors, the invasion of the Carthaginian dominions, and the task of bearing the Macedonian standard to the pillars of Hercules. Italy, it seems, would next have attracted him; and it has been matter of speculation, whether the power then rising in that country, and destined one time to plant its foot upon the neck of both his hereditary and acquired kingdoms, would have been found already ripe for the conflict. What Livy, like an indignant patriot asserts, Dr Gillies, like a staunch admirer of Alexander, denies; and, upon the whole, we do not quarrel with his conclusions. But we think him deceived in supposing, that the resistance of Rome would have been less formidable than that of Carthage. It seems one of those modern refinements upon history, of which we spoke above, to overrate the merits of that republic. Rich, without politeness or letters; active in commercial enterprize, without skill or courage in arms; she waged ignominious wars in Sicily with almost incessant defeat, and trembled for her own capital, on the incursion of a petty tyrant of Syracuse. But the strongest proof of her intrinsic cowardice and weakness is, that, in spite of her great maritime experience, she was unable to contend, during the Punic war, with the first naval armaments that were fitted out from the mouth of the Tiber.

That

That part of Dr Gillies's introductory chapters which relates to Alexander himself, is rather awkwardly interrupted with a description of the countries under his dominion, and long digressions upon their previous history. This is a fruitful and almost boundless field. Dark as the earlier ages of Asia appear, there are not wanting scattered notices and remnants of tradition, enough to establish a few truths, and to sweep away a pile of errors. They bear, however, in strictness, but a small relation to the main narrative: yet we have ever regarded as pedantry, the cold criticism which would bind an historian to the mere letter of his undertaking, and condemn the delightful episodes of Gibbon, as idle and irrelevant. In that writer, it is impossible to admire sufficiently either the prodigality with which he pours out his stores of knowledge, or the facility with which he preserves their disposition and arrangement. It is impossible to compliment Dr Gillies with equal praise in either of these respects; but we can say, that we have read these preliminary chapters with pleasure, and that he appears to have collected, though we suspect by no means exhausted, the materials which are to be found in various branches of ancient and modern literature. It would have been well, perhaps, if he had dwelt more, and with clearer method, upon the civil condition of these countries, at the time of Alexander's conquests, and less upon ancient and uncertain events.

The history of Assyria occupies a considerable portion both of the second and third chapters; and with respect to this obscure and contested subject, Dr Gillies conceives that he has discovered a satisfactory explication. Such of our readers as have attempted to pierce the darkness of antiquity, are well aware that the received accounts of that country, including the exploits of those eminent personages Ninus and Semiramis, rest principally upon the authority of Diodorus, who has expressly borrowed them from Ctesias, a writer notorious for want of veracity; and that the great extent assigned by them to the Assyrian empire, in times of high antiquity, is apparently irreconcilable with the account given in scripture of the progress of the Assyrian arms in the eighth century before the Christian era; till which time, the cities of Mesopotamia, in the very vicinity of Nineveh, seem to have been governed by small independent sovereigns. Dr Gillies, to reconcile all difficulties, supposes two cities to have existed of that name; one at Mosul upon the Tigris, the commonly supposed site of Nineveh; the other at 400 miles distance, in the Babylonian plain; and in this latter, he places the seat of the empire of Ninus, and of the great works which are ascribed to his name. So far, however, as we have attended to the point, there seems only one reason which countenances the supposition of this double

ble Nineveh, and that reason is not distinctly stated by Dr Gillies. It is, that Diodorus, differing herein we believe from every other writer, places the city built by Ninus, upon the Euphrates, instead of the Tigris. If this can be got over, there appears to us no great weight in Dr Gillies's arguments. There is no doubt that Nineveh was a great and populous city, long before those conquests of the Assyrian kings, which established the first great monarchy in the east. It appears to have been properly what Mr Bryant calls it, 'a walled province,' comprising a circumference of fifty-one miles, within which were large pastures, and probably land in tillage. And this policy, we may remark, of walling in so great an extent, does not suggest to us the peaceful capital of a mighty empire. To the east, indeed, the Assyrians are said by Herodotus to have possessed dominion for several centuries, and especially over Media. The authority of that historian is deservedly great, and the fact, perhaps, contains no improbability. At the same time, the account given by Herodotus of the election of Dejoces, first king of the Medes, after their revolt from the Assyrians, seems rather applicable to a people living in a rude and almost patriarchal state of society, than to one who had lately shaken off the yoke of a powerful nation; an enterprize which could hardly have been carried on, without some degree of confederacy and military government. It may be added, that the oriental histories of Persia, which, though not of much antiquity, acquire some credit by their great resemblance to what we read in Herodotus, appear to be silent with respect to the occupation of Media by the Assyrians. We suspect, however, that many of our readers may find themselves exceedingly indifferent about this profound question; and as they may be anxious to become better acquainted with Dr Gillies, we shall present them with the following extract, taken with no particular preference from the second section of his introduction.

The same rank which Bactra held in Ariaria, Pessinus appears to have early acquired in Lesser Asia. Pessinus stood in the finest plain of Phrygia, which was anciently the most important, as well as largest province in that peninsula. It was washed by the river Sangarius, and in the near vicinity of the castle and palace of Gordium, revered for its mysterious knot involving the fate of Asia, and which had remained for upwards of a thousand years united, when it was finally cut by the sword of Alexander. Pessinus was thus situate in a district of high celebrity, and on the great caravan road which we formerly traced through the smooth and central division of the Asiatic peninsula. This road, in approaching the sea-coast, split into three branches, leading into Mysia, Lydia, and Caria; small but important provinces, which shone in arts and industry many ages before their winding shores were occupied by Grecian colonies. From Lydia, then called Mœonia, Pelops carried into Greece his golden treasures, the source of power to his family in

the peninsula, to which he communicated the name of Peloponnesus. To the Lydians and Carians, many inventions are ascribed, bespeaking much ingenuity and early civilization. The coast of Mysia was embraced by the venerable kingdom of Priam, the Hellespontian Phrygia; and the more inland Phrygians, who were said to have colonized that maritime district, pretended, on grounds, some of them solid, and others extremely frivolous, to vie in antiquity with the Egyptians themselves. The three nations of Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians, were intimately connected with each other by the community of religious rites, as well as by the ties of blood and language. They accordingly exhibited a striking uniformity in manners and pursuits, which, to a reader conversant with Roman history, may be described most briefly, by observing, that the principal features of their character are faithfully delineated in the effeminacy, ingenuity, and pompous vanity of the Tuscans, a kindred people, and their reputed descendants.

These industrious and polished, but unwarlike inhabitants on the coast of the Ægean, were connected by many links with Upper Asia, but particularly by Pessinus, the ancient capital of the Phrygian kings, and at the same time the first and principal sanctuary, in those parts, of the mother of the gods, thence called the Pessinuntian Goddess, and more frequently the Idean Mother, Cybele, Berecynthia, Dindymené, names all of them derived from her long-established worship on neighbouring mountains. The festivals of Cybele are selected, in poetical description, as among the most showy and magnificent in paganism; and both the commerce and the superstition of Pessinus continued to flourish in vigour even down to the reign of Augustus. But in his age the ministers of the divinity, though they still continued magistrates of the city, had exceedingly declined in opulence and power; and, instead of being independent sovereigns with considerable revenues, might be described in modern language, in a work less grave than history, as a sort of prince bishops, vassals and mere creatures of Rome. To the west of Pessinus, the city Morena in Mysia, and, to the east of it, Morimena, Zela, and Comana, in the great central province of Cappadocia, exhibited institutions exactly similar to each other, and all nearly resembling those of the Phrygian capital. In the Augustan age, all those cities still continued to be governed by sacerdotal families, to which they had been subject from immemorial antiquity: they all stood on the great caravan road through Lesser Asia; and in all of them the terms marked by festivals and processions, were also distinguished by great fairs, not only frequented by neighbouring nations, but also numerously attended by traders from Upper Asia, and even by distant Nomades. Conformably with these circumstances in their favour, the routes of commerce traced a clear and distinct line of civilization and wealth, thus visibly contrasted with the rudeness and poverty of many remote parts of the peninsula; with the savageness of the Isaurians and Pisidians; with the half-barbarous Bithynians and Paphlagonians; in a word, with all those divisions of the country which lay beyond the genial influence of commerce



merce introduced and upheld by superstition, and superstition enriched, embellished, and confirmed by the traffic, which it protected and extended.' p. 86.

The struggle for power among the generals of Alexander, which lasted from his death to the battle of Ipsus, 22 years afterwards, occupies the seven next chapters. During this period, events crowd upon the mind in the most rapid succession; interesting alike from the talents of the ambitious chiefs concerned in them, and from the novel combinations of political affairs which were perpetually taking place. The cruel Perdikkas, the selfish Ptolemy, the brave and generous Eumenes, the rapacious and unprincipled Antigonus, pass in review like phantoms over the stage; and, in the conflict of their energetic ambition, we scarcely heed the sceptre of Alexander sliding from the feeble hands of his son and brother, and the sanguinary extinction of his family. The confederacy of four princes against the overgrown power of Antigonus, produced a more permanent settlement of the empire; and whatever may have been the case among the petty republics of Greece, this seems to have been the first instance of a coalition to restore the balance of power by distant and powerful sovereigns. The scheme of confederacy was planned with peculiar secrecy, and conducted with steadiness. Syria and the Lesser Asia at that time were governed by Antigonus; and his son Demetrius occupied most of the cities of Greece. The four confederates hung upon the frontiers of his monarchy. Elated with prosperity, the wily old man was for once taken by surprise. Lysimachus from Thrace, with the Macedonian auxiliaries of Cassander, burst into Phrygia; while Seleucus hastened to join him from beyond the Euphrates; and Ptolemy, though with more cautious marches, advanced from Egypt into Palestine. By the united armies of the two former, he was defeated and slain at Ipsus in Phrygia; and from the partition of his dominions were formed four kingdoms, which shortly were reduced to the three celebrated ones of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. We give Dr Gillies credit, upon examination, for sufficient fidelity to the materials from whence he has extracted his narrative; a notice which may seem the more necessary, as, in his translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, he had indulged a most reprehensible license of loose paraphrase, or rather of interpolation.

Coincident with these events in point of time, though bearing no manner of relation to them, are the wars of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, with the Carthaginians in Sicily: a country which, though at that time in its decline, possesses so many claims to our curiosity, that it might have been worth while for Dr Gillies to have collected more of the scattered materials

terials which remain, with respect to the splendour of its better days. From Sicily he speedily returns to Asia, and brings before our eyes the partial dismemberment of the great empire of Seleucus, by the rise of independent sovereignties in Bactria, Parthia, and Asia Minor; the desolating irruption of the Gauls into the fairest provinces of Greece and Asia, and the security, renown, and lettered opulence of Egypt under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. But we enter our protest against the concluding chapter of the first volume, in which the author descants upon the early history of Rome; a subject, especially in his matter-of-fact mode of treating it, too trite to justify so superfluous an episode. As we come lower down in the history, Rome begins more to appear upon the stage; and the greater part of the second volume is employed upon transactions, which are familiar to those conversant in the history of that republic. It is painful to follow the uninterrupted successes of unjust aggression; and these are not the times, in which the history of the steps by which the world was formerly absorbed into one empire, can be read either with less interest or greater satisfaction than heretofore. In some instances, traces of resemblance between ancient and modern times, force themselves upon our attention. Who, indeed, that remembers the proclamations and conduct of the French in Italy about the year 1797, but must be struck with the resemblance they bear to the declarations of the liberty of Greece issued by Flaminius after the battle of Cynocphakæ. The same insincere professions of regard to their national freedom, were met with the same exultation at their release from a former yoke, and the same enthusiastic confidence in the delusive image of permanent independence. The parallel may seem more perfect, if we add to it their speedy spoliation by the hands of their generous benefactors of those works of art, which were not only the public pride, but, in many of the smaller cities, the chief means of enriching the community.

A more pleasing scene is displayed in the rise of the Achæan league, the second, but very inferior spring, of republican freedom in Greece. It was most wisely planned for a country much decayed in power, and unable to assume that haughty tone of independence, which Pericles or Agesilaus would rather have perished than have relaxed. It was the humbler object of Aratus to render the kings of Macedon allies and protectors, though not masters of Greece; and, by deferring much to their influence, to preserve what was most essential, the free regulation of their internal concerns, and a security from foreign garrisons in their cities. This object would have been more completely attained, if the other cities of Greece had been less jealous of the league:  
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and its failure was perhaps chiefly owing to Cleomenes king of Sparta, whose merits have been a good deal exaggerated by Plutarch. The following account is given by Dr Gillies from Polybius, of the battle of Sellasia, fought about a century after the death of Alexander, between that prince and the united forces of Macedon and the Achæan confederacy.

Before coming to Sellasia, Antigonus had to pass a valley, the entrance to which was overhung by two hills, Eva and Olympus, forming respectively its eastern and western defences. Between these hills, the river Oenus flowed to join the Eurotas, and along the bank of the Oenus, and afterwards of the united stream, the road led almost in a direct line to the Lacedæmonian capital. When Antigonus approached the valley of Sellasia, he found that the enemy had seized both hills, and also had thrown up entrenchments before them. Cleomenes, with the Spartans, had chosen Olympus for his post; his brother Eucleidas, with the armed peasants, occupied Eva: the intermediate valley, on both sides the road, was defended by the cavalry and mercenaries. Instead of rashly engaging an enemy so strongly posted, Antigonus encamped at a moderate distance, having the river Gorgylus in front, and watchful of every opportunity to ascertain the distinctive qualities of the enemy's force, as well as the nature of the ground in which its several divisions were posted. He frequently alarmed them by shows of attack, but found them on all sides secure. At length, both kings, impatient of delay, and alike emulous of glory, embraced the resolution of coming to a general engagement.

Antigonus had sent his Illyrians across the river Gorgylus in the night. They were to begin the assault of Mount Eva, accompanied by 3000 Macedonian targeteers, troops less heavily armed than the phalanx, and equipped in all points like the Argyraspides, who make so conspicuous a figure in former parts of this work, only that their targets were plated, not with silver, but with brass. The Acarnanians and Cretans composed the second line. Two thousand Achæans, all chosen men, followed as a body of reserve. Antigonus's cavalry, commanded by Alexander the son of Admetus, was ranged along the banks of the Oenus. It was not to advance against the enemy's horse, until a purple signal had been raised on the side of Olympus by the king, who, at the head of the Macedonian phalanx, purposed to combat Cleomenes and his Spartans. A white ensign of linen first floated in the air. The Illyrians, for this was their summons to action, boldly marched up Mount Eva, and were followed by the divisions appointed to sustain them. Upon this movement, the Achæans, forming the rear, were unexpectedly assailed by a body of light infantry, who sprung from amidst the ranks of the enemy's horse. The confusion occasioned by an onset, equally sudden and daring, threatened to give an easy victory to Eucleidas and his Lacedæmonians, who, from the heights of Eva, might descend with great advantage against the disordered troops that had come to dislodge them. The danger was perceived by Philopæmen.

He communicated his apprehensions to Alexander, who commanded the Macedonian cavalry. But, as the purple ensign was not yet hoisted, Alexander disregarded the advice of an inexperienced youth.

The character of that youth, however, was better known to his fellow citizens of Megalopolis. They obeyed an authority derived from patriotism and merit, and seconded his ardour to seize the moment of assault. The shouts and shock of the engaging horsemen recalled the light troops who harassed the Macedonians in their ascent to Eva; by which means, the latter, having recovered their order of battle, routed and slew Eucleidas. Philopæmen's exertions in the action seemed worthy of his generalship, in an age when example in battle was held essential to the enforcement of precept. After his horse fell under him, he still fought on foot, though pierced with a spear through both thighs, and was not borne from the field till the victory was decided. Shortly after that event, Antigonus asked Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, "Why he had charged before orders?" Alexander said, "The fault was not his; for a young man of Megalopolis had, in defiance of authority, rushed forwards with his countrymen, and thus precipitated the engagement." Antigonus replied, "You acted the part of a young man; that youth of Megalopolis showed himself a great general."

Cleomenes, meanwhile, perceiving the total rout of his right wing under Eucleidas, and seeing that his cavalry also was on the point of giving way, became fearful of being surrounded. For retrieving the honour of the day, he determined to quit his entrenchments; and, at the head of his Spartan spearmen, to attack Antigonus and the phalanx. The king of Macedon gladly embraced an opportunity of bringing the contest to this issue. The trumpets on both sides recalled their light skirmishers, who obstructed the space between the hostile lines. In the first shock, the weight of the Macedonians was overcome by the impetuous valour of the Spartans; but Antigonus, who had drawn up his men in what was called the double phalanx, had no sooner strengthened his foremost line, by the cooperation of his reserve, than his thickened ranks, bristling with protended spears, bore down all resistance. The Spartans were put to the rout, and pursued with that merciless destruction which generally followed such close and fierce engagements.—Cleomenes escaped with a few horsemen to Sparta.'

In estimating the merit of Dr Gillies's work, although we should be inclined to place it a good deal above Rollin, or the *Universal History*, we cannot express ourselves satisfied with its execution. Without waiting to extract the spirit of history, without developing national character, or political institutions, he goes on, in general, straight forward, through a mere narration of facts; and even in this narration, we desiderate that sagacious and sceptical criticism, by which, in a period remarkably destitute of regular ancient history, the steps of the modern compiler ought to be guided. We shall produce two instances of the latter

latter fault. He gives the following account of the death of Antiochus the Great:

‘ In the elevated region of Elymais, the southern appendage to Mount Zayros, there was a staple, or depository of this kind, at the meeting of the caravan roads connecting Media with Persia and Susiana. This temple, which had been adorned by the great Alexander, Antiochus determined to plunder. His assault was made in the night: the guards of the sacred enclosure defended their idols and treasures; they were assisted by hardy mountaineers, ever ready and armed, in its neighbourhood; a blind tumultuary engagement ensued, in which the king fell, fighting at once against the religion, the commerce, and the arts of his country.’ Vol. II. p. 345.

At some distance, we find the death of Antiochus Epiphanes related in the following manner.

‘ During the war in Palestine, so disastrous to the Syrians, Antiochus had prosecuted an expedition; not less disastrous, into Upper Asia. In the march thither, his proceedings are very imperfectly explained; but in the return, part of the army being left to collect tribute, Antiochus, with a powerful escort, advanced to plunder a temple and rich staple of trade in Elymais, the southern appendage to Mount Zayros, and the main caravan communication between Susiana and Media. In this impious attempt to rife treasures under the protection of Venus or Diana, whose altars had been honoured and enriched by the great Alexander, he was defeated, with peculiar circumstances of disgrace, by the inhabitants of the surrounding district, and reduced to the necessity of making a speedy retreat to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There he first learned the repeated discomfitures and routs of his armies;—tidings which exasperated to fury the wounds which his pride had received, in the late repulse from Elymais. In the fire of his rage, he swore that he would render Palestine the sepulchre of the Jews; and, precipitating his march westward for that purpose, was overthrown in his chariot, and died of his wounds, at the obscure village Tabæ; situate somewhere on the mountainous confines of Assyria.’ p. 472.

Let us now see how he disposes of another Antiochus, surnamed Sidetes.

‘ The obscure goddess Iranæa, should seem to have held her seat among the defiles of Mount Zayros. Antiochus, on pretence that he came to betroth her, entered the temple, slightly accompanied, to receive her accumulated opulence by way of dower. But the priests of Iranæa having shut the outward gates of the sacred enclosure, opened the concealed doors on the roof of the temple, and overwhelmed the king and his attendants, as with thunderbolts from on high; then casting their mutilated remains without the walls, this awfully announced to the Syrians, who waited his return, the disaster of their king, and the terrific majesty of the goddess.’ p. 552.

That three kings of Syria, of the same name, should perish in similar attempts to plunder the same temple, or at least one in

nearly the same place, is, one would think, too strange a coincidence to pass without suspicion. Dr Gillies has, however, it seems, no leisure to marvel, and never hints at the possibility, that, in the confused and irregular notices which are come down to us of this part of history, the names of these princes may have been mistaken. We are much disposed to consider the second story, the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the foundation of one or both of the other two; since that is unquestionably true, being attested by Polybius, a contemporary, as well as by Josephus and Appian. We have little doubt that the third is wholly false, as it stands solely upon the authority of the second book of Maccabees, a work of small credit; while several historians give quite a different account of the death of Antiochus Sidetes. The only difficulty is as to the circumstances related of Antiochus the Great: since we find this account of his death confirmed, independently of Justin, whom singly we should not much value, by Strabo and Diodorus; although the circumstances related by the latter bear a much nearer resemblance to what Polybius tells us of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.

An inattention almost precisely similar, seems to us to have taken place in the two following passages. A war is waged by Seleucus Callinicus against the Parthians, in which, Dr Gillies tells us,

‘The royal invader fell into the hands of the enemy, after being defeated in a great battle, decisive of the independence and future dominion of the Parthians. His life was spared by Tiridates, who had assumed the place and name of his elder brother Arsaces, the author of the Parthian revolt. Seleucus was retained ten years in the roughest province, and among the fiercest people of Upper Asia; but, during all that time, treated by his conqueror with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes.’ Vol. II. p. 9.

More than a century afterwards, we are told of another Syrian monarch, a certain Demetrius Nicator; ‘that he was taken prisoner by the Parthians, and retained by them ten years in a loose and honourable captivity.’ p. 546.

The coincidence here, likewise, is suspicious, though less for the fact itself, than for the precise agreement in the number of years; which, we apprehend, Dr Gillies has transposed from the second story to the first, through mere inattention. Athenæus, the authority whom he quotes for the captivity of Seleucus, says only, that he remained *πολυν χρόνον*, a great length of time, in Parthia. But as Athenæus, who is no historian, mentions the subject only incidentally, while Justin gives an incompatible account, we are inclined to believe that the former writer has, through negligence, put one name in place of another.

In the following note, an eminent writer is unjustly censured.—

‘ Warburton’s great merit, in the explanation of the origin and nature of hieroglyphics, is generally and justly admired; yet he has not exhausted the subject, and I cannot reconcile all of his conclusions with the only existing authorities concerning it; viz. Herodotus, l. 3. c. 36.—Diodorus, l. 3. c. 4.—Porphyr. in Vit. Pythagor.—Clemens Alex. and. 5.—Strom. p. 555.; and a fragment of Manetho in Eusebius’s Chronicle, p. 6. In this fragment Warburton, instead of *ἱερογλυφικοῖς γραμμασίν*; substitutes *ἱερογραφικοῖς γραμμασίν*. His reason for this correction is, that *ἱερογλυφικοῖς* being always used by the ancients to denote characters of things, in opposition to alphabetic letters, or characters of words, ought not to be joined with *γραμμασίν*, which denotes characters of words only. Because *ἱερογλυφικά* always denotes characters of things, Warburton concluded that *γραμμασίν* always denoted characters of words. The conclusion is illogical, and contradictory to one of the passages on which our whole knowledge of the subject rests. *παρὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν γραμμάτων τῶν παρ’ Αἰγυπτίους ἱερογλυφικῶν καλεσμένων.* Diodorus, l. 3. c. 4. Conf. Divine Legation, b. 4. f. 4.’ Vol. I. p. 48.

Warburton is here misrepresented. Manetho, in the fragment quoted, speaks of pillars inscribed by Thoth the first Hermes, with hieroglyphic characters in the sacred dialect; and translated after the flood out of the sacred dialect into Greek with hieroglyphic characters, and deposited in the adyta of the Egyptian temples. Now as hieroglyphics, as Warburton seems to have proved, stood for things and not for words, it is obviously absurd to say, that an inscription in those characters was either in Greek or in any other language. It is upon this account that he changes the text from *ἱερογλυφικοῖς* to *ἱερογραφικοῖς*; and it must be confessed, that, if the text cannot be supported, the alteration is not violent. We are inclined, however, to think, that the original word is right; and we hope for indulgence from the reader, if we allow this to lead us into a short digression, which may possibly throw some light upon a very interesting subject.

The origin of alphabetical writing has never been traced; but that of the Egyptians has been convincingly proved by the Comte de Caylus to be formed of hieroglyphical marks, adopted with no great variation. We find no appearance, says Warburton, of alphabetic characters on their public monuments.

This, however true at the time he wrote, cannot now be asserted, since the celebrated Rosetta stone, in the British Museum, is engraved with three distinct sets of characters,—Greek, Egyptian, and a third resembling what are called hieroglyphics. The only doubt that can be entertained is, whether these are strictly hieroglyphics; that is, representations of things; or, rather, an alphabetical character, peculiar to the priesthood, and called hiero-

grammatics. 1. The existence of this sacred alphabet is attested by Herodotus, Diodorus, and several other writers. 2. It went occasionally under the name of hieroglyphic, as appears not only by the passage quoted above from Manetho, if we do not alter the text, but from one in Porphyry, which may be found in Warburton. 3. It was, however, considered as perfectly distinct from the genuine hieroglyphic, which was always understood to denote things, either by mere picture writing, or, more commonly, by very refined allegory. 4. Works of a popular and civil nature were written in this character, as we learn from Clement of Alexandria; whereas the genuine hieroglyphic was exceedingly secret and mysterious, and the knowledge of it confined to the priesthood. 5. The inscription upon the Rosetta stone is said, in the terms of the decree contained in it, to be written in sacred, national and Greek characters. *Τοις ἴς ζεβοις, και εγγραφιοις, και Ελληνικοις γραμμασιν.* 6. It could not be a mysterious character, such as the genuine hieroglyphic seems to have been, because it was exposed to public view with a double translation. 7. It occupies a considerable space upon the stone, although an indefinite part of it is broken off; although the real hieroglyphic, as is natural to emblematic writing, appears to have been exceedingly compendious. 8. The characters do not appear to be very numerous, as they recur in various combinations of three, four, or more, as might be expected from the letters of an alphabet. But this argument we do not strongly press, because our examination has not been very long. It appears to hold out a decisive test; and we offer it, as such, to the ingenuity of antiquaries.

Upon these grounds, we think, that the characters upon the Rosetta stone, which are commonly denominated hieroglyphics, are, in fact, the original alphabetic characters of the Egyptians; from which the others have probably been derived, by a gradual corruption through haste in writing. They are, however, in one sense, hieroglyphics, being tolerably accurate delineations of men, animals and instruments. If we are right in our conjectures, the value of the Rosetta stone is incomparably greater than has been imagined. We have no need of hieroglyphics; Roman and Egyptian monuments are full of them. But a primitive alphabet, probably the earliest ever formed in the world, and illustrating an important link in the history of writing, the adaptation of signs to words, is certainly a discovery very interesting to any philosophical mind. Through what steps the analysis of articulate sound into its constituent parts was completed, if we can say that it ever has been completed, so as to establish distinct marks for each of them; and whether these marks were taken at random, or from some supposed analogy between the simple sounds they

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were brought to represent, and their primary hieroglyphical meaning, are questions which still stand in need of solution. We offer these remarks with equal diffidence as to their truth and their originality. If to any of our learned readers they should not appear new, we entreat their candour for troubling them with opinions, which, so far as our limited information extends, have not hitherto been made public.

In recompense to Dr Gillies, we will quote a passage in which he has cleared up a difficulty which perplexed two eminent writers.

The vastness of the palace, or rather the palaces of Alexandria, need not surprize us, if we admit that the imperial palace at Rome was larger than all the rest of that capital. Hume, in his *Essay on the populousness of ancient nations*, p. 473, is justly incredulous with regard to this point; and Gibbon endeavours to remove the difficulty by saying, that the emperors had confiscated the houses and gardens of opulent senators,—therefore, included under the name of the imperial palace. (*Decline and Fall*, c. 6. p. 161.) But upon turning to the passage in Herodian, l. 4. c. 1. on which this incredible account of the magnitude of the imperial palace wholly rests, the words convey to me a different meaning from that in which they are taken by all Latin translators, not excepting the learned Politian. The historian relates, that the sons of Severus, upon their father's death at York, hastened by the shortest road to Rome, never eating at the same table, nor sleeping in the same house. The rapidity of their journey was urged by their desire of taking up separate quarters in the amplitude of the royal palace, greater than any city; *πρὸς πόλεως μείζονι*. Herodian institutes not a comparison between the magnitude of Rome and that of its imperial palace; he only intimates, generally and indefinitely, the magnitude of the palace, in distinct wings of which, Caracalla and Geta thought they would be safer from each other's machinations than in the cities of Gaul and Italy through which they had to pass.

We thoroughly concur in this opinion; indeed, it might be stated with more absolute confidence than it is by Dr Gillies. It excites a suspicion that both Mr Hume and Mr Gibbon must have looked at the *wrong column* in the page of their Herodian. That historian seems to have spoken rhetorically, and called the royal palace at Rome greater than *any* city, merely as a hyperbolical expression to denote its prodigious extent.

Our opinion of Dr Gillies's work may be justly collected from what we have said already. It does not appear to present such a luminous and masterly view of the very interesting period which it embraces, as would have been given by Mr Gibbon or Dr Robertson; but it exhibits proofs of learned research, and may, upon the whole, we think, be read with pleasure and advantage. It deserves no praise on the score of style, which is commonly diffuse.

and overcharged; and often vulgar and slovenly. We cannot dismiss this subject, without remarking, that there are some interesting questions with regard to the Grecian monarchies after Alexander, which are scarce at all touched by Dr Gillies. Such are the state of their armies, and the sort of troops of which they were composed,—their laws and government,—the tone of the national character and manners,—the state of the natives under their subjection,—and the symptoms of internal strength or weakness in their situation. We cannot justly be expected to make up this deficiency; but perhaps the reader will excuse us for putting together a few facts upon some of these points, which will not be found collectively in the work under our review.

I. The small Macedonian army of Alexander, received frequent recruits from the same country during the course of his conquests; which, however, unless more numerous than ancient writers report them, could have little more than repaired the losses of war and fatigue during eleven years, and filled the place of those veterans whom from time to time he dismissed to their native country. The collective armies, however, of his generals, while they were disputing the spoil, almost immediately after his death, seem to have been very numerous. Antigonus brought 80,000 men into the battle of Ipsus. The opposite army was little inferior; and the troops of Ptolemy were not engaged in this action. This too, was after twenty years of constant warfare, and many well contested and sanguinary battles. Macedon was indeed the mint of soldiers; but Macedon was a country of no vast extent, and, after it became divided from the rest of the empire, could not, it should seem, have furnished troops to foreign and often hostile sovereigns. The solution of this problem may be found by comparing scattered passages of antiquity. The great strength of all these armies was the Macedonian phalanx; one of those grand military innovations which have rewarded the genius of their inventors with supreme power and renown. For two centuries the phalanx was supposed to be irresistible. When complete, it consisted of 1024 files, 16 deep. Their charge in close order, presenting their Macedonian spears, which were of such a length that those of the fifth rank projected beyond the front, was not to be withstood by the shorter weapons and less compact arrangement of the Greeks, much less by the rude and irregular multitudes of the Asiatics. This phalanx, so early as the time of Alexander, was filled up with Persians. We are told by Arrian, that he formed the three first ranks of Macedonians, the twelve next of Persians, and placed another Macedonian in the last. By this judicious intermixture, the want of skill, and perhaps of bravery, in the Persians, was compensated. They acquired, with the arms  
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and discipline, the spirit and self-estimation of their conquerors; and we are almost inclined to suspect, that they were gradually confounded under the same name. Long at least after this age, and when few native Macedonians can be well supposed to have served in the troops of Egypt, in the sedition which followed the death of Ptolemy Philopater, the soldiery, is addressed by Agathocles with that honourable appellation. Next in dignity to the Macedonians, or those at least who bore their name in the phalanx, were the mercenary troops who were raised, in great numbers, for the service of the two eastern kings, from the Grecian cities of Europe and Asia. These seem not to have adopted the Macedonian tactics, but were ranged commonly on each side of the phalanx, and formed a very respectable part of the army. The great victory obtained by Ptolemy Philopater at Raphia, is ascribed, by Polybius, to the freshness of his Grecian mercenaries, which had lately been levied for his service; whereas, those of Antiochus were exhausted by the fatigue of long campaigns in the Upper Asia. A passage in Plautus throws light upon the recruiting or crimping system of that time. In the comedy of the *Miles Gloriosus*, Pyrgopolinices tells us that he was employed upon such a commission,—

‘ Nam rex Seleucus me opere oravit maximo,

Ut fibi latrones (*i. e.* mercenarios) cogerem et conscriberem.’

*Act. I. Sc. I.*

In the plays, indeed, of that writer, and of Terence, the mirrors of the later Greek comedy, we find the stage character of the partisan, who has served in the wars of Asia, as much established as those of the slave and the parasite. It occurs three or four times in Plautus, and once in the well known *Thraso* of Terence; and although the sameness which pervades them, may lead us to think that these authors rather copied each other than real life, there must have been a prototype in the received notion of the character, which the public were able to recognize. In every instance, they are represented as having acquired inordinate riches, and as spending it a good deal in the same manner as an English sailor is supposed to get rid of his prize money. But the parallel will hold no further. The most ridiculous vanity, stupidity and cowardice, are the constant attributes of the soldier in those comedies. A nation, one would think, must be sunk very low, in which the military character was never exhibited but as odious and contemptible. But, to judge from history, the picture must be somewhat overcharged. The Greeks of that age, though unable to cope with Rome or Macedon, displayed occasionally both skill and prowess. Perhaps it was unpopular thus to waste the blood of Greece in wars in which it had no concern; and public indignation

indignation refused to the mercenaries of the Seleucidæ that admiration and sympathy which are the usual reward of a military life. The third class of troops in the armies of these princes, were their native subjects. Though the inhabitants of the finest climates of Asia were generally unwarlike, other parts, especially the mountainous districts, contained a hardy race of men. The skill which barbarians frequently acquire in missile weapons, is formidable to any army not possessed of artillery, and consequently obliged to fight near at hand. Media, the finest province of Asia, produced an incomparable breed of horses; and the kings of Syria, at one time, were able to reinforce their armies from the savage hardihood of the Isaurian mountaineers, the obstinate bravery of the Jews, and the dexterity of the Parthian cavalry. The kingdom of Egypt seems to supply less military resources from itself. Yet, if 200,000 infantry and 40,000 horse obeyed the mandate of Philadelphus, so prodigious an army could hardly have been collected without great draughts upon the native population.

II. It would be a more difficult task to attempt the satisfactory delineation of the internal state of society. If we were to judge from the personal character of the sovereigns, upon which, in a mere despotism, so much seems to depend, the condition of the Eastern Greeks would generally appear deplorable. After the first or second generation, the successors of Seleucus and Ptolemy degenerated into effeminate luxury or portentous guilt; and the annals of Constantinople itself hardly contain a greater series of crimes, than sullied the royal families of Antioch and Alexandria. But this was compensated to their subjects by the peculiar advantages of their situation. They enjoyed the inexhaustible fertility of Syria, Babylonia and Egypt. The ports of the Mediterranean were crowded with vessels, secure from maritime hostility; and the creation of almost numberless cities, bearing the names of Seleucus and his family, is the noblest evidence of the riches and magnificence of that dynasty. Athenæus speaks of the Syrians, as a people who, from the fertility of their country, had little need to labour, and consumed their leisure in banqueting and diversions. Antioch, the capital, was most distinguished for this character. The beautiful grove of Daphne, situated about five miles from that city, was the scene where its luxurious inhabitants abused the prodigality of nature in every enjoyment of voluptuous ease. It was the more honourable characteristic of Alexandria, to be the seat of literature; and the praise of her sovereigns to have bestowed patronage upon men who, however inferior to those nursed in the bosom of Grecian liberty, surpassed them in erudition, and have formed a sort of epoch in the history

tory of letters. Less regard seems to have been paid to science by the Seleucida; but they cultivated the favourite and almost peculiar art of the Greeks, that of stamping metals with consummate beauty and ingenuity; and by their coins and medals, the imperfect remains of their history have often been illustrated. The condition of the native Orientals is not easily to be distinguished. The remote and barbarous provinces, wherein but few Greeks were settled, probably felt little more than a nominal subjection, and retained such laws and customs as they might have of their own. Even in the city of Seleucia, Polybius seems to speak of magistrates or judges belonging to the native inhabitants. Their condition, however, where the Greeks were numerous, as in Syria or Cilicia, was probably little better than servile; at least those countries seem to have supplied slaves to the markets of Greece and Italy.

III. If we were to appreciate political vigour merely by extent of dominion, the kingdom of Syria would appear incomparably the most powerful of those that were shared amongst the conquerors of Ipus. But it was weakened by its own size, and by the difficulty of retaining in subjection nations distinct in their race, manners, and language. The distant provinces were necessarily entrusted to the care of viceroys, who sometimes became too powerful to continue subjects. Two successive revolts of Molo in the Upper, and of Achæus in the Lesser Asia, threatened the throne of Antiochus the Great; and although his victories for a time reestablished the Syrian power throughout Asia, yet after his death, or rather after the inglorious events of the latter part of his reign, it soon fell to pieces, and, in less than half a century, was reduced to insignificance. Even in its best days, we must not conceive, that the successors of Seleucus possessed that firm and well compacted sovereignty over all parts of their dominions, which notions borrowed from modern Europe would lead us to expect. They received assistance in war, and tribute in peace, from many barbarous nations, who maintained in their own precincts a virtual independence. The writ of the king of Syria, we suspect, did not run into the mountains of the Mardi or the Carduchi. But decisive proofs of their weakness appear in the countries which were successively dismembered from their dominions. In Asia Minor, the northern parts were occupied by the three petty kingdoms of Pergamos, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, and the more powerful one of Pontus; a horde of Gauls and the kings of Cappadocia shared part of the midland district; and latterly, a nest of pirates fastened upon the southern coast of Pamphilia and Cilicia. In the east, their possessions were equally dilapidated. Immediately after the death of Alexander,

an Indian chief, by name Sandrocottus, drove the Macedonians from the Panjab; and Seleucus prudently sold his claim to those distant conquests for 500 elephants. So little is heard afterwards of the provinces lying on the hither side of the Indus, about Candahar, that we may suspect them to have followed the example. Theodotus, a Greek, soon afterwards revolted in Bactria, and established a dynasty which lasted for near a century and a half, till it was swept away by an invasion of Tartars; which is attested at once by the historians of Greece and of China. This little kingdom, stationed as it were upon the outpost of civilized life, has excited some interest in modern times; and Mr Gibbon has thought fit to give them credit for being the instructors of the Tartars, and even the Hindoos, in science. It was not, however, as has sometimes been imagined, insulated, till within a few years of its downfall; the kings of Syria retaining the adjacent province of Ariana, part of the present Khorasan and Sigistan. A far more important people occupied the western parts of Khorasan, the Parthians, who are thought with much probability to have been a Scythian clan, which at an early period had fixed itself in that region. Antiochus the Great kept them within bounds; but after his death they encroached upon Media, and finally usurped all the provinces to the east of the Euphrates.

The kingdom of Egypt, though necessarily more circumscribed than that of Syria, was less liable to dismemberment. Its limits were however various. Cyrene was its permanent appendage. It contained also generally Cyprus, and sometimes Cælo-Syria, which was its debateable frontier on the side of Asia. Two only of its monarchs seem to have achieved more extensive conquests. In the golden age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Crete, Caria, and Lycia, were subject to Egypt. At a later period, Ptolemy Euergetes gained more unprofitable trophies, from an expedition into Nubia, the memory of which is preserved by an inscription discovered in that country about the 6th century. But when the Romans came to meddle with the affairs of the East, the kings of Egypt felt their inadequacy to contend; obeyed the mandates of the republic with humiliating obsequiousness, and were rewarded by that great Polypheme, with the privilege of being devoured the last.

In extent and opulence, the kingdom of Macedon was the least considerable of the three. In rating its effective power, we should perhaps make a different estimate. Though not very commercial, it contained mines of the precious, as well as the ruder, metals. Its natives formed excellent soldiers, brave, faithful, steady and patient. It was embraced except on the side of the sea, by a strong mountainous barrier; beyond which, to the north and east,

east, dwelt fierce and warlike barbarians, which, though not always in very thorough submission, were commonly its auxiliaries in the field. By the resistance which it made to the Roman arms, we may judge of the intrinsic strength of Macedon. The contest was quite unequal. Rome had ceased to fight up hill, and had come to wield forces of every kind, far superior to those of any competitor. Yet even under these disadvantages, the unpopular and spiritless Perseus was able to foil three successive Roman consuls in the defence of his country. The harsh measures to which the Romans resorted, prove the sense they entertained of the compatriots of Alexander. Macedon was divided into four districts, perfectly distinct in police, and government; and, to render the separation more perfect, intermarriages among their exclusive inhabitants were prohibited. There is one peculiarity which applies equally to the Macedonians and Greeks of Syria and Egypt. Though each of their royal families was placed upon the throne by no right but conquest, though they had supplanted and extinguished the ancient stock, though their own elevation was recent in the memory of man, their subjects appear to have felt, for them, all that blindness of loyalty, which is commonly supposed to follow only long established and illustrious dynasties. No impostor, who made pretensions to royal descent, failed of temporary success; even though he claimed to draw his breath from the contemptible Perseus, or the frantic Antiochus Epiphanes. So irregular is the attachment of nations to their rulers, and so fallacious the reasoning of those who suppose that such sentiments cannot be felt for those whose possession is but of yesterday, and whose title is the sword.

ART. IV. *Outlines of a Plan for educating Ten Thousand Poor Children, by establishing Schools in Country Towns and Villages; and for uniting Works of Industry with useful Knowledge.* By Joseph Lancaster. 8vo. London. 1806.

THOUGH it fell to our lot to defend Mr Lancaster against the cruel and unfounded clamour to which he was exposed,—partly because he had the misfortune not to be a member of the church of England, principally on account of his great merit,—our observations, at that period, were more calculated to repel the aggressions of his enemies, than to explain the nature, and to enforce the importance of his improvements in education.

We premise that we are going to say a great deal about slate pencils, primmers, and spelling-books. We are aware such details

tails must be very dull, and would be unpardonable, if they were not eminently useful. We would not, however, load our pages with them, if the object were to recommend an ingenious theory for trial, rather than to explain an invention which has been already attended with the most perfect success. If an artist comes with a tiresome and complicated machine, and boasts of its extraordinary powers, we have a right to say, go to work, and give us some proof. But when he accepts the challenge, and in practice outdoes his own boastings, it is necessary to look over every rack and pinion of his instrument,—to speak of it honourably, that it may be studied,—and to describe it perspicuously, that it may be imitated.

We shall state the methods of Mr Lancaster in the branches of education which his school comprehends,—point out the leading principles on which he appears to have conducted his institution,—discuss, shortly, the question of his originality, and then take the liberty of making a few remarks on the much, and lately agitated question, of the education of the poor.

The first or lowest class of children are taught to write the printed alphabet, and to name the letters when they see them. The same with the figures used in arithmetic. One day the boy traces the form of the letter, or figure; the next day he tells the name, when he sees the letter. These two methods assist each other. When he is required to write H for example, the shape of the letter which he saw yesterday assists his manual execution;—when he is required to say how that letter is named, the shape of the letter reminds him of his manual execution; and the manual execution has associated itself with the name.

In the same manner he learns syllables and words; writing them one day,—reading them the next.

The same process for writing the common epistolary character, and for reading it.

(A) This progress made, the class go up to the master to read;—a class, consisting perhaps of 30. While one boy is reading, \* the word, *ex. gr.* Ab-so-lu-ti-on; is given out with a loud voice by the monitor, and written down by all the other 29 boys, who are provided with slates for that purpose; which writing is looked over by the monitors, and then another word called, and so on; whoever writes a word, spells it of course at the same time, and spells it with much more attention than in the common way. So that there is always one boy reading, and twenty-nine writing and

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\* This is the only instance of solitary reading, and is used rather as a more particular trial of a boy's progress: in general, Mr. Lancaster disapproves of it, as it creates no emulation.



and spelling at the same time ; whereas, in the ancient method, the other twenty-nine did nothing.

(B) The first and second classes write in sand ; the middle classes on slates ; only a few of the upper boys on paper with ink. This is a great saving in point of expense ;—in books the saving is still greater. Twenty or thirty boys stand round a card suspended on a nail, making a semicircle. On this card are printed the letters in a very large character ;—these letters the boys are to name, at the request of the monitor. When one spelling class have said their lessons in this manner, they are despatched off to some other occupation, and another spelling class succeeds. In this manner, one book or card may serve for 200 boys, who would, according to the common method, have had a book each. In the same manner, syllables and reading lessons are printed on cards, and used with the same beneficial economy.

(C) In arithmetic, the monitor dictates a sum, *ex. gr.* in addition, which all the boys write down on their slates. For example,

$$7 \quad 2 \quad 4$$

$$3 \quad 7 \quad 8$$

$$9 \quad 4 \quad 6$$

He then tells them, aloud, how to add the sum. First column—6 and 8 are 14, and 4 are 18 ; set down 8 and carry 1 to the next column ;—and so on. In this manner, the class acquire facility of writing figures, and placing them ; and, by practising what the monitor dictates, insensibly acquire facility in adding. Again they are placed round arithmetical cards, in the same manner as in paragraph (B), and required to add up the columns. This method evinces what progress they have made from the preceding method of dictating ; and the two methods are always used alternately.

It is obvious, that a school like this of Mr Lancaster's, consisting of from 700 to 1000 boys, would soon fall into decay, without a very close attention to order and method. In this part of his system, Mr Lancaster has been as eminently successful as in any other ; contriving to make the method and arrangement, so necessary to his institution, a source of amusement to the children. In coming into school, in going out, and in moving in their classes from one part of the school to another, the children move in a kind of measured pace, and in known places, according to their number, of which every boy has one. Upon the first institution of the school, there was a great loss and confusion of hats. After every boy has taken his place there, they all stand up, expecting the word of command, *Sling your hats!* upon which they immediately suspend their hats round their necks by a string provided for that purpose. When the young children write in sand,

sand, they all look attentively to their monitor, waiting for the word, and instantly fall to work, with military precision, upon receiving it. All these little inventions keep children in a constant state of activity, prevent the listlessness so observable in all other institutions for education, and evince (trifling as they appear to be) a very original and observing mind in him who invented them.

The boys assembled round their reading or arithmetical cards, *take places* as in common schools. The boy who is at the head of the class wears a ticket, with some suitable inscription, and has a prize of a little picture. The ticket-bearer yields his badge of honour to whoever can excel him; and the desire of obtaining, and the fear of losing, the mark of distinction, creates, as may easily be conceived, no common degree of enterprize and exertion. Boys have a prize when they are moved from one class to another, as the monitor has also from whose class they are removed. Mr Lancaster has established a sort of paper currency of tickets. These tickets are given for merit;—two tickets are worth a paper kite;—three worth a ball;—four worth a wooden horse, &c. &c. &c.

‘ It is no unusual thing with me to deliver one or two hundred prizes at the same time. And at such times the countenances of the whole school exhibit a most pleasing scene of delight: as the boys who obtain prizes, commonly walk round the school in procession, holding the prizes in their hands, and an *herald* proclaiming before them, ‘ These good boys have obtained prizes for going into another class.’ The honour of this has an effect as powerful, if not more so, than the prizes themselves.’

A large collection of toys, bats, balls, pictures, kites, is suspended above the master's head, beaming glory and pleasure upon the school beneath. Mr Lancaster has also, as another incentive, an order of merit. No boys are admitted to this order but those who distinguish themselves by attention to their studies, and by their endeavours to check vice. The distinguishing badge is a silver medal and plated chain hanging from the neck. The superior class has a fixed place in the school; any class that can excel it may eject them from this place, and occupy it themselves. Every member, both of the attacking and defending classes, feels, of course, the most lively interest in the issue of the contest.

Mr Lancaster punishes by shame rather than pain; varying the means of exciting shame, because, as he justly observes, any mode of punishment long continued loses its effect.

The boys in the school appointed to teach others are called monitors; they are in the proportion of about one monitor to ten boys. So that, for the whole school of 1000 boys, there is only one

one master ; the rest of the teaching is all done by the boys themselves. Besides the teaching monitors, there are general monitors, such as, inspectors of slates, inspectors of absentees, &c. &c.

In what Mr Lancaster says upon the subject of religion, it is clear that he has no desire to convert, and no intention to be converted. 'Either let the religion of Quakers be taught, if a Quaker school is founded upon this method of teaching writing and reading ; or I will confine myself to those general practical principles which are suitable to all sects, if you chuse to found a general school for the instruction of indigence ; or I will meddle only with the temporal instruction of my pupils, and you may confide their religious instruction to whom you please.' So says the member of a religious sect, which, of all other religious sects, has showed itself the least desirous of making converts. This is so moderate, and so reasonable, that, if we are rightly informed, Mr Lancaster has at last not only succeeded in allaying the jealousy of some of the rulers of the English church, but has even raised himself up some patrons out of their numbers.

These we believe to be the leading features of this establishment. For the many interesting particulars which, in so short an abstract, we have been compelled to omit, we refer to the book itself. It is not badly written, though somewhat quaint and quakerish : but we have no objection to the Obadiah flavour, and do not wish that Quakers should write books like other people ;—there is something interesting and picturesque in their singularities.

The improvements which Mr Lancaster has made in education, are, in the cheapness of schools, their activity, their order, and their emulation. The reading, cyphering, and spelling cards, suspended for the successive use of 3 or 400 boys ; the employment of sand and slate instead of pen and ink, and particularly of monitors instead of ushers, must, in large seminaries, constitute an immense saving. The introduction of monitors, an extremely important part of the whole scheme, is as great an improvement in schools, as the introduction of noncommissioned officers would be in an army which had before been governed only by captains, majors, and colonels : they add that constant and minute attention to the operations of the mass, without which, the general and occasional superintendance of superiors is wholly useless. An usher hates his task, and is often ashamed of it ; a monitor is honoured by it, and therefore loves it : he is placed over those who, if their exertions had been superior, would have been placed over him ; his office is the proof of his excellence. Power is new to him ; and trust makes him trustworthy,—a very common effect of confidence, and exemplified in the most striking manner in Mr

Lancaster's school. Nor is the monitor at all detained by teaching to others what he has already learnt; at least not unprofitably detained; for, if a boy be at the head of the first spelling class, it is clear that a delay of six or eight weeks in teaching to others what he has already learnt, will perfect him in his new acquirements, and rivet them in his memory. After this, he is made a private in some superior regiment, and his post becomes an object of honour and competition to the lads whom he has taught. He is very wisely allowed to have a common interest with the boys whom he instructs; and to receive a prize equal in value with any prize obtained by any individual among them. In some instances, the monitor teaches and learns at the same time: for, in dictating the sum as in paragraph (C), the monitor is furnished with a key; and therefore, in dictating, only reads what others have written for him; but in so doing, it is plain his attention must be exercised, and his memory impressed as much, if not more, than those of any boy in the class; and, whatever good is produced in others by that mode of instruction, must be produced in him in an equal, or superior degree. The extraordinary discipline, progress, and economy of this school, are, therefore, in a great measure, produced by an extraordinary number of noncommissioned officers, serving without pay, and learning while they teach.

When we consider the very dull and distant motives for improvement which have hitherto been presented to children, it is not surprising that education should be often so unsuccessful—always so tedious. The day is fine, the sun shines brightly through the window, and a fine young animal, with his veins quivering with health and activity, is not only forbidden to trundle a newly purchased hoop, but set down before a black slate to do a sum in tare and trett; or, in greater schools, to make a copy of Latin verses about Troy and Æneas.—What are his motives for undergoing this present misery? Has he a wife and family to support, like the thresher who goes to his daily task? Is he refreshed by immediate fees like the accomplished *pillulist*, who drives from fistula to fever, and from ague to atrophy? Is he certain, like an author, of losing his dinners for the ensuing week, if his task is incomplete?—The only motives held before him are, that he will please his father, and be a great man in after life; and that Latin and Greek are necessary accomplishments for a gentleman. Alas, the eternity of six months must elapse, before the parent is made acquainted with the general progress he has made;—that 14 years should pass away, and he himself arrive at man's estate, is quite impossible;—and, if it is possible, he has an uncle or a cousin of large fortune, universally respected, and powerful at the quarter sessions, who does not know whether Brutus killed

Cæsar,

Cæsar, or Cæsar Brutus; and who believes Tully and Cicero to be two distinct persons. Such are the remote and powerless motives with which children have hitherto been stimulated. The bats, balls and kites of Mr Lancaster, we conceive to be admirable auxiliaries of education, and to afford that strong and present stimulus which best overcomes the *vis inertia*, and establishes the difficult and unnatural habit of application. It is all very well to talk about studying from a sense of duty. Mature, bearded men, who fall into this cant, require the immediate stimulus of a guinea; or, at least, a return for their labour in a month or a year; expecting, in the mean time, that the poor child for whom they cant, the miserable and inexperienced *cantee*, should exert himself for benefits which, it is very doubtful, whether or not he will reap when half his life is elapsed. Nothing, in our opinion, can be so preposterous as the objections made to an order of merit in a school. In what way are such extraordinary services ever obtained from mankind at so cheap a rate? Tie two guineas worth of gold to a red ribbon, and call it the order of the golden cannon, or the golden swivel, or what not;—and in every battle you will have a thousand young men of spirit performing the most daring actions to obtain it. A garter is vacant— or, in other words, the privilege of telling the passer by, by means of a bit of gold at the knee, and a bit of silver on the belly, that you are a man of high birth and large fortune. The cabinet, however, sit in grave consultation on the distribution of this honour; the greatest men of the country are sleepless in their palaces, and the minister loses or gains the lord of a province by his gift;—and yet we are half angry that a breechless boy should struggle day and night for a shining lump of tin, which tells the passer by that he is diligent and good. We do not mean, by these observations, to express the slightest degree of disrespect for the established honours of the country,—quite the contrary. We are convinced, that such institutions are thoroughly founded in good sense, and knowledge of human nature; and that they are eminently useful. We approve, in the most decided manner, the courage and originality of that man who has carried into education those institutions, which, in the business of the world, are the most powerful of all motives. Vanity is the word on which all these objections are founded; and it unfortunately happens, that we have no word in our language to signify the good and useful love of praise; for, that the love of praise is, under certain regulations, one of the most beneficial passions to society, will not, it is presumed, be denied; nor ought it to be characterized by the inculpative term of Vanity, except when its object is frivolous, or when it is the sole and absorbing passion.

It must not be forgotten, that in Mr Lancaster's school every boy is every moment employed. It is obvious, that in the class assembled round the suspended card for reading and spelling,—the wand of the monitor pointing to the particular letter,—the taking places,—the hopes of obtaining a ticket,—must keep the children constantly on the alert. When they read, spell, and write at the same time, as in paragraph (A), or when the monitor dictates sums, as in (C), it is impossible for any individual to be inattentive. In common schools, the scholar is set to learn his spelling, or his cyphering, by himself; and, after a certain time, the master hears him his lesson, and judges of his attention by his readiness in performing it. The learning part of the business is left entirely to the boy himself, and his time often whil'd away in every species of idleness. The beauty of Mr Lancaster's system is, that nothing is trusted to the boy himself; he does not only *repeat* the lesson before a superior, but he *learns* it before a superior. When he listens to the dictating process in arithmetic, and adds up as he is commanded, he does that under the eye and command of a master, which, in other schools, he would be trusted to do by himself. In short, in these troops the appointed officer sees, that the soldier shoulders his musket twenty times a day, who, by doing it often, cannot avoid doing it well. In other troops, the officer tells the soldiers how it is to be done, and leaves them to practise by themselves,—which they do, of course, very unwillingly, and very imperfectly, if they do it at all. Such are the principles upon which Mr Lancaster has planned his improvements in the education of the poor, and carried them into execution with such success, *that one thousand boys may now be educated in reading, writing, and arithmetic, by one person, at an expense not exceeding 300*l.* per annum.* A more beautiful, a more orderly, and a more affecting scene, than the school of Mr Lancaster, it is not possible to behold. The progress of the children is rapid beyond all belief; and evinces, in the most gratifying manner, the extraordinary effects which are produced upon the human mind by the arts of cultivation.

When a poor lad is educated, many valuable principles of religion, morals and politics, may be fixed on his mind, which could not be conveniently taught to him by any other means. At school he is under the influence of the master; for some years afterwards at home, under the influence of the parent. They have an interest in directing his newly acquired power aright, and in turning the bias of his mind to what is good; and this, at a period, which generally decides the character of the future man. It is very true to say, that reading multiplies the innocent resources and amusements of the poor; but we cannot see why this is not

very

very true. We do not object either to boxing or bull-baiting; but the history of Robinson Crusoe is compatible with them, or, if not, is at least a very fair and innocent rival to set up against them. Village sports are necessarily of rare occurrence. Reading is always accessible, and is permanently opposed to the permanent temptation of beer. The comforts and conveniences of life would be somewhat increased, if every person in the state were educated. In agriculture, in manufactures, and among domestic servants, every body has felt more or less of inconvenience, from the deficiencies of his dependants in reading, writing, and accounts. It is frequently found impossible to put very clever servants in the best situations, from their ignorance in these particulars; and masters are forced to place superiors over them, in other respects not qualified. The sum of these inconveniences is worth attention.

Nature scatters talents in a very capricious manner over the different ranks of society. It is not improbable but a general system of education would rescue some very extraordinary understandings from oblivion.

Education raises up in the poor an admiration for something else besides brute strength and brute courage; and probably renders them more tractable and less ferocious. A mob might issue forth to murder a man,—all of whom could read, write, and work sums in compound multiplication and the rule of three. This certainly might be; but it is not quite so probable an occurrence, as if they had employed their youth in scampering through the streets of London, and in small pilfering. The education of the poor is as valuable for what it prevents, as for what it teaches. A boy remains two years at Lancaster's school. What would he have been doing, if he had not been there? What sort of habits and principles would he have contracted? Apply this to St Giles, to Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham. In villages, the question, perhaps, is, whether a boy is to be a stupid animal, or an intelligent animal? There, temptations are so few, that his moral and religious character will remain the same; but, in towns, the alternatives are, intelligence and virtue, or ignorance and vice. In such scenes of activity, a child will do, and learn *something*. If you do not take care that it is good, he will take care that it is evil. A THOUSAND boys educated in the heart of the metropolis! How is it possible to doubt if such a thing be useful? It is the fashion now to say, that a mode of education is provided by the State, and that children may listen to the oral instructions of clergymen in the pulpit. A clergyman preaches fifteen minutes in a week. Has he the very unusual and valuable talent of commanding attention? Will the church hold the thirtieth or fortieth

tenth part of his parish? If it will hold them, do they come? In the short period dedicated to instruction, can he instruct children of six years old, and grown up people at the same time? Is this possible? Will he do it, if it is possible?—We really have not the slightest intention of sneering at the exertions of the clergy; it is quite clear, that if their exertions in the pulpit were ten times as great as they are, that no oral instruction, delivered under such circumstances, could possibly supply the place of other education. And when such things are talked of in London, and in large cities, it is really too absurd to merit an answer. When we are availing ourselves of the most recent inventions in every thing else, why are we to revert to the rudest machines in education?

It is said that the poor, proud of their attainments in learning, will no longer submit to the drudgery to which they have been accustomed in their state of ignorance. In the first place, if every body can read, no one will be more proud of reading than they are of walking now, when every body can walk. But if every poor man in England were as proud as Lucifer, he must either work or starve. Labour depends not upon opinion, but upon the necessity of eating and drinking. Truly miserable indeed would the condition of mankind be, if society were such a *papier maché* machine as these sort of reasoners make it to be; if, by any change of fashions, men were to cease to resent, or to fear, or to love, or to toil, or to govern. The great passions and appetites are interwoven in our very being; and all the important and indispensable operations of life rest upon the great passions, and are as eternal as the foundations on which they are placed.

Reading multiplies the power of getting at the opinions and arguments of others. In the end, the good opinion, and the sound argument, prevail. The standard books among the poor would not encourage disaffection, but the contrary. Seditious pamphlets would sometimes get among the poor; but they would meet with a firmer body of opinion than they do now; and the common average books would be of a very different description. What is read by the classes immediately above the poor, is neither treason nor impiety. With them, the notions in ordinary circulation, about government and religion, though trite, are, in general, useful, just, and respectable. In the ferment of political opinion, through which we have recently passed, the Scotch, and the people of London and Westminster, were not endangered by their education, nor the Irish protected by their ignorance. The English, rank for rank, are governed with greater justice, and live with greater happiness, than any other people in the world. If this is as true as we believe it to be,



be, why will not such a welcome and important truth be at length diffused by the diffusion of knowledge? What is the dreadful secret the poor are to find out when they have learned to read and write? We have often seen guzzling, semi-inebriated country gentlemen, nod and wink with a very pregnant wisdom, when the education of the poor was mentioned. We bear them no malice for their stupid prejudices, but wish, on the contrary, with the utmost sincerity, that the accomplishments of reading, writing, and cyphering, were more generally diffused among these gentlemen; and that they were taught, by enjoying these blessings themselves, to appreciate them more justly for others.

There are now, perhaps, one million more of persons who can read and write, than there were before the revolution. Has this increase of knowledge produced any increase of disaffection? If ignorance is useful to a state, to what degree is it useful? Or, where has the argument any limit?

The expense of education is not to be mentioned. A boy learns reading, writing and accounts, for fourteen shillings, who would, in hedge-breaking, or picking pockets, cost the county double the money in the same time.

The investigation might be pushed on to a great length. These are a few of the principal advantages which appear to us to result from education; from which we do not expect miracles, or believe that it would put an end to mendicity, and render the executioner's place a sinecure. But we do most firmly believe, that it may be made the means of rescuing thousands of human beings from vice and misery, of teaching the blessings of rational religion, of improving the character, and increasing the happiness of the lower orders of mankind. And for these reasons, the cause of education shall never want our feeble aid, nor the friends of it our good word, from the poor Quaker whose system we have described, to the King who has conducted himself towards this deserving man with so much goodness and feeling; and for which thousands of ragged children will pray for him and remember him, long after his Majesty is forgotten by every Lord of the Chamber, and by every Clerk of the Closet.

Thus much for education itself. The manner of introducing it into, and encouraging it in a country, are totally separate questions. How far it may be expedient to provide nationally for the education of the poor, against the prejudices of the upper classes, and without any cordial wish to that purpose on the part of the poor themselves, is doubtful,—if it be possible. At all events, we must express our most sincere regret, that the late plan was ever connected with so many doubtful, and so many complicated measures; and that its worthy author appeared to be so moderately in-

formed on the general subject of the poor, and so little aware of the powerful prejudices which exist against their instruction; for ignorant we must conceive him to have been upon this point, if he supposed it possible to force down so extensive a plan of education over the whole community.

In the year 1797, Dr Bell, a clergyman of the Church of England, published an account of an institution for education at Madras, to which Mr Lancaster is certainly indebted for some very material parts of his improvements,—as, in the early editions of his book, he very honestly and plainly owned himself to be. To this valuable information, received from Dr Bell, Mr Lancaster has made important additions of his own, quite enough to entitle him to a very high character for originality and invention. We sincerely hope Dr Bell will not attribute to us the most distant intention of depreting his labours, when we say that he has by no means taught Mr Lancaster *all*, though he has taught him *much*. We are so far from wishing to undervalue the labours of Dr Bell, that it gives us great pleasure to express our warmest admiration at what he has done for education. He is unquestionably the beginner in an art, which we trust will be carried to still greater perfection; and we hope he will reap from his present patron those rewards for which he never could have looked, to which he is eminently entitled, and which, if ever they are bestowed, will honour the giver as much as the receiver.

It has pleased the present Archbishop of Canterbury to establish a large school, for the instruction of the poor of the established church, under the care of Dr Bell. If the thing is done at all,—if the education of the poor goes on,—we are content. We only interfered in the cause to say, education is a great good; and to shelter from calumny a friendless man, who sat himself down (like a drop of healing oil in an ulcer) in the worst parts of the metropolis, to diffuse the word of God, and the rudiments of knowledge among the lowest of mankind. If, in so doing, we have been compelled to treat with severity a lady of real piety and of estimable character, let that lady remember, that had we found her in her own proper department of an instructress of youth, which she has so long and so respectably filled, we could not but have mentioned her with credit, if it had fallen within the plan of our work to mention her at all. But we found her acting the part of a judge and a critic, and, above all, of a *religious accuser*,—a part never to be taken up but with extreme reluctance, and exposing him, and still more her who assumes it, to the most severe responsibility,—a part which, of late years, has been played so often, and paid so well, that it is not respectable even in the hands of so honest and conscientious a person

son as Mrs Trimmer. We have been a little alarmed by observing, that Dr Bell, after all he has wrote and done, calls in question the propriety of teaching the poor to write and to cypher. We hope that he will value his deserved reputation above every thing else, and not lose that originality which has brought him into notice. The sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury may be venerable and respectable—but it is not *sacred*: at least we *believe* this term is never employed upon such occasions.

ART. V. *The Principles of Botany and of Vegetable Physiology.*  
*Translated from the German of D. C. Willdenow, Professor of*  
*Botany and Natural History at Berlin.* pp. 508. 8vo. W.  
 Blackwood, Edinburgh; and T. Cadell and W. Davies, Lon-  
 don, 1805.

WE have not hitherto had any introductory botanical treatise which comprehends all the branches of botanical knowledge. Lee's Introduction to Botany, which has been longest in use in this country, contains merely an explanation of the system of Linnæus, and of the terms employed by him. Berkenhout's Botanical Lexicon, is nothing more than an explanation of the Linnæan terms, arranged in alphabetical order. But the author before us, besides explaining the Linnæan method, and the terms used by its followers, likewise gives a very full account of the different natural and artificial systems that have been proposed by different botanists previous and subsequent to that of the Knight of the Polar Star; together with vegetable physiology, explained according to principles established on the latest discoveries in chemistry; the diseases of plants, and the history of botany. In short, his work, which we understand has superseded all other elementary treatises on the Continent, contains almost every thing connected with botany.

His introduction contains some remarks on the study of botany, together with good and ample directions for forming a *Hortus Siccus*. In his Terminology, he gives a very full enumeration of the various terms used in botany, which are, in general, very well defined, but not so judiciously arranged. He distributes them as they are applicable to the root, the stem, the leaves, the props, the flower and the fruit. Many of the terms that are applicable to one part, may likewise be applied to others; consequently it becomes necessary, not only to repeat the same term under different heads, but likewise to repeat their definitions. Thus we find *Multifidum filamentum*, when it is divided into many branches;

branches; M. folium, with many clefts, and so on; M. perianthium; M. stigma; M. cirrhus; M. stylus. Simplex, with its definition, occurs no fewer than thirteen times; and there are a great many repetitions of the same nature. This certainly produces one good effect; it adds to the bulk of the book, and consequently to the emolument of the book-maker: but does it add to the information, or diminish the trouble of the student? Botanical terms, even when reduced into the smallest compass, are so very numerous, as to deter beginners of ordinary fortitude from entering on the study. Whatever, therefore, increases the bulk of the Terminology, must add to the apparent difficulty of acquiring them, and tend to disgust the student. Had M. Willdenow given the general terms apart from the special ones, he would have prevented much unnecessary repetition. It sometimes happens, indeed, that the same terms, when applied to different parts, receive a different signification; and, in such cases, a repetition and separate explanation becomes necessary. He has placed the terms which express the *arua* and *pubes* under the head *fulcra*, where few people would think of looking for them; for they are no more props, than they are leaves or branches.

His classification of vegetables, contains a complete account of all the more eminent systems that have been made public, and a good exposition of the Linnæan method, which he prefers to all others. He divides botanical systems into Natural, Artificial and Sexual: we conceive, however, that there are only two, viz. Natural and Artificial. The epithet, Sexual, has been applied to the artificial system of Linnæus, by way of distinction; but this cannot alter its nature. The words Willdenow himself makes use of, in describing an artificial system, are, 'Some botanists have founded their systems on the number, proportion and agreement, of minute and not very obvious parts; and such a system has been called Artificial.' The Linnæan method, which he wishes to erect into a particular kind of system, is founded on the number, proportion and agreement in different particulars of the parts of generation, which, in most cases, are minute enough: it, therefore, even according to his own definition, can be viewed in no other light than that of an artificial system. His reason for establishing a difference is, that the Linnæan method is partly natural, partly artificial, which is merely an accidental circumstance. There is one mistake he has committed through inadvertence—for it certainly could not proceed from ignorance. When mentioning the distinguishing marks by which the orders are determined (p. 149.) he says, 'The orders of the 15th class are, like the foregoing, taken from the fruit, with this difference, that here there are no naked seeds, but a siliqua; and the orders are named, according

cording to the size of this, *Siliculosæ* and *Siliquosæ*.' The mere size of the siliquæ by no means determines the orders of this class, though, from the names affixed to each, it might naturally be supposed to do so; for there are many plants which Linnæus has placed in his order *Siliculosæ*, which have far larger siliquæ than those that are placed in the order *Siliquosæ*;—*Lunaria*, for example. It is the proportion which the length of the germen bears to that of the style, which determines the orders in this class. Those plants, whose germen is short in proportion to the style, are placed in the order *Siliculosæ*, and *vice versa*. Under the head, *Botanical Aphorisms*, he shows the method of acquiring a knowledge of plants,—gives directions for distinguishing and establishing genera,—points out the different characters by which plants are to be described,—and treats of species and varieties, together with the method of ascertaining them. He has given here a table of 36 colours, which has at least novelty to recommend it; for, as far as we know, nothing of the kind has been attempted by any other writer on natural history. It would have a still stronger recommendation, utility, could pigments of sufficient durability be obtained, and were the colours always mixed up according to the same standard for the different copies, and applied with the same attention. But, unfortunately, most of the pigments we possess, particularly those formed of metallic oxides, are liable to change, when exposed to air and light; and the attention necessary to preserve exact uniformity in the tables prepared for the different copies, could not be expected from any artists that might be employed to paint them. These two circumstances might render a table of this kind a source of error; for in copies printed by different hands, and at different periods, dissimilar tints might stand under the same name. Nevertheless, the design is good, and may be usefully employed to explain what colour is meant to be denoted by the different Latin words employed in natural history. Even when the primary colours are known, an idea of the intermediate shades is imperfectly conveyed by words, but they are easily described to the eye. Both methods have been adopted by Willdenow; for in the explanation of his table, he gives a verbal description, which, to make the matter still surer, is frequently illustrated by examples painted by nature.

In his *Nomenclature of Vegetables*, he has laid down a great many regulations for imposing names on plants. Had something of the same kind been done earlier, botany would not only have rested on a more stable foundation, but botanical language would have been rendered less harsh than it is at present. When the name of any thing is undetermined and unsettled, the knowledge  
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of the thing itself is in danger of being lost. The old botanists were not much concerned about preserving the names of plants; for almost every author gave them new ones; on which account, many were disgusted with the barbarous, dry and unfixed nomenclature which prevailed, and declined entering on the study of the most beautiful objects of nature. But, by the introduction of fixed and generally received names, botanists are now able to make themselves understood wherever botany is known. Tournefort first fixed the generic names; but, instead of specific names, gave only short descriptions. Linnæus, who has contributed more to the advancement of his science than any other man, not only employed generic names, but affixed to each species its trivial name. M. Willdenow objects to long names; to those taken from foreign languages; to those which are already appropriated to animals or fossils; and to those borrowed from religious, moral, anatomical, pathological, geographical, or such subjects: but he wishes the generic name to be taken from the general properties or resemblances of the genus, and to have them formed from the Greek language with a Latin termination, or from the name of some eminent botanist, likewise latinized. Names, however, derived from this last source, are, we think, frequently both harsh and long; such as, *Buxbaumia*, *Gleditschia*, *Hasselquistia*, &c. The specific name is commonly an adjective, expressive of some property of the plant, but should not be taken from properties liable to variation, such as colour. Willdenow objects to substantives as specific names; but we think that no solid objections can be made to *Pyrus malus*, *Prunus cerasus*, *Brassica rapa*, and many others. Some do not approve of the Linnæan method of denoting every plant by a generic and specific name, because genera are only invented by botanists, and have no real existence in nature. Ehrhart, on this account, in his *Phytophylaceum*, has proposed to distinguish every plant by a single word: but what memory could contain the names of all the plants already known, which amount to nearly 30,000 species, formed into about 2,000 genera? Wolf has proposed to denote every character of a plant, by a particular letter, and of these to form the name of the plant. Were this plan to be adopted, such harsh words would be formed, such concurrence of consonants take place, as would render it difficult, if not altogether impossible, for Mr Wolf himself to get his mouth about them.

The *Physiology of Vegetables*, contains a multiplicity of articles, most of which are treated very correctly, and briefly enough; indeed, sometimes a little too much so. He begins with the different powers of organized bodies, and with the anatomy of vegetables. There is one opinion he advances, to which we can by no means

means subscribe. He says, (p. 228.) 'If we put the seeds of an annual plant into the ground, plants grow from them, which soon flower, produce seed, and then die.'—'The buds of trees and shrubs are to be considered as annual plants; for, as soon as they have blossomed and shed their seeds, they decay entirely.' This is certainly not the case; for the far greater number of the buds of trees and shrubs, produce branches which remain for years.

We shall give what he says (p. 229.) on the chemical principles of vegetables, as a specimen of the method in which he treats his subject.

'The chief vegetable principles are,

'1. Caloric, is present in all parts of vegetables, and constitutes their temperature when free.

'2. Light, is found in the oils and other inflammable vegetable substances.

'3. The electric fluid, shows itself by various electrical phenomena observed in plants.

'4. Carbon, is the chief constituent part of all vegetables.

'5. Hydrogen, this may easily be obtained in a gaseous form, combined with caloric, from all leguminous plants.

'6. Oxygen is, we shall soon find, evolved by the rays of the sun. Part of it, however, is combined with acidifiable bases, and forms vegetable acids.

'7. Azote, is exhaled by plants in the night: the greatest part of it, however, is in a combined state. Whether azote belongs to the simple substances (elements), or, as Goetling supposes, is a compound of oxygen and light, we must leave to the future decision of chemists. At present, we shall consider it as a simple substance.

'8. Phosphorus, occurs in plants of the 15th class, and in the gramina. Its existence manifestly appears, by the shining of old rotten wood, the root of the common *Tormentilla recta*, and rotten potatoes, *Solanum tuberosum*.

'9. Sulphur, in form of acid combined with oxygen, is met with in many plants, either with potash forming a sulphat of potash, or with soda, as sulphat of soda. Even in substance, sulphur has been found in the roots of the *Rumex patientia*. After they were cut down, boiled, and scummed, sulphur appeared in the scum when left to settle.

'11. Soda, is peculiar to almost all plants growing on sea shores or in salt marshes.

'12. Silica, is found in the stem of the *Bambusa arundinacea*, and in the common reed, *Arundo phragmites*. It is supposed to exist in the alder, *Betula alnus*, and birch, *Betula alba*, as their wood often emits sparks when under the hands of the turner.

'13. Alumina, it is said, has been found in some plants.

'14. Magnesia, some philosophers think, they have met with likewise.

‘ 15. Barytes, is chiefly obvious in grasses.

‘ 16. Lime, is found in almost all vegetables, most frequently in *Chara tomentosa*, a pound of which is said to contain five ounces of it.

‘ 17. Iron, is detected in the ashes of most plants.

‘ 18. Manganese, has likewise been sometimes found in plants.’

There is added in a note,

‘ If some have detected gold in the vine, *Vitis vinifera*; oak, *Quercus robur*; hornbeam, *Carpinus betulus*; or in ivy, *Hedera helix*; and tin in Spanish broom, *Spartium junceum*; it seems merely to have been accidentally, as their presence has been stated as impossible by late experiments. Of the above principles, No. 1—7, and 10, 16 and 17, are found in all plants; the rest only in some. The Fungi, especially the genera *Petziza*, *Octospora*, and *Byssus*, have, according to the latest researches, not a vestige of lime.

‘ All the now enumerated principles which have been found in vegetables, belong, as far as chemical knowledge has advanced, to the elementary or simple substances. The vital power produces, by mixing them, new formed substances.’

These, however, we must omit for want of room. Among these new productions he mentions Wax. His words are—(p. 231.)

‘ Wax is likewise found in the fruits of some plants, *ex. gr.* of the laurel (*Laurus nobilis*), and of the *Myrica cerifera* and others. We have it in the pollen of all flowers; and accordingly bees prepare their wax from it.’

The substance obtained from the *Myrica cerifera* is by no means the same with bees wax; nor do bees form their wax from the pollen of flowers. From a set of comparative experiments instituted by Dr Bostock on myrtle wax, *i. e.* the substance obtained from the *Myrica cerifera*, bees wax, spermaceti, adipocire, and the crystalline matter of biliary calculi, \* it appears that myrtle wax differs from bees wax in specific gravity and in its habitudes, with a variety of reagents. The ingenious and decisive experiments of M. Hubert, have proved, in a very satisfactory manner, that bees form their wax from honey, or any saccharine matter, and that they collect and store up the pollen of flowers, only as food for their larvæ.

It would have been satisfactory to many of his readers, had he mentioned the experiments on which some of his assertions are founded; or, if this would have occupied too much room, he might have mentioned the authors from whom he had drawn his information. He has abridged the chemical part very much where facts might have been adduced; and extended other parts where nothing but vague hypotheses can be advanced.

After giving the chemical principles of plants, and the substan-  
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\* *Vide* Nicholson's Journal for March 1803.



ces formed by their combination, he proceeds with the different vessels of plants, *viz.* air, and lymphatic vessels, the cellular texture, the sap, and their transpiring pores. Where he treats of these, we find, in page 243, a blunder which must have escaped either the author or translator: *cubic* has been used instead of *square*. He says, 'Hedwig counted in the *Lilium bulbiferum*, in one surface of a single leaf, 577 apertures in one cubic line: A cubic foot would therefore, according to this observation, have about 998,145 apertures.' The calculation too, if it has been made according to the table given in page 10, is incorrect. After discussing the temperature and phenomena of the germination of plants, he proceeds to the structure of their different parts. In mentioning the structure of the bud, p. 273, he says, 'Each bud unfolds a branch with leaves, which, at the base of each petiole, again produce buds. In this manner their growth continues. But this evolution of buds from buds, would continue without stopping, were it not so regulated that each bud, as soon as the blossoms and fruits are perfectly formed, decays.' We confess we do not understand what he means by this, unless he means to assert what has no foundation in nature. He advances something to the same purpose, when treating of the structure of vegetables, near the commencement of his physiology; against which we have already entered our protest. We shall now give our reasons. Every branch that proceeds from a bud, produces one or more buds at the axilla of each of its leaves, which may be either flower buds or branch buds, according to the age and vigour, or nature of the tree; for there are some trees which produce their flowers in buds distinct from those which produce branches, and others that do not. The peach, the cherry, the lilac, and many other trees and shrubs, may be given as examples of the former: in these, the flower buds, after fructification has been completed, die, but do not occasion the death of the branch on which they stand; and, so anxious has Nature been for the production of branches, that it very often happens, in trees of this kind, that a branch bud is found in the axilla of the same leaf, with one or two flower buds. Of the latter, many examples may be given; some of which produce their flowers from the sides of their branches, *ex. gr.* the *Vine* and *Passion flower*: in these, the peduncle only dies after the decay of the flower; or ripening of the fruit; but the branch from which they proceed, continues to grow. Others produce their flowers at the extremity of the young branch, *ex. gr.* the *Rose*: in these, the flower, with its peduncle and part of the extremity of the branch, only decay; but the under part of the branch, where completely formed leaves have stood, continues to live, and is capable of producing branches.

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The formation of the leaves, the inhalation and exhalation of plants, the circulation of their sap, the sleep of vegetables, their green colour and inclination towards the light, the duration and decay of the leaves, and the evolution of the flower, successively occupy his attention. On most of these subjects we find much reasoning, and not a little hypothesis; but not so many facts adduced in support of some of his assertions, as we think necessary to produce conviction.

When speaking of the food of plants, (p. 281.) he says,—

‘The chief food of plants consists of carbon and hydrogen; the hollow air vessels carry the oxygen gas, which was formed during the day, out of the plant; and in the night time, when the rays of the sun are wanting to evolve more oxygen gas, they exhale, through the pores of the cutis, carbonic acid gas, which they received from the ground, and which, for want of light, they could not keep fixed.’

This is not enough for one unacquainted with the subject; and one who knows something of it, knows, that there is a difference of opinion concerning the food of plants, and therefore would expect something more than bare assertion. Besides, the subject merits more attention; for, the knowledge of what constitutes the food of plants, may be useful to the practical agriculturist, as well as the student of botany.

He treats very fully of the impregnation and generation of plants, a subject which merits more attention than is generally paid to it. Many are disposed to doubt the sexes of plants altogether; and few of those who are convinced of its existence, have thought of turning their knowledge of it to account. We are persuaded, many good varieties, both of ornamental and useful vegetables, might be obtained, by impregnating one plant with the farina of another nearly allied to it. Thus, a native vegetable might be impregnated with the farina of a species, the inhabitant of a warmer climate, possessed of superior qualities, and a hybrid be produced, possessing some of the properties of its exotic parent, and yet hardy enough to endure a severer climate. Vegetables producing fruit or roots of superior size, but defective in point of flavour, sweetness, or nutritive properties, might be improved by commixture with other varieties or species possessed of these qualities, but deficient in point of size.

Empedocles and Anaxagoras attributed sexes to vegetables, and Theophrastus takes notice of the difference of sex in the Coryza and some other plants, and says that the fruit of the Palm will not germinate unless the flowers of the male be shaken over the spadix of the female. But the notion which the ancients had of the difference of sex in plants, was by no means accurate. Pliny, in particular, sometimes mistakes the male for the female, and calls  
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plants male and female, which are hermaphrodite. Sir Thomas Millington was the first who fixed on the stamina as the male organ, and pistillum as the female. From that time the existence or nonexistence of sexes in vegetables, has been a matter of controversy among botanists. To enumerate all the arguments that have been employed by the advocates on both sides, and the experiments on which they were founded, would both be tedious and unnecessary; since the production of vegetable hybrids, by impregnating one species with the farina of another (an experiment which has frequently been repeated), has not only proved the existence of sex in vegetables beyond controversy, but has shown the particular kind of generation which takes place in them.

M. Willdenow, after taking notice of the principal theories of generation that have been proposed, proceeds to give his opinions of each of them. We shall pass what he says of Equivocal generation, because it has been long exploded.

Of the Animalcular system, he says (p. 325.),

‘The theory of Animalcula in the semen of animals being carried over to the ovarium of the mother, where the new animal is formed, has Leuwenhoeck for its author. Some, therefore, in the vegetable kingdom, assumed preexisting germs or corcles in the pollen, which, in the mother’s ovaries, unfolded themselves into the future plant. A very zealous supporter of this opinion, was Mr Gleichen. Some even went so far as to see, under the microscope, small asses in the semen of an ass, and small lime trees in the pollen of a lime. Strange things may be seen, if persons are disposed to see them. Koelreuter’s observations, of which immediately, at once overthrow this doctrine.

‘The system of preformation, which in former times was much in vogue, is not, even by its most zealous admirers, much insisted on in the vegetable kingdom. Spallanzani, who, in animals, by means of tedious experiments, attempted to prove the preexistence of the animal before the impregnation of the ovum in the ovaries, sincerely confesses, that there is no preexistence of vegetables like that in animals.

‘The *Epigenesis*, or generation by a commixtion of the fluids given out both by the male and female, is what most physiologists now assume as the only true theory of generation, both in the animal and vegetable kingdom. Koelreuter confirmed it by numerous experiments, of which we shall mention only one. He took of the genus *Nicotiana*, the *Nicotiana rustica* and *paniculata*. The first he deprived of all its stamens, and fecundated its pistil with pollen of the last species. *Nicotiana rustica* has egg-shaped leaves, and a short greenish yellow corol; *Nicotiana paniculata*, a stem half as long again as the former, and roundish, cordate leaves, and much longer yellowish green corols. The bastard offspring of both, kept in all its parts the middle betwixt the two species. He tried the same with more plants, and the result accorded perfectly with the first.

‘ Were we therefore to admit the *animalcula feminalia*, the hybrids could not necessarily have differed in form from the male plant; and, on the other hand, were the evolution system founded in nature, they would have the same form as the female plant. The hybrid, however, was a medium between both; it certainly, therefore, adopted some parts both from the father and mother, and was formed by *Epigenesis*.

‘ Koelreuter, however, could only obtain hybrids by intermixing similar plants. Dissimilar plants never produced them; even though, according to our systems, they belonged to one genus. It appears that nature thus avoids unnatural mixtures.

‘ The instance of mules not generating, as it was once believed at least, induced many philosophers to make it an axiom, that hybrids are barren. But we now know a good many instances in zoology, of hybrids being very productive; and even the instance of mules does not prove any thing, as in warm climates they are sometimes prolific. Koelreuter likewise found hybrids of various species of tobacco, and some more plants, to be sterile; the pistil in them being very perfect, but the stamens not completely formed. But there are now several instances of hybrid plants which retain their original form, and propagate themselves. I shall only mention a few, with their parents.

‘ *Sorbus hybrida*; the mother was *Sorbus aucuparia*, and the father *Crataegus aria*.

‘ *Pyrus hybrida*; the mother was *Pyrus arbutifolia*, and the father *Sorbus aucuparia*.

‘ *Rhamnus hybridus*; the mother was *Rhamnus alpinus*, and the father *Rhamnus alaternus*.

‘ What mixtures do not the species of *Pelargonium* produce in our gardens? All plants of the 21st, 22d, and 23d classes of Linnaeus mostly generate prolific hybrids. Linnaeus wrote a particular treatise on hybrids, in which he attempted to explain the origin of some particular plants; but unfortunately he has given nothing but hypotheses, his observations not according with experience. Should it not, from the observations made with regard to the hybrids of the animal and vegetable world, be laid down as a rule, admitting some exceptions, that all hybrids are productive, but that some only want a warm climate to unfold the male semen? I do not attempt to establish this rule as quite certain; I should be happy, on the contrary, would philosophers consider this subject more accurately, and attend more to the hybrids of different climates, on purpose to settle the point.

‘ But Koelreuter made some experiments, which put the doctrine of *Epigenesis* beyond all doubt. I shall only mention one of his observations as an instance. He obtained, as we have seen, a hybrid from the *Nicotiana rustica* and *paniculata*. *Nicotiana rustica* was the female plant, and *paniculata* the male. The hybrid, like all the others which he brought up, had imperfect stamens, and kept the middle between the two species. He afterwards impregnated this hybrid with *Nicotiana paniculata*, and got plants which much more resembled the last. This

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he continued through several generations; till, in this way, by due perseverance, he actually changed the *Nicotiana rustica* into the *Nicotiana paniculata*. By these and other experiments often repeated, and made in various ways, and upon other plants, it seems clearly established, that there is no preformation in plants.

‘According to the theory of Epigenesis, then, the fluids of the male and female are mixed, and an offspring is obtained from these two, which, in form and properties, resembles both father and mother.’

In all vegetable hybrids, some of the features of both parents are certainly to be recognized, but the male influence seems to predominate in such as we have had an opportunity of examining. The hybrids produced by impregnating the *Papaver Somniferum* with the farina of the *Papaver Orientale*, are so very similar to their male parent as scarcely to be distinguished; the only circumstance in which they resemble the female plant, is a slight tendency to produce more flowers than one on a stalk, which the *P. somniferum* commonly does, but which never takes place in the *P. orientale*. This circumstance ought to be attended to by those who wish to make improvements by impregnating one plant with the farina of another.

He gives a very minute account of the diseases of plants, their causes and remedies, which he divides into two classes, *external* and *internal*; to some of the latter he has affixed very fanciful names. Medical men will smile to see, *Chlorosis*, *Icterus*, and *Anasarca*, constitute part of the Vegetable Nosology.

When plants become pale from want of light, from defect of nourishment, in bad soil, or from injury received from insects, he terms it *Chlorosis*. To the natural decay of the leaves in Autumn, he has given the name of *Icterus*, on account of the yellow colour the leaves assume at that period;—this is very puerile. A similar fanciful analogy has induced him to give the name of *Anasarca* to the redundant moisture that is perceived in vegetables during wet weather, or in such as have grown in a moister soil than is natural to them. Many of his observations, however, on the diseases of vegetables, and their remedies, are good.

In his History of Plants, he treats of the influence of climate upon vegetation, of the changes which plants have most probably suffered during the various revolutions this earth has undergone, of their dissemination over the globe, of their migrations, and, lastly, of the manner in which nature has provided for their preservation. Many of his observations are intimately connected with certain geological opinions which he entertains, and which he has stated very fully, when speaking of the changes that have taken place in the vegetable kingdom, in consequence of the various revolutions our globe has undergone:—we shall give part of what he says (p. 382.) on this subject.

‘ In plains which contain a number of sea productions, and in floetz mountains which have the petrifications of the continent, and of the seas of various zones, we meet with plants which bear seeds, and send their roots deep into the ground, as if they had grown there for ages. But experience tells us, that they could not have originally grown at those spots. In the primitive mountains only, we may suspect, that every thing remains unaltered, as their foundations never suffered from the gnawing tooth of time.

‘ We find that mountainous countries are richer in plants than flat countries; and that, in primitive mountains, the number of plants exceeds that of the floetz mountains. A country, consisting of primitive rocks, has plants which other mountainous countries do not possess. In all plains of the same latitude, however far they may extend, the same plants always occur, only with some little varieties, which depend on the difference of the soil. In primitive rocks, and at their foot, we again meet with all the plants of flat countries. Wherever primitive rocks surround a plain country, we find all the plants of this at their root, and even at their summits. But after ascending and descending the opposite side, we find a different vegetation, which again extends as far as the next mountainous chain. The list of plants of the different countries in Europe, and other parts of the globe, will be of great service to us to prove this fact. Now, who will doubt, that all the plants of flat countries, which were formed at a later period, came from the high mountains; and that the primitive mountains of our globe were the chief sources, as it were, of the floras of different countries? Hence America is so full of plants; because, from the north pole to the south, high mountainous chains, with numberless intermediate branches, intersect it. Hence, Canada produces different plants from Pennsylvania; this again from Virginia; this again different plants from Carolina; and Carolina from Florida, &c. Hence, the north-west coast of North America produces plants which totally differ from those of the north-east coast; the south-west coast different plants from those of the south-east. Islands which are quite flat, have all the plants of the neighbouring continent; but if they are surrounded by high mountains, many quite peculiar plants are to be found in them. It would appear from these facts, that the vegetable kingdom did not suffer materially from all those very violent catastrophes. Perhaps those changes took place only gradually; and several thousands of years, if not more, elapsed before all things came to that state in which we find them.’

A number of pages are occupied with speculations of this sort, to all of which we certainly cannot subscribe; yet they evince much ingenuity, and prove, that M. Willdenow has taken a comprehensive view of nature. After enumerating a variety of causes, which have contributed to the dissemination of vegetables, and, among the rest, the share which men have had in transporting them from one region to another, he proceeds (p. 402.) to illustrate the opinions he has advanced, by the difference which he thinks

thinks observable in the plants which are to be met with in different tracts of Europe.

From what has been said, it follows, that, after such various and manifold changes, it would be very difficult to fix accurately the point from whence each plant originally came. We shall, however, endeavour to make some general remarks, with regard to the plants of our part of the globe, and their most probable dissemination, as we are better acquainted with this part, especially the northern countries, than with others. Greece only we must exclude at present, as we know nothing at all of its botany. Its flora, however, seems to come from the mountains of Sardinia, from the coasts of Asia and Africa, and from the islands in the Archipelago.

We suppose, then, that plants are disseminated from the highest mountains towards the flat countries; and, according to this supposition, establish five principal floras in Europe, viz. the Northern flora, the Helvetic, the Austrian, the Pyrenean, and the Appeninian floras. The *Northern flora* originates in the mountains of Norway, Sweden and Lapland. All these nourish the same plants, which grow in the highest north. Scotland, with its mountains, appears to have cohered once with those of Norway, as both have nearly the same plants. The *Helvetic flora* originates in the mountains of Switzerland, Bavaria and Tyrol. The mountains of Dauphiny, as well as those in Bohemia and Siberia, are only lateral branches of the same chain. All have a great number of plants in common. The *Austrian flora* originates in the Alps of Aultria, Krain, Karinthia and Steyemark. The Karpathians are a side branch of those. The *Pyrenean flora* originates in the Pyrenees; the mountains of Catalonia, Castilia and Valentia, are its branches. The *Appeninian flora* originates in the Appenines, which send out many side branches.

If we take the lists of the plants of these five floras, we will find the most marked difference.

It follows, at the same time, that various commixtures of these floras, after the continent was formed and variously cohering, must have taken place. Hence is southern France, where the Helvetic and Pyrenean floras combine, so rich in plants. Hence, in Piedmont, the floras of the Pyrenees, of Helvetia and the Appenines, mix among each other, whither likewise the sea has carried many plants of Northern Africa. Hence, Great Britain has partly the Northern, partly the Helvetic flora; and, in the southern extremity of that kingdom, in Cornwall, some plants of the Pyrenean flora, on account of the neighbourhood of Spain, appear among the rest. Sweden, Denmark and Russia, have not retained the Northern flora unmixed; they have got many plants of the Helvetic flora. The same is the case with Germany, especially in our Brandenburg, which has, besides the Helvetic flora, got part of the Northern.

When facts occur, which militate against his opinions, like other proposers of theories, he is willing to doubt (p. 398.) the accuracy of the observations on which they are founded.

‘ Swartz discovered no European alpine plants in the mountains of Jamaica, but a good number of our mosses; for instance, *Funaria hygrometrica*; *Bryum serpillifolium*, *cæspititium*; *Sphagnum palustre*; *Dicranum glaucum*, and many more. We know, that the seeds of mosses are so minute, that a single seed escapes our view, and can only be observed with a considerably magnifying microscope. Should they not, as it is certain that they are suspended in the atmosphere, have been driven there by storms, and, as the climate was suitable, have germinated? At least this seems to be the only way of explaining this singular phenomenon. But when Messrs Forsters met, in the *Tierra del Fuego*, with *Pinguicula alpina*, *Gallium aparine*, *Statice armeria*, and *Ranunculus lapponicus*; it would certainly be very difficult to say, how those plants came to such a remote quarter of the globe. Perhaps the great likenesses between the European and Southern plants misled these great philosophers, though there might be distinguishing marks, which, however, the two gentlemen, firmly believing them to be our European species, did not attend to.’

His history of the science should rather be called a Biography of Botanists; for he seems more anxious to tell us, where and when they were born, what accidents befel them in life, and when they died, than to inform us what they have done to promote botanical knowledge. He certainly mentions all the principal discoveries in botany, very regularly arranged, but encumbered with much extraneous matter. We extract the following account of Clusius, (p. 421.) with whom he concludes his second epoch; an unfortunate mortal, who seems to have encountered as many hardships as ever befel the Knight of La Mancha.

‘ Charles Clusius, or Charles de l’Ecluse, was born at Artois, or Atrecht, in the Netherlands, 1526. His parents wished him to become a lawyer, and he went with this design to Leowen. But he soon changed his mind, and, from his great love to botany, soon undertook the most tedious and troublesome journies, through Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany and Hungary. In his 24th year, he already became dropsical; of which, however, he was cured, by the use of cichories, recommended to him by the famous physician Rondeletius. In his 30th year, in Spain, he broke his right arm close above the elbow, falling with his horse; and, soon after, he had the same accident with his right thigh. In his 55th year, in Vienna, he sprained his left foot; and, eight years afterwards, dislocated his hip. This last dislocation was overlooked by his physician; and he had the misfortune to walk for the remainder of his life on crutches. The great pain and difficulty he had thus to suffer when walking, prevented him from taking the necessary exercise; in consequence of which, he was affected with a hernia, obstructions in his abdomen, and calculous complaints. Thus miserable and unhealthy, tired of the court of the Emperor, where he had resided for fourteen years past, and finding, besides, the superintendance over the gardens there too great a burden, he accept-

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ed, in the year 1593, an invitation as professor at Leyden, where he died April 6. 1609. Clusius was the greatest genius of his age, and prosecuted the study of botany with an enthusiastic zeal, and a perseverance, which was not equalled by any preceding philosophers, nor by any of his followers. His works show us the great botanist; and they will always remain valuable and indispensably necessary. The cuts annexed to them are neat, the figures distinct, and his descriptions masterly. It was a pity that a man of so great merit should have suffered so much, and even become the first martyr for botany.

From this specimen, our readers may judge, whether we have done wrong or otherwise, in saying that the history was misnamed; they may likewise judge, what proportion the botanical information contained in this extract, bears to the irrelevant matter with which it is connected.

Upon the whole, however, it is our duty to say, that the same diligence and judgment is displayed in this volume, that we already have had occasion to ascribe to M. Willdenow, when pronouncing our opinion of his edition of the Species Plantarum of Linnæus; and we venture, without hesitation, to recommend the Principles of Botany and Vegetable Physiology, to those who wish to become acquainted with the science, as the most complete introductory treatise on the subject hitherto published.

The translator seems to have understood the subject; for the language he employs is in general correct. In the Terminology, however, an attempt to translate one word of Latin into one word of English, has led him to make use of some rather awkward expressions; e. g. *præmorsum* is translated *bitten*; the word, however, we conceive, signifies somewhat more than bitten, i. e. something bitten before or towards the point; thus, *præmorsum folium*, or *præmorsâ radix*, (for both are given, and the same definition is repeated to each), signifies a leaf or root, that terminates so abruptly, as to seem to have its point or extremity bitten off. Were the bare word *bitten* to be employed to express *præmorsum*, and any one to talk of a bitten leaf, or bitten root, he would be but ill understood by the bulk of his hearers. Both *fistularis* and *concauus* are translated *hollow*: the same expressions should not have been employed to express two terms so very distinct, particularly as *concaue* is so well naturalized as to become a denizen in the English language.

*Flos multiplicatus*, is improperly translated a double flower, and *flos plenus*, a full flower. When a flower makes an approach to become double, that is, when its petals are double, treble, &c. the usual number, provided they do not entirely occupy the place of the stamina and pistillum, it is called a semidouble flower (*flos multiplicatus*); when the petals are so numerous as to leave no room for stamina and pistillum, a double flower is formed (*flos plenus*.)

*plenus*.) These two expressions of semidouble, and double flower, are not only understood by botanists and florists, but are so well established, as to be very generally understood; but a full flower by no means expresses what is meant by *flos plenus*.

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ART. VI. *Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples; and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople: comprising a Description of the Principal Places in that Route, and Remarks on the present Natural and Political State of those Countries.* By Robert Semple, author of "Walks and Sketches at the Cape," &c. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 484. London. Baldwin. 1807.

WE have repeatedly had occasion to remark, that the world is laid under great obligations to those who, in the pursuit of some professional object, visit foreign countries, and afterwards deliver to the public, in a plain unambitious manner, the result of the inquiries which they may have incidentally been led to make during their excursions. From this class of writers, we cannot certainly expect such full and valuable information as we are entitled to require of professed travellers. But they are exceedingly useful, and merit every encouragement, because, the stuff of which they are made exists at all times in great abundance, and is to be found during a period peculiarly unfavourable to the production of the other class.—In order to contribute our humble share to this object, we have made it a rule, not indeed to praise their publications indiscriminately, but to bestow an unusual degree of attention upon them, as soon as they appeared; and, in pursuance of this plan, we hasten to make our readers acquainted with the work now before us, which belongs to the same description.

Mr Semple, though an English merchant, was born in America, and this circumstance enabled him to travel, in 1805 and 1806, over countries from which British subjects, in general, were excluded. His tour comprehended some of the most interesting parts of Europe, many of which were, at that time, the seat of war, and although his professional avocations both shortened his stay in places which it would have been peculiarly important to examine, and prevented him from employing, in the manner most profitable to his readers, the time which he did devote to matters of mere curiosity, yet he has, in general, observed well what he saw, and he delivers his remarks, for the most part, like a sensible man. His book is accordingly both instructive and entertaining, and leaves us only the more cause to regret that

that his other pursuits should have circumscribed it within such narrow limits,—obliging him to pass over, almost in silence, several of the chief objects of attention. Nor let any one detract from this praise, by suggesting that it would be difficult to describe a journey through such countries as Spain and Italy, without affording amusement and information. This difficulty has been often surmounted, like other obstacles in the way of the adventurous traveller. Mr Lemaître and Mr William Hunter made no more of it than they would of a steep hill or a rough ferry; and even Mr Kotzebue contrived to get almost entirely the better of it, although in his case the effort must have been far more painful.

Mr Semple's passage to Lisbon, and his residence there, afforded few occurrences worthy of attention. About the middle of July 1805; he set off for Madrid, by the way of Badajos, travelling post; that is to say, riding almost day and night on post-horses, which are changed at each stage. As the manner of travelling, and the accommodation at the inns, were almost the only subjects which a journey of this sort could introduce to our author, we have a very accurate and lively account of them. The following description of a Portuguese *venta*, or inn, may satisfy our readers probably better than if they had tried the reality. It appears, however, to be a favourable specimen of the accommodation in that country, and, as we shall presently see, far superior to any thing which the neighbouring kingdom has to boast of.

‘ It was ten o'clock before we could leave Arrayolos, and the fun began already to be very hot. We descended the hill, and, after riding a few miles, the country assumed a different aspect from what we had yet seen; the mountains rising in a rounder form, and beginning to be covered with trees to their summits. It was past mid-day before we reached La Venta del Duque, a distance of three leagues. We found it to be a single house, without a village or hamlet near it, and upwards of a mile from the post-house, which also stood alone on the top of a hill. As the heat, however, was now excessive, without the smallest breeze, we determined to remain a few hours, and accordingly entered the house, which I will describe. A single room or hall occupied all the lower part, unfloored, and serving as a retreat both to the family and their poultry, which were perched all round. At one end a seat was built along the wall, and, corresponding to it, a low table like that which hermits are represented as using, but formed of bricks and mortar instead of turf. On the opposite side of this immovable table, great pieces of cork supplied the place of stools, which, when we tried to lift them, surprized us by their lightness. On a large open fire-place stood two or three small narrow-necked earthen jars, which formed the whole kitchen apparatus, and this completes the furniture of the

lower

lower room. The space above stairs was divided into several apartments, furnished with mats, and one or two mattresses for strangers to sleep on; and one room locked up contained the wealth of the family. Having signified our wish to eat, two fowls were instantly killed, stripped, cut into pieces, and put into one of the narrow-necked jars with a little water and other ingredients. The jar was then placed on the hearth, and hot embers swept round the bottom of it; and this was the whole process of cooking. Meantime we lay down to sleep, and, when called to our meal, found all the riches of the house displayed. Our table was spread with a clean napkin, two earthen plates, one silver and some wooden spoons, and a pitcher of tolerable wine. Hunger made us, perhaps, esteem the Portuguese cookery more highly than we might otherwise have done; for we finished the contents of our jar, and agreed in calling them excellent. The heat of the day being past, we prepared to mount our horses, and, greatly exhilarated by a comfortable meal, and a draught of wine, where we had expected to find little or nothing, pursued our journey towards Estremoz.' Vol. I. p. 27—30.

Upon arriving at Madrid, our traveller orders his postillion to stop at the hotel called *La Cruz de Malta*; and remarks, somewhat affectedly, 'Each of my travelling companions has houses and friends to repair to; but I am a stranger, and alone, and I go to *La Cruz de Malta*;' which is certainly a pathetic consideration, and yet we own it does not very deeply move us. At Madrid he remained several weeks, and made excursions into the neighbourhood, for the purpose of visiting Toledo, St Ildefonso, the Escorial, &c. His descriptions both of the capital, and of those interesting spots, are extremely good; but we shall content ourselves with extracting his account of the *Prado*, which cannot fail to strike the reader as given in a sufficiently picturesque manner.

The *prado* is admirable in all its parts, being a broad walk, adorned with handsome fountains, and divided into avenues by rows of trees; it bounds the whole of one side of the town, being terminated at each end by one of the gates of the city. The streets leading down to it are the broadest and finest in Madrid, and on the opposite side are the gardens, pleasure-grounds, and palace of the Retiro, worthy of the residence of a prince, although at present only used by the King as a shooting ground during his stay at Madrid. The fountains of the *prado* are in general formed after antique models, and the water of one of them is the purest in the whole city, and the only kind of which the present king drinks, water being his sole beverage. One very broad walk adorned with these fountains, is thronged every fine evening with the best company; and on Sundays, the king, queen and royal family, ride up and down the carriage road, and salute the people constantly as they pass. It is on the *prado* that the stranger may study with advantage the dress, the air, and the gait of the Spaniards; for then all pass in review before him, from the prince to the beggar. The nobleman alights  
from

from his carriage, and saunters among the throng, seemingly careless about his fine dress, and the ornaments at his button-hole, although nobody glances at them so often as himself; the citizen dresses in the mode general throughout Europe thirty years ago; whilst the lower classes that venture on the Prado, still wear their clothes thrown over the shoulder, and thus preserve the last reliques of the ancient toga. All the men wear large cocked hats, and all smoke cigars; for this latter purpose boys run up and down the Prado with a kind of slow torch, which burns without flaming, and serves to light the cigars. In opposition to them, water carriers, with their porous, earthen vases and goblets, vend the cool water of the neighbouring fountains; and the various cries of fire, fire, and fresh water, water, are heard above the buzz of the mingled crowd. But the women principally attract the eyes of the stranger. Their simple and elegant dress, their veils, which serve any purpose but that of concealing their faces, the freedom of their walk, and their looks attractive, but not immodest, tend to make an Englishman forget for a moment that they are greatly inferior in point of real beauty to the women of his own country.

‘There is one custom which pleased me much, and which no where produces so striking an effect as on the Prado. Exactly at sunset, the bells of the churches and convents give the signal for repeating the evening prayer to the Virgin. In an instant the busy multitude is hushed and arrested, as if by magic. The carriages stop, the women veil their faces with their fans, the men take off their hats, and all breathe out, or are supposed to breathe, a short prayer to the protecting Power which has brought them to the close of another day. After a short, a solemn, and not an unpleasing pause, the men bow and put on their hats, the women uncover their faces, the carriages drive on, and the whole crowd is again in motion as before. This is one of the few Catholic customs which appears to partake of piety without superstition, and divested of altars, candlesticks, tapers and images.’ I. p. 59—62.

Mr Semple left Madrid on the 22d of October, on his way to Cadiz and Gibraltar. Having heard before his departure, that positive orders had arrived for the combined fleets to sail and attack the English squadron, he was exceedingly anxious to see the battle, or, at any rate, to learn the event of it; and he performed the journey as before, on post-horses. The following short extract gives a fair description of a Spanish inn.

‘We reached Ocana, a village on the top of a steep hill, two leagues from Aranjuez. It being now quite dark, and the storm continuing, I determined to remain here till day-break. As I had formed no expectations, I was not chagrined to find so few comforts in a Spanish inn. Although drenched to the skin, so that even my boots were filled with water, here was no cheerful fire, no clean room, no ready attendant. On each side of a large fire-place, sat an old woman and her daughter cowering over two or three smoky bundles of wet brushwood; a chair, a table, and a small glimmering lamp formed the furniture; and here was all

all to which I had to look for comfort for the night. The old woman, however, received me very kindly, and shewed me to a room, which, though also floored with earth like the kitchen, was better furnished, and provided with a bed. While I here changed my dress, she prepared my supper, which consisted of eggs fried in lamp oil, and, together with coarse bread and garlick, formed a mess which a long fast and a ride of forty miles made me relish. When I was just ready to choke with thirst, my kind hostess again appeared, and set before me a small pitcher of wine, to wash down this precious composition. This formed my sole companion till I chose to go to rest, when, behold an alarming circumstance, and which might make a figure in romance. On removing a mat which lay at the bed-side, I found that it served to cover a hole; the entrance, as I saw by the help of my lamp, to a long dark vault. This, thought I immediately, is to answer two purposes; first, for the murderers to come unawares upon the poor sleeper, and then to cast his body into. After some pause, I covered the hole as before, and then piled up all the chairs in the room upon it, in such a manner, that with the least motion they must have fallen; then, having bolted the door, I placed my pistols ready cocked under my pillow; and thus secured, in spite of daggers and pale-faced assassins, soon fell fast asleep. Nothing disturbed me till the break of day, when my postillion called me at the hour I had appointed. I then took an opportunity of examining this dreadful cavern; and discovered, oh gentle reader! that it was indeed no other than a large wine vault dug underneath the house, and the roof of which, being only supported by beams of wood, had in some places decayed and fallen in; so groundless are often our apprehensions.' I. 117—119.

Indeed our author, like most travellers in the Peninsula, and in Italy, is a little more apt to perceive robbers and murderers than is altogether necessary. He admits, that he only saw banditti once in Spain; and it does not appear to us at all certain that they were so. Ascending a small hill, he perceived two men with long muskets, running up as if to gain the height before him. His guide (as is by no means uncommon) said they were robbers. Upon which our author sent the guide on before, and followed 'with his right hand on his pistol in the holster, and looking upon them sternly,' as they stood leaning upon their long muskets very composedly, while he passed. He conceives, that by this disposition of his force, he prevented them from shooting him and his guide; but, in our humble apprehension, these must have been shooters of birds and not of men, otherwise neither Mr Semple's manœuvre, nor his stern look, could have prevented them from killing him as soon as his back was turned, and then disposing of his guide and baggage at their leisure. He is also stricken with melancholy feelings when he sees crosses on the road side, conceiving them always to signify that a murder has been committed on the spot. Whereas, if he had inquired of his

his guide, he would have learnt, that by far the greatest part of them were erected on account of some accidental deaths having happened there, the same ceremony being performed wherever a person has died without the last rites of the church.

During the latter part of his journey through Spain, our author met different couriers proceeding to Madrid from Cadiz; and various rumours were spread about of a great naval engagement. But he was kept in suspense by the different accounts which these gave of the result. Upon his arrival at the coast, all those doubts were cleared away; and he learnt the real extent of the victory, notwithstanding a good deal of gasconade, chiefly among the inferior classes of the people. He describes, in a very interesting and striking manner, some of the effects which he witnessed of that astonishing battle,—the greatest triumph of our arms, under the greatest of all our commanders,—and purchased too dearly by his loss. We shall make no apology for transcribing part of this melancholy description. It is certainly rendered less painful by the reflection, that it paints the necessary effects of lawful hostility; and offers to our contemplation none of the atrocities which have, on other occasions, been forced upon the valour of our troops, in the pursuit of a barbarous and unprincipled policy.

‘ The ensuing morning, being the 29th, I found several boats preparing to pass over to Cadiz, and accordingly placed myself in one of them with my saddle and portmanteau. I had not been long there before a number of sailors, some with small bundles, others with nothing on them but a pair of trowsers and a shirt, and others with their arms or heads bound up, came leaping one after another into the boat until it was quite full, and we put off. They were French sailors, whose vessel after escaping had been shipwrecked on the coast, and of eleven hundred men who composed the crew on the morning of the battle, only ninety-four, by their own account, had ever again reached the land. Soon after leaving the little creek on which el Puerto de Santa Maria is situated, we open the whole bay, and some of the terrible effects of the late battle became visible. On the north-west side, between el Puerto and Rota, lay a large Spanish ship, the *Sau Raphael*, seventy-four, broadside upon the rocks, bilged, and the waves breaking over her. At the bottom of the bay was a large French ship, the name of which I have forgotten, aground, but upright. In the centre towards Cadiz lay a group of battered vessels, five or six in number, bored with cannon shot; some with two lower masts standing, others with only one and a piece of a bowsprit, and one without a single stump remaining from stem to stern. “ That,” said the French sailors, “ was the ship of the brave Magon, and on board of which he was killed.”

‘ As the wind was contrary to our crossing over, the boat was obliged to make several tacks. In one of these we approached so near the shore, that we plainly discerned two dead bodies which the sea had thrown up. Presently one of a number of men on horseback, who for

this

this sole purpose patrolled the beach, came up, and having observed the bodies, made a signal to others on foot among the bushes. Several of them came down and immediately began to dig a hole in the sand, into which they dragged the dead. l. 147—149.

‘ All this possessed something of the terrible. But in Cadiz, the consequences, though equally apparent, were of a very different nature. Ten days after the battle, they were still employed in bringing ashore the wounded ; and spectacles were hourly displayed at the wharfs and through the streets sufficient to shock every heart not yet hardened to scenes of blood and human sufferings. When by the carelessness of the boatmen, and the surging of the sea, the boats struck against the stone piers, a horrid cry which pierced the soul arose from the mangled wretches on board. Many of the Spanish gentry assisted in bringing them ashore, with symptoms of much compassion : yet as they were finely dressed, it had something of the appearance of ostentation, if there could be ostentation at such a moment. It need not be doubted that an Englishman lent a willing hand to bear them up the steps to their litters ; yet the slightest false step made them shriek out, and I even yet shudder at the remembrance of the sound. On the tops of the pier the scene was affecting. The wounded were carrying away to the hospitals in every shape of human misery, whilst crowds of Spaniards either assisted, or looked on with signs of horror. Meanwhile their companions who had escaped unhurt, walked up and down with folded arms and downcast eyes, whilst women sat upon heaps of arms, broken furniture and baggage, with their heads bent between their knees. I had no inclination to follow the litters of the wounded ; yet I learned that every hospital in Cadiz was already full, and that convents and churches were forced to be appropriated to the reception of the remainder. If, leaving the harbour, I passed through the town to the point, I still beheld the terrible effects of the battle. As far as the eye could reach, the sandy side of the Isthmus, bordering on the Atlantic, was covered with masts and yards, the wrecks of ships, and here and there the bodies of the dead. Among others I noticed a topmast marked with the name of the *Swiftsure*, and the broad arrow of England, which only increased my anxiety to know how far the English had suffered ; the Spaniards still continuing to affirm that they have lost their chief admiral and half their fleet. While surrounded by these wrecks, I mounted on the cross-trees of a mast which had been thrown ashore, and, casting my eyes over the ocean, beheld, at a great distance, several masts and portions of wreck still floating about. As the sea was now almost calm, with a slight swell, the effect produced by these objects had in it something of a sublime melancholy, and touched the soul with a remembrance of the sad vicissitudes of human affairs. The portions of floating wreck were visible from the ramparts ; yet not a boat dared to venture out to examine or endeavour to tow them in, such was the apprehensions which still filled their minds, of the enemy.

‘ Finally, it was interesting, although in a different point of view from any that I have hitherto touched on, to observe the different effect



fect produced on the Spaniards and French by a common calamity. The Spaniard, more than usually grave and sedate, plunged into a profound melancholy, seemed to struggle with himself whether he should seek within his soul fresh resources against unwilling enemies, or turn his rage against his perfidious allies. The French, on the contrary, were now beginning to mingle threats and indecent oaths with those occasional fits of melancholy, which repeated and repeated proofs of defeat still continued to press upon them, as it were, in spite of their endeavours to the contrary. Not one of them but would tell you, that if every ship had fought like his, the English would have been utterly defeated.' I. 154—158.

From Algeciras Mr Semple went to Leghorn by sea, and from thence to Rome and Naples, with a *vettorino*. The slowness of this mode of travelling gives him ample opportunity of describing the interesting country through which he passed; and he does this, in general, with great success, and in a style abundantly lively, without being florid or romantic. We would only hint to him, that his emotions upon seeing the mass of basaltes near Bolsena, are rather more violent than the occasion required. 'It was impossible,' he says, 'to contemplate it without interest; and, reflecting on the violent disputes which had arisen among learned men, concerning the origin of similar phenomena, I ran to the side of the hill. I scrambled over the broken fragments which were scattered about, and being alone, embraced those which stood upright, as if I could thereby arrive at the secret of their formation.' As he 'received several severe falls,' we shall not chide him any further for being, though obviously unacquainted with the science, a good deal more ravished by this sight than would have been quite decorous in a zealous Huttonian. We must also suggest the propriety of giving common names, as *customhouse*, and *inn*, rather in English than in good Italian; but, at any rate, not in bad Italian, (Vol. II. p. 48.); and would just whisper, that an author who frequently quotes Latin, ought not to have translated *Virgo Dei-para*, the *Virgin equal with God*, (Ibid. p. 54.)

In the road to Naples, French troops were constantly seen; and at Mola di Gaeta the siege was going on. The country, too, was much infested with brigands, who attacked the French, and killed both the stragglers from the army and the Frenchmen travelling there, as often as they could catch them in small parties, or off their guard. In the vicinity of Naples, assassinations were so frequent, that the French officers did not venture out to any distance from their quarters; and insurrections were so constantly apprehended, that King Joseph's palace, to which also the public offices had been removed, was surrounded with loaded  
artillery,

artillery, lighted matches, and troops in battle array. Our author is too sensible a man to flatter the hopes and prejudices of his readers, by drawing from these anecdotes any inference unfavourable to the stability of the new government. He must have reflected, that if such precautions show the existence of danger, they also give us reason to conclude, that they who were exposed to it were well prepared for it, and likely to succeed in removing it.

Mr Semple pursued his voyage from Naples to Messina, and from thence coasted along Sicily, making little excursions into the country. He then went over to Malta, and proceeded to Smyrna, after visiting several of the most remarkable places in the Archipelago. His account of Milo is in every respect the most interesting, and greatly strengthens the reasons which have long since pointed out that island, as the station best adapted for securing a superiority in those seas, and preventing the enemy from making an impression on Egypt. Its length is from ten to twelve miles; its breadth six or seven. The harbour is indented so deep into the land, as to cut it into two divisions, joined by an isthmus a mile broad. This harbour is four miles in diameter, nearly circular, with a sandy bottom, twenty or twenty-five fathom not far from shore, capable of sheltering an innumerable navy, having on each side very high and steep ground, and such an entrance, as to be at once most easily defended from an enemy, and accessible at all times to ships bound either up or down the Mediterranean.

Our author's residence at Smyrna gives him an opportunity of describing the amusements of the Turks.

‘ A large oak spreads its branches over the principal spring, and now and then a Turk may be seen smoking in ignorant happiness under its shade. It is indeed, even at present, and might be rendered still more, a spot particularly calculated for the luxuries of a warm climate, affording gushing springs, the shade of trees, and a pure running stream. But who will speculate under a government where there is no security, either for life or property? The Turks are very partial to such spots; but their indolence stops them about a mile and a half nearer to the town, on the same road, where a kind of coffee-garden attracts great numbers every evening. It is nothing more than a short walk, formed by two rows of trees, upon the borders of the Meles, once sacred to Homer, but now a small brook, which is here dammed across, so as to collect the water to the width of six or eight yards. On the opposite side of the brook is a large burying ground, full of tomb-stones and tall cypresses; and an old bridge of a single arch, over which runs the public road, completes the scenery of this Smyranean paradise. Under the shade of these trees, and on the border of this puddle, Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Franks, unroll their mats, fold their legs under them,

them, like the camel, and give themselves up to the reveries of coffee and tobacco. To enliven the scene, tellers of stories resort hither, and with ludicrous gestures and grimaces cheat the grave Turks into a smile, raising their ponderous mustachios as it were in spite of them. To imitate the staggering and stuttering of a drunken man is a never failing source of merriment, which is sometimes changed for the shriller voice and the gait of a woman, or the crying of a child. Having finished the tale, they beat a little tambourine, and go round the audience, like the slave of Ali Baba, collecting in it the paras (a small coin), which if their story has been well told are liberally bestowed. The representation of human life and manners will always be interesting to man; and the stage is founded on principles and feelings common to all nations. Where laws or superstitions interfere to prevent a close representation, men will still make as near approaches as possible. The relators of stories are the actors of the Turks, and coffee-houses are their theatres. Caravan Bridge is the theatre of Smyrna; and Aristotle himself, were he to rise from the dead, could not criticise the unity of the scene which, whether it be tragedy or comedy, a battle or a marriage, the fighting of a despairing lover, or the roarings of a drunken Frank, is ever and still the same, a pond, a one arched bridge, and a burying ground. II. 203—206.

Immediately after this, however, which is not badly executed, follows one of the sentimental flights in which Mr Semple now and then indulges. He falls into a melancholy musing; about the degraded state of man in those fine countries, and bemoans his own lot, in being quite unable to relieve the species. So far it is well and natural enough; but he proceeds to drown his sorrows in wine, and actually gets drunk before his readers, after the following manner. 'I will be a Greek,' he cries, 'and as I see no Turk near me, I will bury all my woes in momentary oblivion.' 'Adieu! (continues he,) dreams for the happiness of my brother men, why should they make me unhappy? Give me wine, that I may forget my wretchedness.' As the wine mounts up, its effects begin to be apparent, and he calls aloud for more. 'Give me wine, whether it be of Scio or Mytelene, that I may plunge into delirious joy,' &c. &c. If we had not given our readers specimens of Mr Semple's sober productions, they would be inclined, from this exposure, to question the justice of the commendations which we bestow upon his book. It is, however, fair to add, that, whether from sleep, or from drinking deeper, he very soon becomes 'sobered again,' and delivers, at some length, an excellent character of the Turks and Greeks. As this is really a sketch of considerable merit, we shall conclude our extracts by giving a part of it.

'If two stout Greeks be fighting in the street, a Turk comes between them, pushes each a different way; and adds kicks and blows, should they still linger near each other. They look upon the life of an

Infidel as of little more value than that of a brute; and indeed do not seem to estimate their own at a very high rate. They have some traits of the true military character; are fond of horses and arms; and detest the sea. They delight in the pomp, and noise, and glitter, of war; and they can blind themselves for a short time in the hour of battle to its dangers; but its incessant fatigues soon dishearten them; and although they insult the Christians at Constantinople and Smyrna, they have learnt to tremble before them on the banks of the Danube, and the borders of the Euxine. This, then, betrays the whole secret of their haughtiness. It is founded on the conquests of their remote ancestors, not on their own tried strength.

‘ In a word, deluded by the semblance of war, and really enervated by long habits of peace, and by a religion, the rewards of which are entirely sensual, the Turk is willing to have a foretaste in this world of the cooling shades, the pure running streams, the soft slumbers, and the Houris of Paradise. Tents adorned with fringes, horses gaily caparisoned, and splendid arms, serve only to wake him gently from these luxurious dreams, that he may fall to slumber again with a better relish, and dream that he is a soldier. So much of war as consists in that, he does not dislike. But long and tedious marches, painful wounds, above all, the profound study and science of war, are wholly unsuited to his temper, at once impetuous and indolent. Where it is possible by a single violent exertion to obtain his end, the Turk may succeed; but disappointed in that first effort, he retires like the tyger who has missed his spring, and requires a long interval of repose to recruit his scattered ferocity.

‘ The radical and incurable defects of the Turkish character proceed in my opinion from their religion. All attempts of a legislature to define exactly, not merely what is vice and what is virtue, but also the daily and hourly duties of the man and the citizen, may form a peculiar and separate people, a nation of Jews or of Turks; but, once formed, that nation remains for ever incapable of improvement. Such is the defect of the Koran. Its simple precepts, its strict prohibitions, were well calculated to bind together the wandering tribes of the Desert, but become too minute in some instances, and too desultory in others, when considered as the sole code of laws for an immense empire. Swathing clothes may strengthen the child, but, if not timely removed, effectually prevent its becoming a man. Mohammed fixed at once the moral limits of his people. He sketched no faint outline; but, on the contrary, marked it with so strong a hand, that the line of distinction is for ever drawn, not merely between the Turk and the Christian, but between the Turk and the philosopher. It is impossible to be a true Mussulman and a lover and cultivator of those arts and sciences which adorn and exalt mankind. The Koran must be laid aside before the sources of real knowledge can be opened. The Englishman, the Gaul, the German, and the Russian, may each preserve the characteristic manners and customs of his country, and be a Christian; but the Jew or the Turk must be absolutely the same in all climates.’ II. p. 214—217.

The

The description of the Greeks is executed in a more ambitious style, but is also very well done.

‘ It is impossible to survey their present condition without pity, or their character without some contempt. Like their ancestors, they are still fond of throwing the disc or quoit ; like them, the olive still forms a material article of their food. But the pleasing delusion can be carried no further. On longer and closer intimacy, he finds the modern Greek smooth but deceitful ; boasting but cowardly ; vain yet abject, and cringing under the most insulting tyranny ; light and capricious without invention ; talkative without information ; and equally bigoted with the Spaniard or Italian, but without the same real warmth of devotion to excuse it.

‘ There is no doubt but that the glories of his ancestors serve, by the contrast, to render his vices more prominent. Had we not been early taught to admire Grecian courage, wisdom, and talents, we might look upon the meanness of the present race with less emotion. But who can think, without regret, that the descendants of the conquerors of Marathon are cowards and slaves ; that for so many centuries not a single poet has arisen in the country of Homer ; and that the place of Plato and the Philosophers is supplied by ignorant priests ; and of their scholars, by a still more ignorant people ? The Greeks of this day present, in their moral character, the same spectacle as that of a man to whom Heaven has granted the doubtful blessing of very long life. But however debased in a moral point of view, the Greeks still retain much of what we may suppose to have been their former physical character. Few amongst them are deformed or ugly ; but, on the contrary, those from the Morea and the western islands of the Archipelago are in general remarkably stout, with broad shoulders and thick necks ; whilst those of the other islands, and from Constantinople, Smyrna, and the coasts of Asia, supply by the elegance what is deficient in the strength of their make. Their physiognomies are expressive, but still less so than those of the Turks ; and the women, when young, are generally beautiful and sprightly, but their beauty is of short duration. They are fond of wearing flowers on their head ; and a robe fitting close to the body, and flowing loose behind, forms the Asiatic part of their dress, the remainder being very similar to that used by women in England or France. The men dress in short jackets and vests, with loose trowsers, which come just below the knee ; and the common people, like the Turks, have the legs bare, with only a pair of slippers on the feet. They seldom shave the upper lip ; which, with their bushy hair, and a little red cap on the crown of their heads, serves often to give them a wild look, but never a dignified or martial air.

‘ Even Turkish oppression, however, cannot entirely destroy the natural cheerfulness of their dispositions, inspired by the fine climate under which they live. They are fond of songs and dancing ; and there are few, even of their smallest vessels, which have not on board at least one musician, furnished with a small violin or rebeck, and sometimes the

Spanish guitar. Upon these, when becalmed amongst the islands, or sailing with light breezes along the coast of Greece, they play wild; and often not unpleasing airs; and when a favourite tune is touched; the mariners join their voices in concert. The first part of the English tune of "God save the King," is very popular with the Greeks at Smyrna; but the second is either beyond their abilities, or not suited to their taste. It is said, indeed, that they seldom retain the second part of any European tune.' II. 218—222.

From Smyrna our author went to Constantinople, where he made but a short stay, and then returned to England by sea.

We cannot close this article, without once more recommending Mr Semple's work to the attention of our readers, and returning our thanks to that gentleman himself for the pleasure we have received in accompanying him on his tour. It will give us great satisfaction to meet him again and join his party, as soon as his avocations may lead him to set out upon another excursion into foreign parts.

ART. VII. *A short Inquiry into the Policy, Humanity, and past Effects of the Poor Laws.* By one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Three Inland Counties. 8vo. London. 1807.

WITHOUT meaning to derogate from the importance of those political laws by which civil liberty is secured, we may be permitted to observe, that mankind have generally appeared a little too fearful of the tyranny of their rulers, and somewhat too indifferent about their ignorance. With respect to the leading objects of civil liberty, this may, perhaps, be right. It requires no great depth of thought to provide against the undisguised outrages of despotism; and accordingly, where the spirit of freedom has prevailed, legislators have been generally successful in devising effectual securities for the enjoyment of those privileges which are essential to freedom. In the more delicate arrangements of internal policy, however, ignorance may be fully as mischievous as bad intention; it is of little importance that legislators are elected according to the forms of a free constitution, if they do not know how to direct their power to the only proper and rational end, the happiness of the people; and as a statesman, whose mind is enlightened with liberal notions of policy, can have no imaginable motive to withhold from mankind the benefits of his wisdom, the welfare of the people may, in many important points, be more successfully promoted under an absolute government, where the legislators are well instructed,

structed, than under a free government, where they are ignorant or incapable. It is a very great mistake to ascribe all the miseries of mankind to malignant abuses of power; a very great portion of the mischief which has resulted from misgovernment, may be referred to the injudicious attempts of their rulers to ameliorate their condition. The schemes of Frederic of Prussia, and of Joseph of Austria, for the encouragement of commerce, were singularly pernicious and absurd, and produced, undoubtedly, a great deal of individual distress; yet, it cannot be doubted, that their intentions were to encourage commerce, although it would have been much for the advantage of their subjects that they had exercised a less watchful superintendance over their concerns. In endeavouring also to provide a decent subsistence for the poor, the English legislature, with the most benevolent anxiety for their welfare, are generally acknowledged to have aggravated their misery, instead of having relieved it. The mischiefs which their ill-judged efforts have brought upon society, clearly show the importance of that science, which professes not so much to benefit mankind by exhibiting for their choice perfect patterns of political constitutions, as by enlightening those who administer the systems that are established. There is no doubt that the authors of the English poor laws were actuated by the purest and most upright intentions; and yet the practical evil which has flowed from their erring benevolence, has scarcely fallen short of what tyrants have contrived to accomplish.

The present publication seems to have originated in the best intentions; and if we had nothing to do but with the design and motives of the work, we should feel it to be our duty to bestow on it unqualified praise. The author frequently displays a very laudable anxiety for the welfare of the poor; he seems to have bestowed no common attention on the subject; and we can only lament, that his zeal (at least as far as this performance is concerned) should have been so unprofitably directed. His views on the poor laws, and on all the great questions connected with that important subject, are wild and impracticable, founded entirely on narrow notions, or exploded errors; and the projects of reformation which he recommends, would infallibly aggravate the evils which they are intended to remedy, by adding to that mass of paltry devices and artificial regulations by which the great arrangements of society are already too much obstructed. Although we must do him the justice to say, that his mind is not tainted with any illiberal antipathy to Mr Malthus, yet he appears to have perused his work with a predetermined resolution to misunderstand his views. We really scarcely can refrain from sympathizing with that eminent philosopher, who, though he ha

enlarged the boundaries of science, and entitled himself to the rare commendation of having added to that class of important truths which have only to be explained in order to command our immediate assent, yet seems destined to be either the sport of misconception, or the object of the most indecent and acrimonious abuse. Our author seems also conversant in Dr Smith's writings, and really to understand the plainer doctrines of political economy, when they are brought to bear on a particular case; but he is sure to bewilder himself in general speculation: his delusions are not even plausible; and although he may have made himself familiar with a few elementary principles of the science, he certainly has not imbibed any thing of the spirit of that enlightened philosophy which has dawned upon modern times. Accordingly, all his schemes of reformation consist entirely of artificial regulations and restraints; he tears to pieces the natural order of society, without the smallest compunction—as if there could not be a fitter subject for the experiments of thoughtless projectors. Nothing, however, is so amusing as the great affection which this learned justice professes, on all occasions, for penalties. The whole of his complicated machinery is to be kept right by means of penalties; if any of his devices and regulations fail in their intended object, those who are entrusted with carrying them into effect, are to be loaded with heavy penalties; the zeal and vigilance of the many officers, who are created by his plan, are to be stimulated by penalties; if the discretionary power, which makes such a conspicuous figure in all his arrangements, is abused, he has again recourse to penalties; penalties, in short, like the warm water and phlebotomy of the renowned Sangrado, appear to be considered by our author as an infallible specific for the most obstinate disorders that can afflict the body politic. As it appears to us that the absurdity of this work will generally prove an effectual antidote to the errors which it contains, we propose to give but a very brief summary of its contents, pointing out, as we proceed, the various delusions into which the author has been betrayed. We shall then venture to lay before our readers a few general observations on the important subject on which it treats.

The greater part of those reasoners who are in the habit of misunderstanding and misrepresenting Mr Malthus, would have some chance of attaining clearer views on the subject of population, if, instead of indulging themselves in rambling declamation, they would attend to the very simple proposition from which his doctrines are deduced, namely, that the human race have a tendency to increase faster than food can be provided for them. If this proposition be true, then it necessarily follows, that the only effectual



effectual encouragement which can be given to population is to increase the agricultural produce of a country; and if population be increased without a corresponding increase of food, they must starve, or, at least, be reduced to the most extreme misery. Our author, however, has found out that Mr Malthus proposes to repress the population by artificial checks; and he sets out immediately with declaiming in favour of a *redundant* population, showing how intimately it is connected with national strength, and quoting Bacon and Locke on the subject. He then proceeds to observe, that the population of a country is not limited by the quantity of food which it produces, but that it may support a greater population by *importing* corn; and that a commercial and manufacturing country, by exchanging its manufactures for the produce of an agricultural nation, can easily procure an addition to the quantity of subsistence which its own territory will produce. The number of its inhabitants, therefore, depends, according to our author, not on the quantity of food which it produces, but on the demand for men, and on the high price of labour.

Now, we do not recollect that Mr Malthus has any where ventured to assert, that an additional population cannot be subsisted on imported corn; so that his doctrines are no way affected by this statement of our author's; and as to the quibble about population not depending on the relative quantity of food, but on the demand for labour, it will be sufficient to observe, that if population depends on the demand for labour, the demand for labour depends on the relative quantity of subsistence. It is not money which really constitutes the wages of labour; but it is what money can purchase, namely, the necessaries and conveniences of life. Without a sufficient quantity of corn, therefore, for the food of the labourer, how could there be any demand for labour, when there could not be funds for its payment? Notwithstanding, however, our resources from imported corn, there is another circumstance which fills our author with various alarms for the population. Owing to the favourable state of society which prevails in Britain, the labourer, he observes, will not marry unless his wages are such as to enable him to command a competent quantity of the necessaries and even the luxuries of life. High wages, he appears to imagine, discourage population. He is never at a loss, however, for a scheme, and accordingly proposes, that, to encourage the labourer to marry, a poor rate should be imposed in order to make up his wages to the sum necessary for that purpose, as if an increase of population could be supported by donations of money. Another notable effect which would follow from this device would be, that as high wages raise the price of our manufactures, and thus dis-

courage their exportation, by giving the labourer part of his wages in the form of a poor rate, we would keep wages low; in other words, we would bribe the labourer with high wages to work cheap!

Next follows what the author calls 'A historical deduction of the effects of the poor laws in England.' He informs us, at great length, that England has been increasing, since the days of Elizabeth, in prosperity, in opulence, and in population; all which, we are given to understand, is wholly to be ascribed to the operation of the poor laws. It appears to us to be so extremely absurd to assert that population can be increased by means of the poor laws, that we cannot refrain from submitting the following argument to the attention of our author. Supposing a country able to support, in tolerable comfort, from the produce of its own territory, along with what it can import, a population of 1,000,000, is he prepared to maintain, that by taxing the rich, in order to give, to each labourer an addition to his weekly wages of five shillings, the country would be enabled to support a greater number of inhabitants in the same degree of comfort? If he is not prepared to go this length, his argument, respecting the increase of population derived from the poor laws, falls instantly to the ground.

The humanity of those institutions for the relief of the poor, is also a favourite topic of declamation with this writer; and although we fully acquit him of any design to do injustice to Mr Malthus, he has certainly contrived to exhibit him in a very unfair and unamiable light to his readers. After complimenting him on the openness and boldness with which he avows his doctrines in the face of popular obloquy, he observes, that it is, however, a matter of great joy to those who differ from him in opinion, that 'in indulging the finer feelings of the heart, they are at the same time promoting the best interests of the country; that in encouraging marriage, and, as they believe, happiness and morality among the lower orders,—in assisting women, at a time when they are most of all in need of comfort and support,—and in helping them to rear their children in soundness of body and mind, they are employed in preparing the instruments of their country's welfare and prosperity, and not sowing the seeds of want, vice, and misery; that in *rescuing the trembling limbs of age from cold and wretchedness*, they are not bestowing upon idleness the encouragements due only to virtue and industry.' In what part of the Essay on Population, we beg leave to ask, are men forbid to 'indulge the finer feelings of the heart;' to 'assist women, when they are most of all in need of comfort and support;' or, 'to rescue the trembling limbs of age from cold

cold and wretchedness?' Mr Malthus expressly states, in various parts of his work, that if it were possible to draw, from the resources of the rich, the means of ameliorating the condition of the poor, he should have no objection to impose a very heavy assessment for that purpose. But it is because the poor laws, instead of 'rescuing the trembling limbs of age from cold and wretchedness,' are a most fertile source of misery to the poor, that Mr Malthus wishes them to be gradually abolished. We do not, therefore, see the necessity of such an ostentatious parade of the 'finer feelings of the heart' upon this occasion: to say the least of it, it appears to be quite useless and inapplicable.

As far as the principles of Mr Malthus respect public charity, we do not think they can well be controverted. But it does not appear to us, that they furnish a rule for the exercise of private charity. There is an essential difference between public and private benevolence. All schemes for the general relief of the poor must proceed on views of justice and policy alone. There is a risk, lest profuse liberality should encourage improvidence, or produce other mischiefs, of which we may not be at first aware: we must not only look, therefore, at the particular object to be relieved, but we must consider what may be the effect of our exertions on the general happiness of the community. In the charitable donations of individuals, the case is entirely different; the practice of benevolence is enjoined to those who have neither the capacity nor the means of being informed about the general good; their object, therefore, is to relieve misery; and the principal object of their inquiry will naturally be, the necessities of the object on whom their charity is to be bestowed. There is no danger that the liberality of individuals will ever flow so certainly, or so abundantly, as to draw after it any sort of dependance. Private benevolence, therefore, far from appearing as the stern judge of human frailties, relieves, not those only who have fallen into distress from no fault of their own, but those also who have no plea to offer but that of actual wretchedness: genuine benevolence, in short, visits and relieves distress without any strict inquiry into its cause, wherever it is to be found. We cannot therefore agree with Mr Malthus, that the hand of private benevolence should be very sparingly stretched out, for the relief of those who have involved themselves in difficulties by the imprudence of an early marriage. Whatever bad effects a propensity to early marriages, among the labouring classes of the community, might produce on the general state of society, yet the error (if it be an error) is, with respect to individuals, of the most venial kind; and, even if merit or demerit is to be taken as the scale by which we are to measure out our benevolence, we do not by any

means

means think that they will be placed at the bottom of it. On the other hand, however, we entirely concur with Mr Malthus, that they are not proper objects of public charity, because the certainty of this resource would obviously create the mischief which it is intended to relieve.

Our author, after having recovered from this burst of philanthropy, endeavours to obviate the objections which have been made to the poor laws. For this purpose he extenuates their evils, which he classes with those petty irregularities from which no comprehensive arrangement of policy can be free; and declaims against those, who, in political contrivances, aim at theoretic perfection. Instead of being discouraged by the evils incident to the system, we should *make new laws* (he observes) to counteract these evils. He accordingly proposes a scheme of regulations, for excluding those who have not been provident and saving when they had it in their power, from all participation in the benefits of the poor laws; which has only one fault, namely, that it is utterly impracticable. It would also, he imagines, tend greatly to produce economy among the labouring classes, if offices were erected by government, for receiving such trifling sums as they should have saved from their earnings: parish schools, he thinks, ought also to be established for their instruction, and cottages, with three or four acres of waste land, should be bestowed on those labourers who have brought up three children, or more, to a certain age; provided, however, they have given them such instruction *as should seem good to the legislature*. With respect to offices established by government, it requires no great foresight to perceive, that it would soon turn out to be a most useless and ridiculous job. We know of no labourers who have either the opportunity or the inclination to lay up money: when they save any thing from their wages, they generally deposit it in the fund of a friendly society, as a resource against sickness or old age. If, however, a labourer is determined upon hoarding, he will always find some creditable individual who will pay him interest for the smallest sums; he must, of course, be subjected to all the risks of other lenders, and must, like them, exert his vigilance to avoid them. But, in truth, it is of more consequence to observe, that this watchful superintendance over the poor,—this constant tampering with all their concerns, which seems to have infected the higher orders of society, is calculated to reduce them to a state of the most helpless ignorance and improvidence; and, by dispensing, in their case, with the exercise of all those virtues which steer other men through the hazards of life, to strip them of every energetic and manly quality. The establishment of schools for their instruction might  
certainly

certainly be attended with good effects ; but the plan of providing cottages for those who may have brought up three children to a certain age, besides being fantastic in its principle, seems quite impracticable. Men have sufficient motives to bring up their children with decency and propriety without any reward ; and if they do not find a sufficient recompense in the feelings of their own minds, we do not think that the prospect of living in an eleemosynary cottage will furnish an effectual inducement. Besides, how is it certain that these cottages would be bestowed on meritorious objects ? It appears to us quite as likely that they would be the asylum of indolence, as of industry. The great fault of all complex contrivances is, that they are apt to be perverted from their objects by those who are entrusted with their execution ; and they always prove, sooner or later, a receptacle of the most pernicious abuses. On reading all these fine schemes for the benefit of the poor, one would naturally imagine that they must be in a most wretched situation where nothing of that kind is attempted for their relief. In Scotland, however, we have neither government bank offices, nor cottages, nor work-houses, and yet the condition of the labouring part of the community is extremely comfortable. They are provident and economical,—principally, we believe, because they are well educated, and not liable to be debased in their habits by a system of poor laws.

From one hopeless project our author proceeds to another equally hopeless, namely, the employment of the poor. Before the expediency of any plan for this purpose can be admitted, he must prove, first, that the fear of want is not of itself a sufficient stimulus to industry ; and, 2dly, that where plenty of work is to be had, those who are in want of it cannot seek it out for themselves, without the assistance of the legislature. The laws for the employment of the poor have, it seems, fallen into almost total neglect ; and our author, with his usual sagacity, infers, that their execution must have been placed in improper hands. For amending this defect, he proposes a very complicated scheme, into the details of which, however, we really cannot enter particularly. Several parishes are to be erected into a district, over which one officer is to preside,—his diligence and activity to be encouraged by rewards, and enforced by *heavy penalties*. As a centre of general communication for the whole country, a Board of Commissioners is to be established in London, ‘ consisting of the most *enlightened and independent* gentlemen of large fortune, well acquainted with the commercial and agricultural interests of their country ; serving without salary ; and bound to the strict discharge of their duty  
*under*

*under penalties.* Any partiality or imposition on the part of the district officer, to be also punished with *very heavy penalties.*

A whole chapter is next devoted to an inquiry into the cause of the augmentation which has taken place in the poor rates, which is in a great measure ascribed to the great rise in the price of all the necessaries of life. Our author then proceeds to inquire, why England, which was formerly an exporting country, is now obliged to import. This he seems to consider as the chief cause of the distresses of the poor; and he accordingly suggests various plans for removing it; all of which have for their object the increase of the agricultural produce of the country. But as we do not believe, that, if the condition of the poor in England be depressed, it is at all owing to the circumstance of our importing corn, neither do we think the evil would be permanently removed, by increasing the quantity of food produced in the country. The condition of the labourer depends on the relation between the supply of food, and the population among whom the food is to be divided. It is a matter of no consequence to him, whether it be produced in the country, or whether it be imported, provided there is an abundant supply. If his situation is depressed, an increase of agricultural produce will no doubt relieve him for a time; but population will soon increase, and the same difficulties will again recur. It is not on the absolute supply of food, but on its relative supply, that the condition of the labourer depends; and this supply will be great or small, according to the degree in which the preventive check to population prevails. As an addition to the agricultural produce of the country will not, however, prevent the recurrence of scarcity, our author has another recipe for that purpose. He proposes to transport 25,000 Chinese to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of raising a surplus supply of food, which is to be in part collected by the governor in payment of taxes, and warehoused, until the state of the supply shall be known in Britain, where it can be imported if required, and, if not, it is to be exported to other countries, even at a loss! It is quite amusing to consider our author's schemes. Before such a projector, all sort of difficulties vanish. Even the ordinary operations of nature are accelerated, if they happen to be too slow (as indeed they generally are) for bringing his projects to maturity. The work concludes with a proposal for rendering every species of income rateable to the poor laws. As the system, however, appears to us to be radically wrong, we should decidedly object to any plan by which a greater sum would be collected. Our author's object is indeed not to increase the burden, but to distribute it more equally. We have no doubt, however,

ever, that the consequence would be, the collection of a larger sum, which would only serve to increase beggary and dependance, and, instead of relieving the poor, to render them more wretched. Having now concluded our remarks on the work before us, we shall lay before our readers a general view of the spirit and tendency of all those plans which have been adopted for ameliorating the condition of the poor.

When persons belonging to that class of society by whom the rest are clothed, lodged and fed, fall into misery and poverty, not through any fault of their own, but from the visitation of providence, it appears, at first view, to be exceedingly just and reasonable, that those who have profited by their industry, should, in the day of their calamity, help to mitigate their distress. In order to give effect to this apparently benevolent principle, various schemes have been suggested. It has sometimes been proposed to regulate the wages of labour so as always to ensure to the labourer a competent command over the necessaries and simpler luxuries of life; at other times, large sums of money have been levied on the rich to relieve the sufferings of the poor; or when labour was supposed to be scarce, plans have been set on foot for their support by finding work for the labourer. The impossibility, however, of raising by artificial regulations the wages of those who work, or of relieving their sufferings when their wages are inadequate, either by giving them money or by furnishing them with work when the effectual fund for the support of labour has declined, has been very clearly demonstrated by several writers, particularly by Mr Malthus, whose reasonings have thrown quite a new light on this interesting subject.

In the system of English poor laws, *all* these different expedients are occasionally made use of to relieve the distresses of the poor. By the 43d of Elizabeth, the justices are empowered to levy a general assessment for the relief of the impotent; they are also required to set poor children to work, or those who are able to work and cannot find employment. ‘What is this (Mr Malthus observes) but saying that the funds for the maintenance of labour in this country may be increased at will, and without limit, by the *fiat* of government, or an assessment of the overseers? Strictly speaking, this clause is as arrogant, and as absurd, as if it had enacted that two ears of wheat should in future grow, where one only had grown before. Canute, when he commanded the waves not to wet his princely feet, did not in reality assume a greater power over the laws of nature. No directions are given to the overseer how to increase the funds for the maintenance of labour; the necessity of industry, economy, and enlightened exertion, in the management of agricultural capital,

tal, is not insisted on, for this purpose ; but it is expected that a miraculous increase of these funds should immediately follow an edict of government made at the discretion of some ignorant parish officer.'

The same act gives to the justices an unlimited power of levying whatever assessment they may think necessary for the relief of the poor ; it enables them also, to judge who are fit objects of public charity. Nothing is so contrary to the spirit of sound legislation, as the unnecessary creation of discretionary power ; and it need excite little surprise, when the legislators of the land, abdicating their own natural functions, have confided the exercise of such a delicate trust to the justices of the peace, that abuse and corruption have been the consequence. To provide a full and certain relief, even for the infirm and the impotent, must tend to render them beggarly and improvident. But in England the objects of parochial relief have been greatly multiplied. It has been thought necessary to offer charity to the labourer in full possession of health and strength. And what is still more revolting to every idea of sound policy and common sense, the *quantum* of relief given to him is proportioned to the high price of corn ; which is the same thing as saying, that he shall consume the same quantity of subsistence when it is scarce, as when it is plenty ; when it is not to give him, as when it is to give him ; in short, that the great majority of the community shall never feel the pressure of scarcity. Agreeably to these notions, a table was published for the information of magistrates and overseers, in which the sum necessary for the support of the labourer was computed according as the price of bread should vary, or as the labourer's family should be either small or large. By this mode of computation, it may easily be conceived, what an enormous assessment would be requisite in a time of scarcity, to give to the labourer the sum necessary for his support according to the price of bread in 1795. Twenty-five shillings in the week was the sum allotted for the support of a labourer with a family of seven children. This principle was acted upon very generally during the scarcity of 1795, and during the scarcities also of 1799 and 1800 ; and the weekly allowance which the labourer received frequently exceeded his wages. Mr Malthus mentions, that he has known a labourer whose earnings amounted to ten shillings *per* week, receive fourteen shillings from the parish. 'Such instances (he observes) could not possibly have been universal, without raising the price of wheat very much higher than it was during any part of the dearth. But similar instances were by no means infrequent ; and the system itself, of measuring the relief given by the price of grain, was general.' After being made acquainted with these facts, it need excite



excite very little surprise, that the poor laws, as they are administered, have succeeded in some measure in debasing the character of the common people in England; and that, in some parishes, every fourth man receives parish relief. The enormous sums which have been squandered away for the vain purpose of enabling the labourer to consume the same quantity of corn when it is scarce as when it is plenty, have an obvious tendency to raise its money price, and thus to depress the condition of all those who do not receive parish relief. The poor laws thus contribute to create the poor whom they maintain.

When there is a scarcity of subsistence, it is perfectly evident, that want must be felt somewhere; and even if it were possible entirely to relieve the labourer, the evil would not be removed; it would be only transferred to another class of the community. The good to be done in a time of scarcity by pecuniary contributions is quite partial: it does not even palliate the general evil; it only relieves one person at the expense of another. The middling classes of the community, were, according to Mr Malthus, visibly depressed by the extravagant largesses which were squandered on the poor in 1799 and 1800. And he shows, clearly indeed, that this must have been the case. The reasonings of that writer on the subject of the poor laws, are truly admirable for their clearness and their originality. The evils which were at that time produced by the inconsiderate profusion with which parochial relief was granted, were too visible to escape the notice of the most superficial observer; but while other writers busied themselves in criticising and in amending paltry details, Mr Malthus went to the bottom of the evil, and showed that the system was so vicious in its principle, that no amendments could render it beneficial. Even if eighteen shillings in the pound were levied for the relief of the poor, Mr Malthus shows, that the poor would not be relieved. 'Great changes (he observes) might indeed be made. The rich might become poor, and some of the poor rich; but, while the present proportion between the population and the food continues, a part of society must necessarily find it difficult to support a family; but this difficulty will necessarily fall on the least fortunate members.' That the poor laws may mitigate cases of severe distress, appears probable. But when it is considered, that they necessarily require a system of harsh and tyrannical restraint—that they obstruct the free circulation of labour—that they are a constant source of tyranny, contention, and legal wrangling, and that they tend to produce alienation between the rich and the poor, rendering the poor thankless and beggarly, and the rich hard-hearted; we may well

well inquire whether the good which they produce, could not be procured without such a lamentable train of attendant evils.

The mischief produced by the poor laws, seems to have been insisted on by almost every writer on the subject; and Burnet\* in the excellent remarks with which he closes his history, seems to be decidedly of opinion, that they ought to be abolished. Most writers, however, object rather to the administration of the poor laws, than to the principles on which they are founded; and they have accordingly suggested various improvements and emendations. They put down the present scheme of regulations, in order to make way for a set of their own, which are no doubt sufficiently plausible in theory, but which could not be reduced to practice, without producing the evils already complained of. In 1796, a plan for reforming the poor laws was brought forward by Mr Pitt, full of device and regulation, provided with work-houses, schools of industry, superintendants, visitors, warehousemen, justices of the peace vested with large discretionary powers,—the whole a most complex contrivance, and leading to every species of abuse. Another plan has been since brought forward by Mr Whitbread, for the avowed purpose of rendering the poor laws obsolete. This desirable object, was to be effected, by the establishment of schools, where the lower classes of society might be instructed, and gradually so improved in their habits, as to be set above receiving parish relief. However highly we may approve of this institution, and however much we may have been surprised, that a plan for improving the faculties of rational creatures should have met with any obstruction, we doubt much whether it would have brought about any general change in the manners of the English populace, particularly while such a source of moral depravation as the poor laws was suffered to exist. There were other regulations in this plan, of which we have already expressed our opinion, such as the establishment of banks for receiving the boardings of the poor, and the erection of cottages for their comfort. The granting of honorary badges as a reward for decent conduct, seems quite fantastical. The great point in all those arrangements ought to be, to free society as much as possible from burdensome restraints. And we cannot help thinking, that legislators would succeed much better in their plans, if their minds could be weaned from that love of device and contrivance with which they seem to have been in all ages too much infected.

Mr Malthus has, however, proposed a plan of his own for giving effect to his principles, which seems more simple, and better

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\* Burnet, Hist. of his own times, Vol. VI. p. 314.

ter calculated for answering its purpose, than any of those complicated schemes. He is of opinion, that a regulation should be made, declaring that no child born from any marriage, taking place after the expiration of a year from the date of the law, and that no illegitimate child born two years after the same date, should ever be entitled to parish assistance. To give a more general knowledge of this law, he proposes that the clergyman of the parish should, previous to every marriage, read a short address to the parties, stating the strong obligation on every man to support his own children, and the necessity which had at length appeared, from regard to the poor themselves, of abandoning all public institutions for their relief, as they had produced effects totally opposite to those which were intended.

This plan has been reprobated as iniquitous and cruel; but if the poor laws are to be abolished, it is impossible to conceive in what way this great reformation can be brought about with less hardship to those concerned. Those who had been accustomed to depend upon parochial relief, would have that dependence still left them; so that they could not be said to suffer any injury, and the rising generation would have a plain warning that they had nothing to depend upon for their support but their own exertions. The plan, therefore, seems, in this respect, to be perfectly unexceptionable, and to accord with that enlightened humanity which the writings of Mr Malthus generally display. The scheme appears, however, to be in some respects unsatisfactory and incomplete. It does not seem to be founded on that full and distinct view of the poor laws, on which alone a suitable remedy can be founded. When we consider how much Mr Malthus must have reflected on the poor-laws, and that it is principally to the writings of that eminent philosopher, that we are indebted for any clear views on the subject, it is with the most respectful diffidence that the following observations are offered to the attention of the reader.

It is the opinion of Sir F. M. Eden, \* and it seems, indeed, extremely probable, that the law passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth had no relation to the able-bodied labourer, but was only meant for the relief of those who either had not work, or who were unable to work. In later years, however, they have been generally extended to the relief of the labourer; and the quantity of that relief has been measured by the high price of provisions. The poor rates have accordingly increased enormously; so that, in the year 1801, they were said to amount to the incredible sum

of 10,000,000*l.* Formerly they did not exceed 3,000,000*l.* To add generally to the earnings of the labourer, when his wages are low, or when the price of subsistence is high, is in effect the same thing as forcibly to raise the wages of labour, or to fix a maximum on the price of provisions. In a season of scarcity, such a measure, whatever disorder and mischief it may be attended with, cannot even materially relieve those for whose benefit it is intended. The labourers and their families form by far the greater proportion of every community, and it must be chiefly by their savings that a diminished supply of corn can be made to last, till a fresh supply can be procured. No other order of men can be substituted in their place to bear the burden. Individual labourers may, indeed, be raised; and individuals in a higher situation may be depressed;—but the pressure of scarcity must always be heavily felt by the great body of the people. The same reasoning applies to the low price of labour, which always indicates an increase of population, without a corresponding increase of food. But it is evidently the same thing, whether population is increased in proportion to the food, or whether the food has decreased in proportion to the population. Both evils are exactly the same, and can only be removed by increasing the supply of food.

It may be said, however, that, in a scarcity, the hardship is exclusively borne by the poor, the rich being enabled, by means of money, to consume the same quantity of subsistence as before, and that pecuniary contributions may place the two classes more upon a level, and force the rich to bear their share in the burden. But, even if the rich were forced to abridge their consumption, they bear such a small proportion to the mass of the community, that the poor would be but little benefited; and it is moreover impossible to effect this, except by levelling the rich with the poor. The enormous sums which were lavished for the relief of the indigent during the late scarcities, contributed not so much to affect the rich, as the classes immediately above the poor, whom it depressed, Mr Malthus observes, in the most marked manner. Now, even if the poor were to be relieved in this way, it does not appear, that the general mass of misery would be lessened;—their sufferings would be merely transferred to another class of society equally deserving attention and relief, and the number of those demanding parochial assistance would be increased. The ease, however, which the poor can derive from this miserable resource is so trifling, that it can never be felt. Even if all the forced savings of this class of the community were distributed to them *gratis*, it would furnish a remedy completely insignificant, when compared with such an extensive and deep-rooted malady. During the late scarcities,

cities, therefore, seven millions a year appear to have been squandered for no other purpose than to recruit for beggars.

As the object for which this money is raised,—namely, to relieve the great body of the people from the pressure of scarcity, appears to be completely unattainable; as the degree of pressure must be exactly such as to make the diminished supply of corn last out the year; as pecuniary contributions cannot lessen it, and can do very little towards altering the mode of its distribution, the situation of the poor would not be at all affected, if the able-bodied labourer were wholly excluded from parochial-relief. If this arrangement were once carried into effect, the expenditure of the poor-laws would be very materially curtailed, as, we believe, the greater part of the relief granted, is given to able-bodied labourers with families.

Mr Malthus, in his plan for the abolition of the poor-laws, does not appear to us to distinguish between the original and genuine objects of parochial relief, and those to whom that charity has been most improperly extended. His reasonings, however, are evidently directed against the practice of giving relief to the labourer; and, so far from thinking his plan either cruel or iniquitous, as it has been most unjustly termed, the evil which Mr Malthus is for doing away by mild and gradual reformation, might, in our apprehension, without producing any bad effects, be much more speedily got quit of. To the common labourer who is able to work, all sort of charity ought, on a warning of six months or a year, to be refused; and this ought not to be left to the justices of the peace,—it ought to be established by law. In the recurrence of a scarcity, the practice of measuring out relief by the price of provisions, should never again be resorted to.

With respect to those who are really destitute, it appears, by experience, that a full and certain relief cannot be provided for them, without producing very melancholy effects on the manners of the people. A better plan for modifying the relief which is given to them, cannot be resorted to, than that proposed by Mr Malthus. Whether the relief ought to be entirely taken away, as in Scotland, or whether it ought to be so far reduced, as either to come in aid of personal exertion or of voluntary charity, is a question which requires very serious consideration. From a very careful examination of this important subject, it clearly appears to us, that it is much safer to fall short than to exceed, in relieving distress by public charity. What may be wanting in public, is generally made up by private benevolence. But there is no way of correcting the evil of profuse donations enforced by the authority of law.

ART. VIII. *On the Conduct of the British Government towards the Catholics of Ireland.* 8vo. pp. 38. London. 1807.

*Remarks on the Dangers which threaten the Established Religion, and on the Means of averting them. In a Letter to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer.* By Edward Pearson, B. D. 8vo. pp. 98. London. 1807.

*An Alarm to the Reformed Church of Christ established in those Kingdoms.* By a Watchman of the Church. 8vo. pp. 16. London. 1807.

*An Earnest Address to those of all Orders and Degrees in the United Church of England and Ireland respecting the Papists.* 8vo. pp. 32. London. 1807.

THOUGH nothing very important has been said, written, or done, with regard to this great subject, since we last recommended it to the notice of our readers, yet we think it material to bring it again under their view; and, in as far as in us lies, to familiarize the understanding of the public with the most momentous and most unreasonableness controversy that has ever been presented to their decision. There are some causes in which perseverance is sure to be rewarded with success, and some subjects upon which reason will certainly be triumphant, provided she return with sufficient patience to the charge, and resolutely repeats the argument which has originally failed of effect. This is a result which may safely be reckoned upon in all cases in which expediency and justice are on one side, and established prejudice or habit on the other. It was so with the introduction of religious and of civil freedom into this country;—with the reformation and the revolution of England. It was so in the more recent instance of the abolition of the slave trade; and it is and will be so with the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland. In all these cases, the settled prejudices and habits of men, abetted and flattered by the interested clamours of individuals, resisted for a long time the force of those reasonings, before which, we now think they should have disappeared in an instant; and it was only by little and little, and in consequence of patient and persevering repetition, that the most pernicious and absurd tenets were made to give way to maxims of obvious justice and expediency. The process of illuminating the public understanding under such circumstances, in short, seems to resemble that of moistening magnesia or any other fine powder with water.

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Though very dry and thirsty, it will by no means unite with the fluid at first, but is sure, if rashly handled, to run into troublesome knots and masses, or to fly up in the eyes of the operator. By adding but a little of the water at a time, however, and carefully and patiently rubbing it up with the refractory pulvil, he may always be sure of effecting an incorporating union, and producing a smooth and indissoluble compound, of great virtue and efficacy.

We do not entertain the slightest doubt of the ultimate success of the catholics in their claim of emancipation, but we think it our duty to omit no opportunity of submitting it to public examination; and shall persist, as long as pamphlets can be found on the subject, to urge on the sense and the conscience of the country, those strong reasons of justice and expediency by which it appears to be supported. Now that the cry of no popery has served its unworthy purpose,—that the elections are over, and the ministry settled in their seats,—there is room perhaps, to hope, that the advocates of this cause may obtain a more favourable hearing, and that the liberal part of the community may be able to distinguish them from the mere zealots of a party.

The question itself, like every other question relating to human affairs, may be considered under the double aspect of expediency and justice. The result, as usually happens also, will be the same upon both; but, for the sake of simplifying the discussion, and avoiding offence to a certain hardy race of politicians, we shall, for the present, drop all consideration of justice, and examine the case upon the principles of expediency alone. In matters of political arrangement, indeed, there is no other principle by which we can rationally expect men to be actuated. Every nation, we may depend upon it, will act in the way which it conceives to be most for its own advantage, and will only be observant of justice towards others, in so far as such a rule of conduct promises to contribute ultimately to its own security or advancement. We do not want a stricter rule of morality for the purposes of the present argument, and surely cannot be accused of any very romantic flight of morality, in proposing to have it tried by such a criterion. The natural order seems to be, to point out, in the first place, what would be the advantages of admitting catholics to a civil equality with their protestant fellow-subjects; and then to consider what may be the just amount and value of the disadvantages which have been anticipated from this proceeding. It is necessary, however, first of all, to clear the way for this equation by a short view of the origin and present state of the incapacities to which this order of men is subjected. Such a statement forms the basis of fact to which all our argu-

ments must bear reference; and it is the more necessary to exhibit it at the outset, as we have frequently been astonished at the degree of ignorance which prevailed upon this subject even among the declaimers and pamphleteers who have come forward for the instruction of their countrymen.

From the time of the reformation to that of the revolution, popery seems to have been regarded by the legislature rather as a crime, for which individuals, regularly convicted of any overt act, were liable to punishment, than as a system of faith, the profession of which was to be repressed by permanent disqualifications. Celebrating mass, or attending its celebration, were indictable offences: and every subject whatsoever, was made liable to a severe imposition, if he omitted to attend the established church at least once every Sunday. Catholics, however, were neither excluded from parliament, nor laid under any disabilities as to the enjoyment and transference of property,—the rights of self-defence, or the economy of their families. Those laws were administered with great mildness, on the whole, during the reign of Elizabeth; and, with regard to Ireland, were little more than a dead letter. In the time of James the I., when the protestants for the first time formed a majority in that parliament, they were enforced with occasional rigour; and under Charles, the severities which his necessities, rather than his disposition, led him to exercise, joined with the oppressions of Strafford and the permitted insolence of the English settlers, led to those scenes of misery and devastation in the rebellion 1641, of which no man, till lately, conceived that the repetition was possible. The soldiery of Cromwell settled themselves in the lands from which they had expelled their opponents; and, after the restoration, the Act of Settlement confirmed the transference of eight millions of acres from Irish catholics to English protestants. It was most natural that the native proprietors should aim at recovering their possessions. They joined, accordingly, with James II.; and during the short period of his success, they rescinded the act of settlement. The arms of William overthrew the last remnant of catholic government or ascendancy in these kingdoms; and, by the articles of Limerick, which closed the scene of hostility in 1691, it was expressly stipulated, that ‘the Roman Catholics should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as they can summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics *such further security* in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion.’ This solemn instrument of pacification, granted in the moment of victory, was ratified and published



published in letters patent under the great seal, in the fourth year of King William; and in three years thereafter, was passed, in direct violation of it, the famous act for preventing the growth of popery, the foundation and model of the many barbarous enactments by which that race of men were oppressed for little less than a century thereafter. The history of this act, as recorded by Burnet, and other contemporary writers, is edifying, and deserves to be noticed.

The disposition of the King was known to be decidedly tolerant; and his ministers had, of course, adopted his principles. The recent troubles and contests, on the other hand, had excited a great popular prejudice against the Roman Catholics; and the party in opposition resolved to avail themselves of these circumstances, to discredit, and, if possible, to displace the existing administration. With this view they introduced a very severe and preposterous bill against the Catholics, not so much from any real fear or detestation of that body, which had been perfectly quiet and submissive, as in the hope that the court party would oppose it, and thereby subject themselves to the odium of protecting popery. The courtiers, however, were too cunning to be the dupes of this manœuvre; and unluckily attempted to defeat it by another, which succeeded still more unluckily. Instead of opposing the bill in the Lower House, they added to it a variety of cruel and absurd clauses; in consequence of which, they conceived that it would certainly be rejected by the House of Lords, or, at least, sent back with considerable alterations; a measure that, in the temper which then prevailed between the two Houses, would infallibly have caused it to be withdrawn. In this expectation, however, they were unfortunately deceived. The dread of popery, and still more the love of popularity, deterred the members of the Upper House from rejecting the bill, or from taking any steps by which its rejection might have been produced; and it was passed, contrary to the wishes and intentions of the greater part of those who had been engaged in its discussion. This, at least, is the history of the English act, which was avowedly the model of that which was passed for Ireland. By this barbarous act, and the statutes by which it was followed up, Catholics were disabled from purchasing or inheriting land,—from being guardians to their own children,—from having arms or horses,—from serving on grand juries,—from entering in the inns of court,—from practising as barristers, solicitors, or physicians, &c. &c.

At the close of the reign of Queen Anne, in short, when the privileges and liberties of Englishmen stood on so triumphant a footing, nothing remained to two thirds of the inhabitants of Ireland, by which they could be distinguished from slaves or aliens, but

the right of voting at elections. Of this, too, they were deprived under the succeeding sovereign; and the motives of that privation, as they are clearly to be traced in the histories of the time, deserve to be stated no less than those of the act of King William, for the benefit of those who are in the habit of extolling the steady policy or necessary severities of our ancestors.

The Catholics had lain prostrate and unoffending from the hour of the capitulation of Limerick; they were benumbed and confounded by the shock which finally overthrew them; and had neither given any alarm or disturbance to their conquerors by tumults or insurrections, nor been detected in any such correspondence with the exiled monarch, as had unquestionably been maintained between him and the Protestant chieftains of Scotland. They had lain quiet during the rebellion which raged in that country; and there seemed to be no pretext, therefore, for aggravating the condition of their bondage, or for taking away the only privilege which connected them with the constitution of their country. The real key to the transaction, we believe to be the following. Ireland had hitherto been ruled entirely by an *English* faction; but these foreign rulers came by degrees to be identified with the Protestant natives. 'The English,' as Mr Burke observes, 'as they began to be domiciliated, began also to recollect that they had a country—what was at first strictly an English interest, by faint and almost insensible degrees, but at length openly and avowedly, became an *independent Irish interest*.' This new and independent power, however, was naturally viewed with great jealousy by the agents of the English government; and it seems to have been the great aim of the faction, of which Primate Boulter was the head, to counteract and depress it. Holding the greater part of the property, and being permanently connected with the internal prosperity of the island, there was reason to dread that this new Irish interest would seek to unite itself with the great body of the Catholic population, and, by their means, obtain a decisive superiority over the foreign agents and their dependants, who had hitherto governed at their discretion. The only resource, therefore, appeared to be to deprive the Catholics of all power and influence whatsoever, and thus to render them both more averse to coalesce with any Protestant interest, and incapable of making any addition of strength by their coalition. This was effected by taking away their elective franchise, and thus disconnecting them in every way from the constitution of the country, and annihilating them altogether in a political capacity.

It is needless to pursue any further the history of Catholic humiliation, or to trace with any minuteness the steps by which it has of late been in some measure retrieved. The question is about

about the propriety of removing the existing restraints and disqualifications; and, after having given this short sketch of the origin and principles of the original system, it is only necessary to state precisely what parts of it remain. The Catholics of Ireland, then, are liable, by the subsisting laws, to the following disabilities. They cannot sit in either of the Houses of Parliament. They cannot be appointed to any of the following offices—Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Chancellor, or Keeper or Commissioner of the Seal, Lord High Treasurer, Chief Justice of K. B. or C. P., Lord Chief Baron of Exchequer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Judge in four Courts, or of Admiralty, Master of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Vice-Treasurer, or his Deputy, Teller or Cashier of Exchequer, Auditor-General, Governor or Custos Rotulorum of Counties, Chief Governor's Secretary, Privy Councillor, King's Counsel, Sergeants, Attorney, or Solicitor-General, Master in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Postmaster-General, Master and Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, Commander in Chief, Generals on the Staff, Sheriffs and Sub-Sheriffs, nor to the office of Mayor, Bailiff, Recorder, Burgess, or any other office in a City or Corporation, unless the Lord Lieutenant shall grant a written dispensation to that purpose. No Catholic can be a guardian to a Protestant; and no Catholic priest can be a guardian at all. Catholics are only allowed to have arms under certain restrictions; and no Catholic can be employed as a fowler, or have for sale, or otherwise, any arms or warlike stores. No Catholic can present to an ecclesiastical living,—although dissenters, and even Jews, have been found entitled to this privilege. The pecuniary qualification of Catholic jurors is made higher than that of Protestants; and no relaxation of the ancient rigorous code is permitted, except to those who shall take the oath and declaration prescribed by 13. and 14. Geo. III. c. 3.

Such is the state of Catholics by law; and by practice and systematic usage, it is rendered still more grievous. There is scarcely an instance of the Lord Lieutenant having granted his license to admit them into corporations; and, in practice and effect, they are still as effectually excluded from serving on juries, as if that privilege had not been yielded to them.

The great practical question that remains, therefore, is, whether those disabilities ought now to be removed or continued?—and this, again, depends evidently upon a comparative view of the advantages and disadvantages which are likely to be produced by their removal.

The advantages stand out in the sight of every one; and scarcely

ly require to be enumerated. The first is, that it would restore to the service of their country a great multitude of persons, whose talents and exertions are now lost, by their exclusion from rewards and honours. The situations to which no Catholic can aspire, are, it will be confessed, the most important in the country; and those which it is of the most consequence to have occupied by talents and virtues. The Catholics, however, form at least two thirds of the Irish population; and not much less, perhaps, than one sixth of the British nation. The evil, then, would be great and flagrant, if it consisted merely in this, that our chance of finding able statesmen and valiant commanders was lessened by one fourth, in consequence of the choice being thus narrowed and restrained; one fourth part of the prizes are thus withdrawn from the lottery, and one whole limb of the empire paralyzed for every noble exertion. This, however, is but a very partial and inadequate view of the evil that results from this system of exclusion. It is not merely of the Chathams and Wolfes, the Nelsons and Foxes, which that system condemns to inaction and obscurity, that the nation is deprived, but of all that vast harvest of ascending talent and liberal exertion which would be reaped from those whom their example would call into competition. The high prizes of office and command can come but to a few, but the hope and excitement which they produce, extend to innumerable multitudes; and the public receives the reward of its prudent munificence, not so much in the eminent services of the individuals who monopolize its distinctions, as in the general zeal and activity which is excited by the spectacle of their promotion. By the exclusion of one fourth part of its subjects from the honours of the state, the public is defrauded not only of one fourth of the illustrious characters who would have advanced its interest in these high stations, but of an equal proportion of the subordinate, but important and indispensable services that would have been performed by those who were ambitious of such distinctions.

The second great advantage of the emancipation would be, that it would regain the affections, and secure the allegiance, of four millions of people, who must necessarily be discontented as long as it is withheld, and from whose impatience and resentment the most serious evils, and the most tremendous dangers, may otherwise be apprehended. This is a consideration which is paramount to every other; and the antagonists of the cause, while they feel its force, have laboured to counteract its effects by more suggestions than can well be reconciled to each other. In the first place, they have denied that there is any considerable discontent, or tendency to disaffection, among the body of Irish Catholics.

Catholics. The answer to this, however, is to be found in facts that admit of no dispute or controversy. In the rebellions and insurrections which have agitated that unhappy country for the last twelve years ;—in the military law, under which a great part of it suffered for no less a time, and in the great military force which it is still necessary to maintain ;—in the constant jealousy and precaution of the government ;—in the late insurrection bill, and the public avowal then made by the great advocate of Irish loyalty, of the existence of a French party in the heart of the kingdom ;—finally, in the arguments and assertions of the adversaries of emancipation themselves, when it suits them, to change their ground, and to insist on the jacobinism, cruelty and disaffection which are inherent in the profession of popery.

Taking for granted, then, the fact of Catholic discontent, which is but too notorious, the opponents of emancipation must contend, that it is a very unreasonable discontent, and that it would not be cured by the remedy which is now suggested. The truth of the latter proposition depends evidently upon the first. If the disabilities to which the Catholics are liable, are not actual and sufficient causes for their discontent, it is certainly reasonable to conclude, that it will not be cured by removing those disabilities. But, on the other hand, if it can be shewn that those very disabilities, which are confessedly the ostensible grounds of complaint, are also quite sufficient to account for it in reality, then, it seems to follow, with equal certainty, that it may be effectually cured by their removal. At first sight, indeed, it may not appear very natural or probable, that the exclusion of two or three hundred opulent individuals from Parliament, and from the high offices of the civil and military departments, should operate as a source of general irritation and discontent with the great body of the peasantry and mechanics : And it has been asked, what sort of interest the potatoe fed tenant of a cabin could be supposed to have in the nomination of Lords Lieutenant and Masters of the Ordnance ? A very little consideration, however, will show the fallacy of this mode of reasoning. In the first place, all who are actually excluded, and all who think they are excluded by this system, must necessarily be very much irritated and discontented ; and, as their influence must naturally be very great over their inferiors of the same persuasion, it would not be wonderful, if the whole body were to be infected with those feelings, from that principle alone. But the original impression of disappointment and injustice comes infinitely lower down than to those who, from rank or qualification, might have aspired immediately to the forbidden honours. Every youth, whom ambition or vanity inspires with the hope of distinction, arrogates to himself those honours  
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in imagination, and resents all peremptory exclusion, perhaps yet more fiercely than him to whom their possession would be less a distinction. Every brave cadet who gets an ensign's commission in a regiment of militia;—every poor scholar who gains a prize at a provincial academy;—every attorney's apprentice who corrects the blunders of his instructor, looks forward to honours and dignities at the close of his career, as well as to emolument daring its continuance; and is cheered, in his obscurest labours, by the prospect of emerging, at last, to power and distinction. It will scarcely be believed, by those who have not made the inquiry, how much these dreams of future glory contribute to lighten and exalt the humblest toils, in which talent or vanity can serve their apprenticeship; and how beneficially they bind those restless qualities to the constitutional establishments, in which they have their original. To the whole body of Catholics, however, this land of golden promise is proscribed. Whatever may be their talents or pretensions, they must drudge on, with no other reward but sordid emolument; or, if they indulge in visions of honour and elevation, must necessarily connect those pleasing ideas with anticipations of political change and revolution. In this way it is conceived to be manifest, that the whole active and energetic part of the Catholics must consider themselves as directly injured and affronted by the exclusions to which they are liable; and, as the inferior mass of the population scarcely ever acts but from the impulse of the higher, nothing more seems to be requisite to account for the general dissatisfaction of the Catholics with their present condition.

Independent of this altogether, it is to be considered, that those who are excluded, are so excluded on account of those principles, and that profession of faith which they hold in common with the rest, and by their attachment to which they are all united in one interest. It is natural for the lowest Catholics to think that their condition would be amended, if persons of their persuasion were freely admitted to the legislature,—the bench,—the magistracy,—and army. At all events, it is impossible that they should not feel that the condition of the whole body would be more honourable; and this is a feeling which operates more powerfully, even in the very lowest classes of society, than legislators always seem to have been aware of.

Of all the feelings in which resentment and dislike, either individual or general, can take its origin, the most common, most prolific, and most powerful, is that of insult and unmerited contempt. The love of estimation is rooted so firmly in human nature, that there is scarcely an individual so debased as not to be more affected by an affront than an injury; and much more likely to resent unmerited scorn than unprovoked

provoked malignity. Now, the exclusion of Catholics from all offices and situations of honour and dignity, and that solely on account of their being Catholics, cannot fail to be felt by them as an insult and opprobrium on their faith, and to remind them, that they are a degraded and inferior people. In whatever situation a Catholic may be placed individually, he must still feel that he belongs to a despised and humiliated order, and must be prone to all those movements of resentment and dissatisfaction which belong to those who are undeservedly dishonoured. It is this feeling, we are persuaded, far more than the actual hardships and privations to which they are subjected, that has generated among the Catholics that spirit of disaffection which it would be in vain to deny or dissemble; and that impatience for the removal of their remaining badges of inferiority, which has sometimes appeared more turbulent than the object could justify. It is a feeling which necessarily arises in such a situation, and which has often been known to produce effects at least as formidable as any which have yet been either experienced, or anticipated from Catholic combinations. We formerly alluded to the early and obstinate dissensions of the patricians and plebeians of ancient Rome, which originated in this very feeling. But a more recent and impressive illustration may be found in the history of the French revolution. All rational people are now agreed, that the true cause of that monstrous commotion was the obstinate exclusion of the lower orders from places of distinction and authority. The roturier and the noble were pretty nearly equal with regard to all the substantial rights which affected person or property; and it was the latter, much more frequently than the former, that felt the effects of what was arbitrary and oppressive in the constitution of the monarchy. The roturier, however, was excluded, in a great degree, from high military command, or civil office of the first distinction,—and this alone proved sufficient to produce a spirit of general discontent and disaffection, which speedily overthrew the whole frame of the society. The immediate effects of the exclusion could reach but to a few;—but the sense of injustice and partiality communicated itself to the whole body. The lowest individual felt his share of the contumely which it inflicted on his order, and resented and rebelled against those ancient arrangements which withheld from that order its full share of the honours and distinctions of the nation. What the roturier was in France, the Catholic is in Ireland;—and, if his conduct should ultimately be the same, it will not be without a precedent, nor those who provoke it, without a warning.

There is nothing overcharged in this parallel; on the contrary, we believe, that it does not represent the degraded state of the  
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Irish Catholics with sufficient force and effect. The lower orders in France, we believe, laboured under fewer disabilities than the Catholics of Ireland; and those disabilities they owed to their birth, of which they were generally ashamed, and not to their religion to which it was their duty to procure respect and honour. They paid no tythes to a sect they disapproved—they had no recollection of having been sharers in the privileges they envied—and, if they were liable to slights and insults from those who enjoyed all the proud distinctions of office, still those were almost uniformly tempered by the forbearance and good-breeding which naturally belonged to nobility;—finally, they had never been opposed in open hostility to their superiors, nor mingled the remembrance of antient enmity and merciless victory with the grudgings of their present inequality. If that vast insurrection, therefore, the consequences of which have shaken the world to its foundations, be held to be sufficiently accounted for by referring to the disabilities and exclusions of the *tiers etat*, after it came to hanker after the offices from which it was debarred, there seems to be no difficulty in accounting for the general discontent and impatience of the Irish Catholics, and no great hazard in predicting similar consequences from the continued rejection of their claims.

This conclusion we should think ourselves warranted to draw, from the mere consideration of the law as it stands with regard to this body; but, if we take into view the well authenticated accounts of the feelings and practices to which the law has given occasion, we shall be disposed to wonder how any hesitation should ever have been expressed as to its adoption. Throughout Ireland, a Protestant alone is qualified with the appellation of 'an honest man;' and, in common speech, the Catholics are still designated by terms of contempt and abhorrence. In some places, the passing bell is rung out in a brisk and merry measure when one of them dies. The obnoxious Magistracy which superintended the floggings and executions which attended the suppression of the rebellion, is still continued in office; and the blood-hounds of the Orange faction are still caressed in the courts of the Castle. Catholics, as we have already noticed, are systematically excluded from serving on juries; and instances are by no means wanting, where the protestantism of the jury has been sufficiently distinguishable on the face of their verdict. In some counties, a general combination has actually been entered into, to drive all Catholics from among them, by menaces and actual violence,—and the magistracy, from fear, or from baser motives, have remained quiet spectators of an outrage so enormous. This last statement we should have declined to make upon any thing that could appear questionable authority; but when we find it contained



contained in an address by a Protestant peer, the resident governor of the county to which he alludes, and delivered by him to the magistrates of that county, assembled by his summons for the express purpose of taking it into consideration, we conceive that little doubt can be entertained of its accuracy, and are convinced it is of importance that such truths should be generally known. Lord Gossford, the chief magistrate of the county of Armagh, is said, in a published speech, which has never been disavowed or disputed, to have addressed the following statement to the magistrates of that county.—

‘ *It is no secret*, that a persecution, accompanied by all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have, in all ages, distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this county; neither age nor sex, nor acknowledged innocence, as to any guilt in the late disturbance, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime indeed of easy proof—it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connexion with a person professing that faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible;—it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription; which certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient and modern history can supply. For, where have we heard, or in what story of human cruelty have we read, of more than half the inhabitants of a populous county, deprived at one blow of the means, as well as the fruits of their industry; and driven, in the midst of an inclement season, to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families, where chance may guide them? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this county. Those horrors *are now acting with impunity*: the spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing more than an instrument of tyranny,) has, for a time, disappeared in this county; and the *supineness* of the Magistrates of Armagh, is become the common topic of conversation in every corner of this kingdom. I know my own heart, and I should despise myself, if, under any intimidation, I could close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people.’\*

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\* We have not been able to learn exactly the date of this address;—

If such be the actual state of the Catholics of Ireland, we think we may very safely assume our first proposition as completely established, viz. that their discontent and tendency to disaffection is sufficiently accounted for by the privations, disabilities and hardships to which they are subjected. If this be the case, however, we do not very well see how it is possible to hesitate upon the second proposition,—that the removal of these disabilities and hardships could effectually eradicate that spirit of disaffection. It is no doubt true, that some of the most grievous and intolerable of those hardships are not directly imposed by the law, and might not cease, perhaps, immediately upon its abolition. But they originate, unquestionably, in habits and feelings which the law originally suggested, and still encourages and foments. When any order of men is directly degraded by the law, and placed, though even in matters of inconsiderable moment, in a contemptible or humiliated position, the consequence infallibly will be, that they will become objects of contempt and distrust in all things, and will be habitually subjected to the insults and oppressions of those who are placed above them. The multitude of men is naturally disposed to domineer and insult their inferiors. If the law gives them this license in any degree, they are sure to abuse it; if it countenance their insolence in any thing, it will be unable to check it in any other; and the sanction which it affords to a certain measure of oppression, will be made the warrant and pretext for unmeasured usurpation. In all cases, indeed, of inequality of conditions, the laws only lay the foundation, on which usage erects the superstructure; they set the example, on which practice improves; and only give the first local impulse to that vast undulation which embraces the whole expanse of society.

If this, however, be the true theory of the *origin* of those habits and feelings from which the Catholics suffer still more than from their legal disabilities, there seems to be no reason for doubting that it would hold equally in regard to their *cessation*. If their root is the law, they must wither and die away when that root is extirpated. It is evidently impossible, indeed, to conceive that Catholics should be regarded by the country with distrust or contempt, if they were openly treated with respect and confidence

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we copy it from p. 19 of an account of the proceedings at a general meeting of Catholics in April 1807; and, as it is there quoted to illustrate the actual condition of that body, we presume that it was but recently delivered;—at all events, it evidently refers to a period subsequent to the late rebellions.

dence by the legislature. If they had not been pointed out to vulgar prejudice and malignity by legal exclusions and disabilities, they would never have been distinguished from their fellow subjects except by their individual character; and, indeed, it is evidently impossible that they should long be regarded as objects either of hatred or of scorn, if they were seen in the Senate or on the Bench—at the head of the law or the army,—if their nobles appeared adorned with badges of honour in the presence of their Sovereign—and their merchants and country gentlemen took their places in corporations and local magistracies.

There are, indeed, certain other evils from which the peasantry of Ireland have long suffered, independent of the laws relating to Popery; and, without some redress of which, it is scarcely to be expected that either Protestant or Catholic will be quite prosperous or contented. One is, the nonresidence of the landed proprietors, and the occasional oppressions of the middlemen; the other is, the nonresidence of the clergy, and the prevailing practice of farming out the tithes to certain middlemen of another description; who again let them out, in smaller portions, to more rigid exactors; and in this way draw from the poor farmer, in some instances, more than double of what is actually paid to the clergyman. This oppressive practice is the source of great discontent to the whole agricultural population, whether Catholic or Protestant; but the load falls no doubt much heavier on the former, from whom this great contribution is extorted for the support of an establishment in which he has no interest, and who has his own priesthood to maintain into the bargain. It is with great pleasure that we have observed, in the public papers, some recent proceedings of the Irish proprietors themselves, with a view to remedy this great evil; and we earnestly hope that their suggestions will meet with such countenance from the Legislature as their importance and equity so evidently deserve.

In the mean time, we conceive we may safely assume the second part of our original proposition, that the repeal of the remaining disabilities of the Catholic body would unquestionably regain the affections, and secure the loyalty of that great body,—render unnecessary the great military establishment which is now required to keep them in subjection,—and deliver the nation at large from the dangers and apprehensions which must constantly result from their depression. We do not say that this effect would follow immediately on the passing of the law. Some little time must be allowed for the subsidence of the waves, and the purification of the waters; but if the winds be once shut up in their caverns, the subsidence and purification will instantly begin; and no long period will be required for the complete restoration of tranquillity. The heartburnings and jealousies,—the fears and  
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resentments which now divide the Catholic and Protestant population, would be gradually and even speedily composed, if they were left to subsist merely upon the remembrance of past excesses,—if they were not perpetually fostered by the feeling of actual degradation, and the temptation to new oppressions, which is derived from the present state of the law. Of the two parties, the Protestants would be the last to lay aside their animosities,—if it be true that they are always the slowest to forgive, who have been guilty of the greatest injustice.

The case of Scotland affords a remarkable illustration of the very obvious truths on which we have now been insisting. During the reign of Charles II. and of his successor, the Presbyterians of this country, forming the great majority of the inhabitants, were not only saddled with an Episcopal establishment, but subjected to the most barbarous persecution on account of their non-conformity. The consequence was, that the country, though attached by ancient and hereditary prejudices to the ruling family, was in a state of perpetual ferment and constant insurrection. The wretched peasants were hunted and shot at their conventicles; and, in revenge, the military were massacred in ambuscades, and the mitre itself proved no defence against the rage of an oppressed and exasperated multitude. A civil war, in short, of the most odious description, was carried on with little intermission, in the most civilized parts of the country; and the discontents, originating in religious intolerance, had risen to such an height, as leaves little room to doubt that the country would have been lost for ever to the Crown of England, if the revolution, with its healing system of toleration, had not come to restore the allegiance of the nation, by redressing its grievances. The effects of this liberal policy are, if possible, still more striking than those of the intolerance which it came to remedy. The Presbyterian spirit has been commonly supposed to have in it something of a refractory and republican character; nor was there any want of plausibility in the arguments of those who maintained in their day, that no indulgence could safely be shown to a system, which was evidently hostile to monarchy in all its principles, forms, and proceedings. The result has been, however, that the Presbyterians were no sooner delivered from persecution, and set free from disabilities, than they became the most loyal of all subjects. The inhabitants of this part of the island, at least, have not, for the last century, given any very turbulent proofs of their dislike of kingly power, or of dispositions peculiarly untractable to the views of an Episcopal ministry. So far, on the contrary, has the stiffness of their original Calvinism been softened down by the indulgence with which they have been treated, that Scotchmen are not only to be found among  
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the most zealous partizans of Government, but the General Assembly of their church has recently expressed their gratitude to his Majesty, for his vigilance in watching over those bulwarks of the rival establishment, which were originally erected for their exclusion, and have thus exhibited to the Christian world a most edifying spectacle of charitableness and moderation. The army and the navy are filled with staunch Presbyterians; and the sons of those very men, who rose in arms against a government which made their religion a ground of persecution and contempt, are, now that they are rescued from insult and oppression, the most devoted of its defenders.

Let any man contrast the present state of Scotland, as to loyalty, tranquillity and security, with what it was in the reign of Charles the Second, or during the whole time when the prevailing religion was discountenanced; and then let him ask himself, in what condition he conceives it would have stood at this moment, if the establishment of Episcopacy had been upheld in that country by the same means that Protestantism has been upheld in Ireland, and if Presbyterians had been subjected to all the disqualifications, and exposed to all the insults and injuries which are now the lot of Catholics in the neighbouring island? Is there any one who does not see, that, instead of a pattern of loyalty, and a nursery for our soldiers and sailors, it would have been a centre of sedition and discontent, and required the controul of more forces than it now supplies;—that, instead of adding to the strength of the empire, it would have been a source of weakness and apprehension; and would have been, in one word, like Ireland, the seat of rebellion, and the point of attack for every power with which we were at enmity?

In what we have hitherto been saying, we have considered the question of policy in a general and abstract point of view, and without any reference to the actual circumstances of the empire. The advantage which we have now held out as the reward of Catholic emancipation, is the restoration of allegiance, and of tranquillity in general, and the deliverance of the country at large, from the fear and the danger of insurrection, which we have concluded to be attainable in no other way. Even on this view of the matter, the advantage is of such magnitude as to make its attainment the first duty of the statesman, and the leading object of every wellwisher to his country. It is not doing justice, however, to the argument, to consider it only in this general and limited point of view; and the strongest and most irresistible ground of policy on which the Catholics can now claim their emancipation is suppressed, if we overlook the actual condition of the country.

It is needless to remind any of our readers of the present situation of Europe, or of the dangers which menace this country. We live in a most melancholy and momentous crisis of every thing that relates to the public; nor is it possible for any rational being to take into computation the resources, the ambition and animosity of the enemy, without feeling that there is room for great apprehension as to the result of this arduous contest. We may be successfully invaded by a foreign power, and our whole boasted and cherished system of government, religion and commerce, may be overwhelmed in an instant. This is the great and tremendous evil, within the peril of which we now stand. There are other miseries, and even other catastrophes, with which we are threatened by the continuance of the war; but this is the giant hazard which shrinks all the rest into insignificance. The failure of our finances,—the destruction of our trade,—the corruption of our constitution, are all distant and resistible evils. That we may be conquered by France, is the present and transcendent danger; and it is to avert it, that all our efforts must now be directed.

Now, is there a single individual who has ever shaped to himself the form of this tremendous hazard, without thinking instantly of Ireland as the point of danger and attack? In England, every one takes it for granted, that an invading army would meet with none but indignant and united opponents. In Ireland, every one takes it for granted that it would meet with guides and allies. What is the reason of this difference? And by what means is it to be effaced? All candid men, we think, must answer, that it is produced by the depression of the Catholic population of Ireland; and that it may be removed by their emancipation. Both positions, however, have been cavilled at; and it is necessary to say a word or two in their defence.

The fundamental fact, we suppose, will be readily conceded. Every one knows, that Ireland is less secure than England. The late rebellions—the great military establishment—the insurrection bill—the armament of Hoche and the progress of Humbert, demonstrate it. It is only as to the cause of this insecurity that opinions can possibly be divided. The enemies of the Catholics are ready enough to admit that it is owing to that body. It is the Catholics themselves, that, for the most part, deny this allegation. It becomes them, perhaps, as petitioners, to say so; and, so far as regards the respectable and intelligent individuals to whom the prosecution of their claims has been entrusted, we have no doubt that they say true. But with regard to the great body of the Catholic peasantry, we find it difficult to believe them; and think there is sufficient evidence, in existing facts and recent circumstances, to ascertain that the insecurity  
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of Ireland is mainly owing to the discontent of its Catholic population. It is scarcely denied now, that all the late rebellions originated, and were chiefly fomented, by this discontent. The agitators and recruiting officers of the rebel army, were the Catholic priests. Now, whatever principle will make men rebel, will almost infallibly induce them to join a foreign enemy against the government whose oppressions had provoked their rebellion. We cannot enter into the romantic distinction between avenging yourself with your own hand and with that of an ally. When a civil war has once broke out, the opposed party is, to all intents and purposes, a public enemy; and the very same principles which induce a belligerent to seek for allies among his neighbours, seem to justify the recurrence of either to foreign assistance. If it be admitted, therefore, that many of the Catholics are disposed to rebel against England, there seems little room to doubt that they would join a French army against her. They might, indeed, be disposed to stipulate that their foreign auxiliaries should not be in such numbers as to be able to domineer over both parties; but there seems to be no intelligible reason for doubting, that they would much more readily take part against that power from whom they had already hazarded a revolt, than against those who came to attack it, with professions of zeal for their deliverance. The matter, however, seems to be pretty clearly settled by the fact, that the desperate standard of Humbert was joined by several thousands of Catholics,—by the public admission of the existence of a French party in Ireland,—by the assemblage of Catholic rebels and refugees at Paris,—by the language of some of the Catholic body at their general meeting at Dublin in February last,—and by the pious concern manifested by the French bishops for their oppressed brethren in our islands.

We have stated already, that we argue this whole question on grounds of expediency alone. The fact, therefore, is all with which we have any concern; it is no part of our present business to determine, whether the Catholics would act prudently or virtuously in making such an election; our opinion certainly is, that they would not. Open rebellion and violence commonly ends in the establishment of military despotism; and even where it is excited by real and intolerable grievances, usually does no more than purchases a different form of oppression, at a price which would be too high for one generation to pay for effectual redress. In the present case, we think the hazard greater than usual, and the prospect of amelioration much more dubious and feeble. If the Irish throw off the dominion of England by the assistance of France, the probability is, that both Ireland and England will fall under the dominion of France; and, grievous as the Catholics now conceive their

condition to be, it appears to us to admit of little doubt, that, in that event, the whole body of the people, including the Catholics, would speedily be reduced to a condition infinitely more miserable. This is the way in which we reason; and, in this way, we verily believe that very many of the leading and intelligent Catholics reason also. But the great body will not reason in this way. Like other great bodies, they will act from passion and prejudice and misguided zeal; and will be directed in actions over which reason has no influence, by crazy bigots, or desperate and unprincipled adventurers. If nations were guided by reason, we should have little oppression, and probably neither war nor rebellion in the world. In reasoning on the probable conduct of men, no supposition could be so sure to mislead us as this; nor can any argument against the likelihood of any act of a multitude be so inconclusive, as that it appears to be improper or unwise. All that we have to proceed upon, in such cases, is the experience of similar occurrences; and if men have generally rebelled or proved refractory, in certain situations, though uniformly and manifestly to their own prejudice in the main, we may conclude, with tolerable certainty, that they will rebel again in similar situations, and are inexcusable if we do not take our measures upon that supposition. Now, the fact is, that the causes of discontent among the Irish Catholics, are precisely the causes which have most generally led to rebellion and revolution in every age of the world; and after having seen them in our own day produce this very fruit on that very soil, it must be the height of infatuation to suppose that it will not be produced again, as soon as the elements conspire to ripen it to a harvest. With the merit or demerit of the Catholics in such schemes of rebellion, we have at present no concern. We look at the question in the light of policy only; and, being satisfied that it is very probable that many of them would join in such schemes, and that their so doing would be of the utmost detriment to this country, we conceive that it is our duty to employ the most effectual means to prevent or dissuade them, whatever may be our opinion of the absurdity and wickedness of their project. It may be very wicked and absurd for Turks to beat and spit upon us, merely for laughing at their beards or their prophet; but if we dislike being beaten, we will certainly abstain from provoking them, and, for our own sakes, either learn, or counterfeit, a respect for their prejudices. There is nothing so insane, and even inconsistent in politics, as that valiant and overweening spirit, which sometimes leads men to say that they will do nothing out of fear, which they would not have done out of good will; and that they will even refuse a reasonable demand, if

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it be made in circumstances in which their compliance might be construed into an apprehension of the consequences. This is rather a lofty and romantic rule for the conduct of individuals; but it is evidently altogether absurd when applied to that of nations. There, the only thing that can ever be properly considered, is the probable consequence of what is in contemplation: and every nation that abstains from seizing whatever it would be convenient for it to possess; or consents to yield, what it would be for its interest to retain, is governed entirely by fear of the consequences of an opposite conduct. We must provide for our own security and prosperity. This is our whole political duty; and as we cannot make all other nations wise and virtuous, according to our own conception of these qualities, we must discharge this duty in the best way that we can, by giving way to their folly when we cannot oppose it, and diverting their malice when we cannot chastise it. We must make treaties with Algiers, and capitulations with rebels and pirates.

Taking it for granted, then, that many of the Irish Catholics, if left in their present condition, would be disposed to join a foreign invader, the only remaining question is, whether this disposition would be effectually removed, by granting them the emancipation for which they have been so long struggling. This point we have already endeavoured to settle; and it is needless to go back upon it. The injuries and affronts which the Catholic body have sustained for a century, have, no doubt, generated in many minds an irritation, that will not be immediately extinguished; and turbulent spirits probably exist in the country, who, without any real concern about the cause of these oppressions, will be disposed to keep the irritation alive, as an instrument for the furtherance of their own desperate and ambitious projects. But, that the great body of the Catholics would be conciliated by the success of their petition, and the influence of those who have further views, prodigiously diminished, seems to admit of no serious doubt. All the sincere, the moderate, the peaceable, intelligent and timid, would instantly be linked to the side of government; and the most dangerous *pretext* would be taken from those who, with far other motives, had joined and exasperated their clamours. By a little discretion in the management of the priests, and by a truly pacific and conciliating administration of the law as it would then stand, we have no fort-of doubt, that four-fifths of the discontented Catholics would be gained over *immediately* by the emancipation; and that, in a very few years, there would be as little hazard of rebellion in Ireland, as there is, at this moment, in the other parts of the United Kingdom.

If there be any truth, however, in what we have now been saying;—if the emancipation of the Catholics would tend, in any considerable degree, to make that country more secure and pacific;—if it would reconcile and attach to government any considerable number of those who are now alienated or disaffected, is there any man who will not say that this is an advantage, of the most incalculable importance to the empire at large, and one against which, it is scarcely to be conceived, that any other consideration should, at the present crisis, be listened to? The hazard to which we are exposed, at this instant, is too dreadful to admit of any hesitation as to the course which we ought to pursue. The Catholics of Ireland, in their present state, are likely to join an invading enemy in great numbers. If they so join him, it is evidently very doubtful whether Ireland can be saved from conquest; and if Ireland be lost, it seems most probable that England cannot long be preserved. The emancipation of the Catholics would infallibly reconcile many, and abate the animosity of all; it would disarm the agitators of their most powerful and plausible pretext; and, if accompanied by a system of genuine conciliation, could scarcely fail to compose all differences, and unite the whole population in defence of the rights and privileges which they would then possess in common. In this situation, it must be admitted, that the disadvantages of the measure must be shown to be strong and terrible indeed, before they can justify us in withholding it, or determine us to endure all the evils and dangers to which we must be subject till it is adopted. We shall now endeavour, therefore, to determine what are these disadvantages.

Before entering upon this subject, it is worth while, however, to remark, that the greater part of them seem only to have occurred to the various authors and orators, by whom they have lately been brought forward, since the recent change of administration may have suggested the prudence and popularity of such an exposition. While the late ministry were in power, and it was generally understood that a disposition to relieve the Catholics prevailed among those who had the chief management of affairs, a most singular and cautious silence was observed, upon the topics which are now so loudly resounded; and the measure that has since been so clamorously abused, was announced and brought forward with a greater appearance of acquiescence and approbation, both in Parliament and out of it, than any measure of equal importance which has lately been proposed or adopted in this country. The watchmen of the church, as they have since ingenuously confessed, slumbered at their posts;—the guardians of the constitution were lulled into perfect security;—and the keeper of the King's conscience could discover nothing that afforded the remotest reason  
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for alarm. It was the custom to talk, in good company, of the approaching emancipation of the Catholics; and the good-natured men of all parties began to discover, that if it was cautiously set about, there was no great harm to be apprehended.

All at once, certain conscientious scruples suggested themselves in a certain quarter; and, while the public reckoned confidently on the bill in question being carried almost without a debate or a division, it was suddenly withdrawn; and the ministry, who had had the temerity to introduce it, were displaced in a body. Upon this unexpected occurrence, it is marvellous to consider the sudden illumination which broke in upon the minds of all the loyal and orthodox pamphleteers of this intellectual kingdom. It was instantaneously discovered that the measure in question was big with danger to the civil and religious liberties of the nation; that it was the immediate forerunner of popery, persecution and Antichrist; and that, besides inferring the guilt of subornation of perjury in the most aggravated of all imaginable cases, it paved the way for the subjugation of this country by Irish rebels and foreign Catholics in alliance. Such a diabolical contrivance, in short, had not been heard of since the days of Guy Fawkes and his lantern; and clergy and laity were called to join in thanksgivings to his Majesty for the escape which his firmness had procured for us. The beauty of all this was, that the project and arguments which drew forth those animated strains from so many eloquent mouths, had lain upon the breakfast tables of those orthodox and disinterested persons for several weeks before, and had been perused and laid aside by them, without exciting the smallest emotion of alarm or indignation. It was not till it was discovered that there was to be a change of ministry on account of them, that they germinated into those fine flowers of loyalty and zeal, from which the nation has since derived such incalculable benefit. We have taken some pains to procure all the pamphlets which have been published on this interesting subject; and, so far as we have been able to ascertain, there does not appear to have been more than two or three written previous to that event, which made it so prudent and profitable to multiply their number. Up to that very hour, there never was a measure, we believe, of the same magnitude, which excited so little discussion, or met with so little opposition among the tribe of political writers; and, if it had not been for the change of ministry, we are perfectly certain that we should never have seen nor heard of one hundredth part of those profound performances, in which the impolicy of the Catholic emancipation is so satisfactorily demonstrated. The origin of these productions, however, has, to be sure, in strict reasoning, no necessary connexion with their intrinsic merit; and, though it is

is not usual to find the best arguments only brought forward to support an unexpected decision, any more than to find the bravest troops employed only in plundering *after* an unexpected victory, it is still proper to consider the real value of what *has* been urged upon a question of such infinite importance, without allowing ourselves to be prejudiced by any consideration of the quarter from which it proceeds, or the circumstances in which it has been brought forward.

The leading objection to the Catholic emancipation is, that it would import a violation of the King's coronation oath, by which his Majesty has sworn, to 'maintain the Protestant reformed religion as established by law, and to preserve to the bishops and clergy of the realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them.' A great deal has been said about this oath; in our humble apprehension very little to the purpose,—as nothing, we conceive, can be clearer, than that the Catholic petition might be granted, without infringing one tittle on the letter or the spirit of it: but, as the subject, though of no difficulty, is of very great importance, we shall beg leave to state, in a few words, the leading reasons by which we apprehend that the objection founded upon it may be got over.

In the *first* place, we conceive it to be quite plain, that the oath has no reference at all to the conduct of the King as a branch of the legislature, but was intended merely to restrain him in the exercise of his prerogative, or of such functions as he might discharge as an individual. It was intended to bind him, by religious sanctions, to observe the law; but by no means to tie up his hands from consenting to such new laws as his Parliament should choose to propose to him. It was intended to guard against the usurpations and outrages of another Mary or James, and not to cripple the salutary powers of the whole legislature. This is perfectly evident from the very nature of the contrivance; and it is expressly stated and enforced, both in the debates by which the terms of the oath were settled, and by those that took place shortly after on a proposal to modify some parts of it. See Grey, Vol. VIII. & IX.

In the *second* place, it is to be remembered, that this is a promissory oath imposed by Parliament upon the Sovereign; and that it is of the nature of all obligations of this sort, that they may be released and discharged by the party by whom, or for whose behalf, they were imposed. If the Parliament of Great Britain, therefore, propose any law to the King which might appear to contradict the tenor of this promissory engagement, it is plain, that, by that very proposition, they release him from the engagement,

engagement, and discharge at once all obligation that might be founded upon it.

These considerations would evidently take away the objection founded on the coronation oath, even if the measures objected to were admitted to be in contradiction to its provisions. It is most material, however, to observe, in the *third* place, that to relieve all Catholics from civil disabilities, and to make them capable of every civil function in the kingdom, would not infringe on one article of that oath upon any known or intelligible rule of construction. The oath is, to maintain the Protestant religion, and the rights of the Protestant church. Now, are the Catholics asking that the Protestant religion shall be disowned, or the Protestant establishment supplanted? Do they pretend, in the smallest degree, to trench upon the rights and privileges of that establishment, or even to claim for their own faith any emolument or honour whatsoever? Their claim relates not to ecclesiastical matters at all;—it concerns their civil rights and capacities only;—and imports, merely, that they shall not be excluded on account of their religion from any situation in the civil or military department for which they are otherwise qualified. Is it possible to say, that the Protestant religion would not be maintained, nor the Protestant churches secured in their lawful rights, if Catholic gentlemen were admitted to Parliament, and to high as well as to low appointments in the law and the army? As long as the Protestant religion is the only one that receives honours and emoluments by the law of the land, and as long as those honours and emoluments remain unimpaired, it is evident that the Protestant religion is maintained in the most comprehensive sense of that term; and that the King's obligation to maintain it, is not in the least affected by his consenting to any arrangement which Parliament may make as to the civil privileges and capacities of any class of his subjects.

But, in the *fourth* place, we must remark, that even if it were possible, in any case, to admit of such a strained interpretation of the oath in question, it is established, by historical facts, that it never was, and never can be adopted in the present instance. The King, in the first clause of his coronation oath, swears 'to govern according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and to the laws and customs of this realm;' and in the clause relating to religion, he binds himself to 'maintain the Protestant reformed religion as established by law.' Now, there are only two ways of interpreting these obligations. The laws here referred to, must either mean the laws which may be successively enacted by the legislature,—or the laws which had been enacted, and were actually in force when the coronation oath was framed.

If the former supposition be adopted, then there is an end of the question; for, the relief which is now claimed by the Catholics is a legislative relief; and the laws by which they are set free from their present disabilities, will then be the laws according to which his Majesty has sworn to govern his people, and to maintain his church. If, on the other hand, it be alleged, that the laws referred to in the oath were the laws then in existence, and that the intention of that obligation was to restrain the Sovereign from consenting to any measure by which the rights and privileges of his people, referable to religion, might even indirectly be varied, then it follows, that in order to implement and render effectual that provision, the Catholic petition should instantly be granted, and the whole privileges, to which they there lay claim, instantly confirmed to them by the legislature. For it is a fact which has been studiously kept out of view by the enemies of this claim, that *at the time when the present coronation oath was framed, and taken by King William, Catholics sat in both Houses of Parliament in Ireland, and were eligible to all offices, civil and military.* The oath was framed in the first year of William and Mary; and Catholics were only deprived of the rights which they are now seeking to regain, by the acts of the 3d and 4th of those Sovereigns, and by the 1st and 2d of Queen Anne. This dilemma, it is humbly conceived, brings the whole question to a very short issue, and seems to render any further discussion superfluous.

We may remark, however, in the *last* place, that the question seems to have been practically settled, in the course of the present reign, in a way that makes it difficult to imagine upon what ground it can now be supposed attended with any difficulty. The objection is, that to admit Catholics to civil rights and privileges, from which they were formerly excluded, is, in an indirect manner, to attack and expose the Protestant establishment; and that the King, therefore, cannot admit them to such privileges without a violation of his coronation oath. Now, if this were the first time that such privileges had been claimed or granted, we can understand, that some of the foregoing considerations might have been necessary, to obviate the scruples in which this objection has its foundation. But it is perfectly well known, that, in the course of the last thirty years, the Catholic subjects of the King have been admitted to a great variety of privileges from which they were formerly excluded; and that the remaining disabilities, of which they now pray the removal, are infinitely fewer in number, and more insignificant in degree, than those for which they are already indebted to the goodness of his Majesty, and the wisdom of his advisers.

did not restrain the King from consenting to the repeal of the great mass of the penal and disqualifying statutes in 1778, 1782, and 1793, by what casuistry can it be shown, that it should now restrain him from repealing the miserable remnant of that disgraceful code,—and, instead of a system fantastically compounded of fair sketches of liberality, and fragments of decayed oppression, ruling all his people by one consistent code of indulgence and justice?

With these few observations, we leave the subject of the coronation oath to the candid consideration of our readers; and regret to find, that the length to which we have already extended this article, will oblige us to bestow even less room on the remaining topics of discussion. We are glad, indeed, to be excused, on any terms, from the disgusting task of exposing the wretched bigotry, or pitiful drivelling, of those who have endeavoured to terrify us with the prospect of the rekindling of the fires of Smithfield,—the downfall of the Established Church, and the reimposition of St Peter's pence,—as the necessary consequences of admitting our Catholic fellow-subjects to a fair participation of our civil privileges. It may be observed, however, in general, that all those alarmists proceed upon one very extraordinary supposition, viz. that if Catholics were once admitted to an equality of civil rights, they would speedily succeed in converting the greater part of our Protestant population to their own faith. The Catholics are not at present so much as a fifth part of the whole population; and certainly they do not possess, even in proportion to their numbers, a greater share of wealth, talent or authority, than their Protestant brethren. Unless, therefore, it be supposed that they are to multiply to such an extent as to constitute the absolute majority of the nation, it is evidently quite inconceivable that they should ever be able, either to subvert our church establishment, or in any other way to infringe on the bulwarks of our constitution. The whole basis of the argument, therefore, on the part of those who profess to see danger in their emancipation, obviously rests on the supposition, that, if once emancipated, they will be enabled to convert the rest of the people to their own absurd faith. Now this, it must be admitted, is rather a humiliating supposition, on the part of those who boast of the superior reasonableness of their own system: nor was it to be expected, that the posterity of those great divines, who so triumphantly exposed the errors of Popery in the days of its greatest power and reputation, should now admit that its advocates, if put on a level with them in respect of temporals, would certainly reason back the greater part of their flocks to those exploded and discredited errors. The truth is, however, that the apprehension

sion is altogether groundless, and, we are half inclined to suspect, in a great majority of cases, affected. It is only when sects are persecuted that they make converts. Those who are protected in the exercise of their religion, always grow comparatively cool in its cause; and, strange and improbable as it may at first sight appear, the history of the world has demonstrated, that men are never so zealous in the propagation of their faith, as when it exposes them to suffering and reproach; and that proselytes are never made in such abundance as when they and their instructors have a fair prospect of becoming martyrs. If civil privileges and worldly honours gave men any advantage in religious disputes, the whole Catholics of Ireland must have been converted by their Protestant clergy half a century ago; but if it be true that that great and opulent establishment, backed by the penal laws of former and of present times, has not been able to make one convert since the first days of its formation, we may easily calculate on the additional progress that Popery is likely to make among us, by removing from the lay part of that communion some of the civil disabilities under which they now labour. So far, indeed, from thinking that the emancipation of the Catholics will have any tendency to multiply their numbers, we are perfectly convinced that it will have the very opposite effect. Men never love the objects of their love so dearly as when they are exposed to insult or danger. When left to their undisturbed enjoyment, they usually subside into indifference or neglect; and, if actually compelled by law to manifest their devotion and attachment, are very frequently beset with weariness and disgust. Paradoxical as it may probably appear, we are fully convinced that if the Catholic religion had been formally established in Ireland, at the time when the Presbyterian religion was established in Scotland, the majority of the inhabitants would, before this time, have adopted the tenets of the Protestants, and effected a reformation of their own, after the example of their brethren in this island. The oscitancy and languor of all established churches, assisted by the corruptions and abuses to which the Romish establishment is peculiarly liable, would, in all probability, have alienated the greater part of the people from a system already discredited by the secession of the greater part of their fellow-subjects; while the mining of the different Protestant sectaries, would have gradually unsettled the foundation of the fabric; and the fair fame and pure example of the English establishment, garnished and eclipsed it in the eyes of every candid observer.

In a controversy where the object of one party was to excite popular and vulgar prejudices against their antagonists, it was to be expected, that the old antiquated charges of the mental reser-

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vations of Papists,—of their not keeping faith with heretics,—and of the pope's power to grant licenses for killing and deposing heretic sovereigns, should be brought into notice by the lower agents of the party. The pretence, of their not being bound by oaths, is of all others the most impudent. It is by their regard for an oath alone, that they are excluded from any of the situations to which they are now aspiring. It is from their dread of an apparent or constructive disavowal of their tenets, that they refuse to take the benefit of the annual act of indemnity, under the cover of which so many dissenters from the Established church enjoy all the sweets of office. With regard to the other points, the answer of the six Catholic Universities in 1793, is final and conclusive. These learned bodies, selected as the avowed depositaries of all that is orthodox and learned in catholic theology, answered unanimously, that it was no tenet of their church, that the pope, or even a general council, could absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oath of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation; and that the force and obligation of any engagement, is neither shaken nor diminished by the circumstance of the person to whom it is made entertaining erroneous opinions as to religion. If this were not sufficient to establish the fact against Mr Le Mesurier and his antiquated authorities, gleaned from Foulis and Fox, we are happy to be able to refer, for a confirmation of the same doctrine, to a quarter, which all Catholics, at least, must admit to be decisive on such a subject. *The Pope himself*, in a rescript to the Irish prelates, dated in June 1791, has solemnly and distinctly disavowed the whole of those doctrines on account of which the Catholics are still subjected to illiberal imputations. In that instrument his Holiness declares, that 'the see of Rome never taught, that faith is not to be kept with the heterodox; or that an oath to kings separated from the Catholic communion can be violated; or that it is lawful for the bishop of Rome to invade their temporal rights and dominions.' He adds; 'we too consider an attempt or design against the life of kings and princes, even under the pretext of religion, as a horrid and detestable crime.'

We must make an end of this now. The advantages to be gained by the emancipation of the Catholics, are nothing less than the actual multiplication of our higher and more valued population, the deliverance of the whole nation from the fear and the danger of perpetual tumults and infurrections, and, in all human probability, the salvation of the country from the most tremendous of all calamities—the conquest of a foreign foe. Of the disadvantages which have been foretold as likely to result from the measure, there is but one, we will confess, to which we are disposed

posed to pay any degree of attention, and that is the dissatisfaction which it will certainly occasion to the violent Orange party in Ireland, and their followers and imitators on this side of the water. It is certainly very greatly to be lamented, that a thing which is so obviously just in itself, and so necessary for the security and peace of the nation at large, should be likely, at such a crisis as the present, to produce any degree of disaffection or alienation on the part of any class of our countrymen. It is a consolation, however, to reflect, that the numbers of those whom such a measure can alienate is daily diminishing, and that the influence they possess must always be founded on circumstances adverse to the general prosperity. Though exasperated, and mortified too, they will never be absolutely lost to the country;—*they* will neither join with France, nor rise up in open rebellion against the government. We have been informed, indeed, that many of the most considerable of those who belonged to the Orange party have, of late, been so much struck with the dangers to which the country was exposed by the discontents of the Catholics, that, out of a regard to the security of their own property, they have openly espoused the cause of emancipation, and declared that nothing else could save the country from destruction. Those who have been the tools and the instigators of oppression, must suffer, no doubt, when oppression ceases; and, as all sufferers do naturally complain, so it is not wonderful that their complaints should, for a time, be among the loudest. This, however, will pass away; and the ministry that has the courage to do this great act of policy and justice, will be speedily and amply repaid for the clamours and temporary embarrassments they may encounter, by the grateful services of those to whom they will have restored the sweets of concord and the feeling of security. Those who have an interest in the continuance of abuses, certainly will not be persuaded that they ought to be redressed; but there are many misled by passion or example, or by hasty and inaccurate views, to whom conviction may be brought by clear statements and dispassionate reasoning. We trust this will not be neglected;—and are persuaded that, if an example of genuine liberality, unconnected with party or temporary views, were once set by persons of weight and authority in the country, men would soon be moulded, by the gravitation of a common interest into that harmonious union, for which there is now so great a necessity, and would look back with wonder on the excesses into which they had been hurried.

ART. IX. *The West India Common-place Book, compiled from Parliamentary and Official Documents; showing the Interest of Great Britain in the Sugar Colonies, &c. &c.* By Sir William Young, Bart. F. R. S. M. P. 4to. pp. 280. Phillips. London, 1807.

*A Letter to W. Manning-Esq. M. P. on the Causes of the Rapid and Progressive Depreciation of West India Property.* By Charles Bosanquet Esq. 8vo. pp. 54. Richardsons. London, 1807.

*Thoughts on the Value to Great Britain of Commerce in general, and on the Value and Importance of the Colonial Trade in particular.* By Charles Bosanquet Esq. 8vo. pp. 83. Richardsons. London, 1807.

*An Inquiry into the State of the British West Indies.* By Joseph Lowe Esq. 8vo. pp. 180. Baldwin. London, 1807.

THESE works, together with the reports of the Committees of the House of Commons on the Distilleries and the West India trade, contain every thing that has been laid before the public upon the present alarming and unprecedented situation of colonial affairs. The compilation of Sir William Young, too, exhibits the greater part of the general information connected with this subject. We have therefore brought these publications together in a single article, as furnishing the best opportunity of examining the very important question to which they all refer. This appears the more necessary, that none of those ingenious writers, nor indeed the Committees of the House of Commons themselves, have elucidated the subject in a satisfactory manner. While they all agree as to the amount of the evil, none of them have, in our apprehension, either pointed out the cause of it, or suggested any practicable remedy; and our presumption in attempting to supply this defect, will probably be thought the less of, when it is considered, that the persons to whom we allude belong all to the West India body, with the single exception of Mr Lowe, who professing to investigate the subject himself, follows the statements and adopts the opinions of the others, exclusively and implicitly.

The work of Sir William Young is a valuable collection of authentic details upon West Indian affairs, made for his own use during a constant attendance to those subjects in Parliament for twenty-two years. It is, in fact, as the title states, his Common-place book; and we heartily wish that every person, whose in-

dustry has put him in possession of such a repository, would follow the laudable example of publishing it, although he may not have time or inclination to work it up into theories.

He begins with details upon the progress and actual state of the African slave trade, exhibiting the numbers carried over in different years since the question of abolition was first agitated, and the proportions of that detestable traffic, which were put an end to by the wise measures of 1806. He gives it, too, as his serious advice to the planters, to prepare for its total abolition in a very short time,—a prediction happily fulfilled soon after the publication of his book. The progressive culture of the islands is the next object of attention. Without pretending to enter into the details, we shall notice their results, as peculiarly connected with the question which we are immediately to discuss. It appears that the produce of Jamaica has been increasing ever since 1787, but with peculiar rapidity since 1798; that the sugar exported from thence in 1804 and 1805, was above one half more than the quantity exported in 1793 and 1794, and the coffee six times as much; that Barbadoes continued on the decline, exporting about a fourth less than it had done in 1787; that Antigua and the other Leeward Islands had also decreased, except St Kitts, which remained nearly stationary; that all the other islands had increased their cultivation; and that the total export of sugar from the British islands (including Tobago), had, from 1787 to 1803, augmented by one half,—that of coffee six fold. The value of the West India trade, as a source of naval power, has of course been increasing, and nearly in the same degree. In 1787, it employed about 130,000 tons; in 1804, above 180,000, navigated by 14,000 seamen. After going through multifarious details of the imports from the West Indies, we find that, in fourteen years ending 1804, their value had increased nine millions Sterling, and the revenue from them had augmented by about three and a half millions, including, however, the conquered colonies; and that, exclusive of these, the imports from the West Indies were about a fourth of the whole imports of Great Britain. The exports to the islands have increased in the same proportion; and our author details this part of his subject with similar minuteness.

The intercourse between America and the West Indies, and the general subject of the colonial monopoly, next occupies his attention. He proves, to our entire satisfaction, that the islands cannot possibly exist without that intercourse, and that the monopoly, at least during war, should be considerably relaxed; but these points require a more ample discussion than we can allot to them here. The details into which he enters, are  
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equally illustrative of the fallacy that has marked the arguments of the shipping faction, both as to their own interests and those of the country. They lead us to one general inference, that those persons have mistaken the effects of the war, for the consequences of a policy wisely calculated to diminish its evils; and have been enraged merely because the existence of the sugar colonies was not sacrificed to a project which never could have succeeded, for retaining an accidental monopoly peculiar to one period of the present contest. The distresses of the planters form a large portion both of these and the other details contained in this volume. As it is a subject upon which all the works now before us are agreed, we shall reserve a general description of it for the remaining part of the article. Sir William closes his compilation with a number of useful details and suggestions relating to the military defence of the islands.

Having expressed our sense of the importance of this collection, we must in fairness mention one defect from which its value suffers a considerable diminution. We do not allude to the style, which is indeed as bad as possible, and frequently almost too obscure to be unravelled; but to inaccuracies, we are willing to hope, in the typography, which, unfortunately, have crept into several of the sums, and beget a natural suspicion of the rest. For example, in p. 10, we find 15 stated as five *per cent.* upon 260; in p. 124 and 145, 1803 is printed instead of 1783; and the same blunder occurring twice in p. 129, and, immediately after, 1804 being printed for 1784, such a confusion is produced as would extremely puzzle one who read the history of the American intercourse there for the first time. In p. 56 we have 1782, 3, and 4, instead of 1802, 3, and 4. In summing up the fourth column of the table, p. 28, there is an error of 40,000; in summing the fifth column, an error of 3000; and in summing the sixth there is a mistake of a cypher. It is most probable that these blunders, and many others of the same kind, are owing to the press having been corrected in the author's absence; but they are extremely unpleasant, and leave us always in a considerable degree of doubt as to the figures which we have no opportunity of checking. It is perhaps owing to some more radical mistake, that we frequently find different sums set down when the same table or calculation is obviously referred to, as in p. 36 and 38, where the same sum is given at 183,934 and 184,034.; and in p. 38 and 87, where the same sum is given at 15,596 and 19,797; besides other discrepancies in the same three pages. We have had occasion to note this and several other apparent errors of a similar description, because we found them preventing us from making use of our author's tables; and it is difficult to avoid apprehending that we should have been

equally unlucky if we had tried him more frequently. Of consequence, the value of the work suffers a material diminution, after it has been found an unsafe guide in these instances. Its utility would also have been greatly increased, if averages had been given more frequently; and it is peculiarly unfortunate that this should have been so much neglected in quoting the year 1805, (the last for which Sir William had full returns), as that season was notoriously a very unfavourable one. Lastly, he should have tried, as far as possible, in giving comparative statements, to chuse the returns for the same year or series of years; and this not merely when those statements are placed together for the sake of comparison, but also when they come in at different parts of a set of details obviously connected together. We presume most of these defects are capable of correction in a future edition.

The object of Mr Bosanquet's first pamphlet was, to describe the distressed state of the West Indian colonies, and to point out its causes. But the case which he had made out, seemed not likely to excite sufficiently the sympathy or the apprehensions of people in this country, among whom he perceived a growing tendency to undervalue the importance of the colonies altogether. In order to correct such prejudices as these, he wrote his second pamphlet; in which a great deal of very just observation, by no means new, is delivered with the air of original discovery, and a considerable portion of the most fanciful theory is laid down as dogmatically as if it were matter of demonstration, and with as much pretension to novelty as if it did not rest upon exploded errors. Both of these tracts are indeed eminently liable to this criticism; but the first contains a much larger proportion of detail and of reasoning on the practical parts of the subject. These are valuable, because the author is a professional man. His speculations on political economy, we are unable to admire; although he announces them by saying, that he 'has shut his books,' and is only to give us 'the workings of his own mind;' for, in truth, he does not appear to have read and thought enough to justify so adventurous a proceeding.

The benefits of our commerce, according to Mr Bosanquet, are threefold. It increases population by finding new employment for the people; it raises up seamen for the navy; and it affords wealth to the country, both by furnishing subsistence to individuals, and revenue to the state. So admirably do despisers of other men's books classify their own ideas! Again—a greater population than the land can maintain is necessary to Great Britain, in order that her revenue may be kept up. Manufactures are therefore requisite, in addition to agriculture; 'but manufacture is only

a second cause; it has no intrinsic momentum; the *primum mobile* is consumption.' (Thoughts, p. 9.) This must be found by means of commerce, 'whose province it is to discover, supply and receive payment from foreign customers;' and that commerce is the most beneficial, which enables us to exchange our goods for raw produce, or articles in the first state of manufacture. The golden rule with Mr Bosanquet is, that the more this country works, and the less its neighbours work upon the commodities mutually exchanged, the better it is for us. He speaks with unbecoming disrespect of the balance of trade; for which, it should seem, he will have this notion of a balance of labour substituted. We say 'unbecoming respect;' for it is plain that he believes in all the errors of that theory. He denies that the customhouse returns exhibit a fair account of the balance; but it is one of his reasons for praising a home trade, that it never can make a balance against us. So distinct are the ideas, and so consistent the doctrines of men, who will strike out systems by 'the workings of their own minds!' A branch of trade, according to our author, is also valuable in proportion as its returns are great upon a given investment of capital. Its permanence and security likewise enters into the account; and as a nursery of seamen, it is important in proportion to the number of seamen whom it employs to transport a given bulk, and to the nautical experience which it creates in them. So original are the general positions discovered by the self-taught economist! The style which falls naturally upon the working mind may probably strike our readers as not much better, when we mention, that the goods sent to Buenos Ayres, are denominated 'investments to that bourn whence no traveller returns;' (Thoughts, p. 28.) by which a man, who had *not* shut his books, would be apt to understand a cargo of coffins and winding-sheets.

Having thus laid down the general qualities of an advantageous commerce, our author tries the value of the West India trade by these tests; and as they were evidently invented with a view to the nature of that trade, it is the less wonderful if he finds it rank exceedingly high. The colonies take off our manufactures, and return us raw produce, which we either consume or work up ourselves. The trade with them is a home trade; both ends are British; and this view, though certainly not original, is one that has not sufficiently occupied speculative men: we therefore give Mr Bosanquet full credit for his able statement of it. The colony trade, moreover, employs more tonnage and seamen in proportion to its capital, than most other trades; and as sugar and cotton are next to necessaries, our author infers, that the trade in them is of a stable nature. The present state of the West Indies, to be sure, is a little against the last conclusion. This he ascribes,

however, not to the nature of the trade, but to the injuries which it has received from our impolitic measures. The application of his principles occupying the latter half of his tract, is by much the best part of it, and gives a very good abstract of the relative value of the colonial commerce. In the pamphlet upon the causes of the present distresses, he adopts the prevailing opinions, and recommends the remedies which all the West India body concur in desiring. Some of his general speculations, indeed, now and then intrude; rather for the purpose of supporting ordinary sentiments in a peculiar way, than in order to elucidate the subject by new doctrines. A distinction, for example, is taken between trade and commerce; the former being the first exchange of produce for money, and not a fit object of taxation, because the grower has no command of the supply,—the latter, the purchase and reselling with a view to profit, and a perfectly fit object of taxation, because the merchant can command the supply, and lay the duty upon the consumer. It is quite manifest that this is merely an imperfect and most crude attempt to generalize the existing case of the West India planter, who maintains that, as things are now situated, he cannot change the employment of his capital, and so contract the supply of produce, as to make the purchaser pay the tax upon it. With the exception of these attempts, which occur chiefly at the beginning of Mr Bosanquet's 'Letter,' we have found it a very clear and satisfactory performance, exhibiting by far the best statement which has yet been given of the doctrines maintained by the colonial body. He would render an acceptable service to the public, by moulding his two tracts into one, omitting the greater part of the general reasoning, and incorporating with his details the valuable statements contained in his very ample and distinct evidence before the West India Committee.

Mr Lowe's tract is one of considerable merit, as a useful compendium of the statements which others had previously advanced; but as it appeared after several pamphlets had been already published, and professed to settle the whole subject, we might have pardoned a little more originality, and a somewhat less scrupulous adherence to the positions and reasonings of his predecessors. To analyze the greater part of his work, would be merely to repeat what we have just now been describing as the contents of Sir W. Young and Mr Bosanquet's publications. He follows them minutely, in explaining the importance of the colonies, and their present situation. The remedies which he proposes are nearly the same with theirs, and discussed on similar grounds; only that he enlarges, with a most commendable and enlightened spirit, upon a subject of paramount importance, very slightly mentioned by any other writer, and, by most reasoners on this question, wholly



wholly omitted,—the necessity of peace for the relief of the West India interest, and of our commerce in general. It would give us very great satisfaction to have room for abridging or extracting parts of the excellent chapter in which he argues this question. His views are marked by a liberality and freedom from the narrow prejudices of mercantile circles, which give him an infinite advantage over the authors whom he follows on West Indian affairs. We would gladly hail this appearance of a right spirit in the city (a kind of star rising in the east) as an omen of more enlightened views than have lately opened upon us from that quarter; and we trust that Mr Lowe, at any rate, will not be wanting in lending his further aid to so mighty an amendment. The style of his tract, hastily as it seems to have been put together, is plain and unambitious. Its modesty, too, is praiseworthy;—but there is something which deserves not this name in his practice of leaving important subjects untouched, on the ground, that ‘it belongs to Government alone to determine such points,’ or, that ‘such a subject would be painful to the reader,’ or that ‘such a subject would be unwelcome to the public,’—(See p. 84, 38—44, 60, &c.); for reasons of this sort would put a stop to most political writings, and assuredly to the whole of the tracts produced by the present state of the sugar colonies. Upon the whole, however, Mr Lowe’s work, independent of its particular merits, forms a very proper addition to the West India Common-Place Book, and the Reports of the two Committees; and we trust it is not the last production upon such subjects which we shall owe to the same pen.

The general statement of the planters and West India merchants, has always been this,—That the profits of sugar planting never were so great as persons unacquainted with the colonies supposed; that the large incomes spent by several West Indians in the mother country, not only prevented men from reflecting on the multitudes who were either ruined by speculation, or subsisted with difficulty on their estates, but were ascribed to successful adventure,—whereas, they grew slowly out of a long course of industry and expense, absolutely necessary to improve colonial property; that the capital vested in the islands, was in this manner always overlooked, as well as the peculiar risks of the business, and a return, really very moderate, was magnified into exorbitant profit. In support of such assertions, estimates have been repeatedly produced, of the expenses of improving and managing a sugar plantation; and the comparison of these with the ordinary produce has led to the inference, that in the most favourable circumstances, seven *per cent.* profit cannot be expected on capital so invested.

This was Bryan Edwards's calculation in 1787; \* and the enemies of the West India body have not scrupled to assert, in their attempts to decry the colonial system, that although some great fortunes may be made by planting, it is, upon the whole, a losing concern to the nation,—a lottery in which the price of the tickets far exceeds the value of the prizes. We may remark, however, that there is a considerable portion of error both in these estimates and in this general observation. The planters, in calculating the expenses of each year, both state every *item* at the highest, and include several outgoings which belong not to annual charges, but to the increase of the stock, or the supply of its original deficiencies. Then they swell the account of the capital invested, by inserting, not only the original expenses and the subsequent improvements, but a variety of charges which, properly speaking, belong to the head of tear and wear. They thus make the capital invested appear greater, and the net profits less, than they really are. Nor do they state a circumstance of considerable importance in the discussion, that, of the estates now existing in the sugar colonies, a very small proportion indeed have been purchased, like English farms or merchandize, by the payment of the value at a short credit. Almost the whole of the plantations now described as worth so much, and sometimes, as having cost so much, were obtained for a trifling sum paid down, and a further payment, at very long credits, as the produce of lucky years enabled the speculator to fulfil his bargain. It must not therefore be supposed, that when the planters value their estates, they mean to assert how much capital has actually been transferred by them to the West Indies from other branches of employment. They rarely make this assertion in distinct terms, if closely examined; and, when they do, we generally find that their money has been well laid out. Thus Mr Shirley states to the West India Committee, that he had laid out 170,000*l.* Sterling on his estate in Jamaica, including purchase money and improvements; and he admits that he has netted above 9 *per cent.* upon that sum, on an average of the last nine years. † Mr Ricketts values his plantation at 50,000*l.*, because a gentleman was in treaty with him at that sum, and he thinks would have purchased, but for an accident; but he admits that, even at the low prices of last year, he may expect above 4 *per cent.* on that assumed capital, as soon as the present stock produces the quantity of sugar which he lays his account with soon having from it. ‡ As for the position, that the colonies are, on the whole,

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\* History of West Indies, Book 5. c. 3.

† Report, p. 66.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 46. These deductions are computed from the statements of the witnesses.

a losing concern—it rests merely on vague assumptions; and on the argument of people being found to buy lottery tickets, which is demonstrably a losing speculation. This argument, however, is quite inapplicable to the case of so many persons risking, not a small portion of their money, which they may do from mere love of gambling, but the whole, or nearly the whole of their capital, which they never will employ in a lottery of the kind alluded to.

But whatever deductions we may make from the unfavourable calculations of their gains exhibited by the planters twenty years ago, it is certain that changes have since taken place, which more than realize the desponding views then entertained. Estimates are now made upon the same inaccurate principles as formerly, of the capital and charges; but, making every allowance for exaggeration, the gross profits on the sale of the produce appear to be so very small, that the clear returns upon estates, must be almost dwindled to nothing, and, in many cases, even fall short of the whole expenses attending their management. From various particular plantation accounts, say the West Indians, it clearly appears, that sugar cannot be raised under an expense of 20s. 10d. Sterling by the cwt. in Jamaica, and 19s. 6d. in the other islands, over and above the whole profits arising from the sale of the rum. The expense, therefore, incurred in the colonies, from yearly necessary supplies to the estates, and island charges, amounts, at a general average, to above one pound Sterling on each cwt. shipped for Europe. Then the costs of freight, insurance and commission, add to this sum nearly 16s. more upon the same quantity, before it can be exposed to sale in the English market. But the mean price of sugar, exclusive of duty, for the first six months of the present year, has not exceeded 33s. 6d. per cwt. Nor is this low price peculiar to the present season,—it has been coming on rapidly for several years. The average for five years ending 1800, was 65s. 4d.; for the next five years, it was 46s. 7d.; and for the year 1806, it was only 43s. 9d.; during which period it had fallen very regularly.\* After gaining, therefore, scarcely any thing for several years upon their estates, the planters now complain that there is an absolute loss on the cultivation of them, instead of a profit of 10 per cent. on their capital, which is said to be the smallest fair return; that those whose estates are in debt, have both the loss on their management, and the whole interest of their loans to pay, either from other funds, or by running deeper in debt; and that, as the above estimates are all averages, the dreadful effects

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\* See Distillery and West India Reports; particularly pp. 3—4, 23. *ſeqq.*; 84. & 85. of the latter.

effects of the depreciation fall very unequally, depriving some estates, which are favourably circumstanced, of their former returns, but plunging others, which raise bad sugars, or are cultivated at an extraordinary expense, in irretrievable ruin.

It is unnecessary to remark, that, whatever exaggeration may be suspected in these calculations, formed as they are upon the inaccurate principles already described, and delivered by one party to a tribunal almost entirely composed of their brethren in distress; yet enough is proved, by the admitted fall of the sugar market, to substantiate a case of extraordinary calamity; for the produce having fallen to about one half its former price, and the expense of raising it having no doubt increased, certainly in nowise diminished, the planters must either have received profits the most incredible before, or they must now be reduced to great distress. The cause of their calamities is therefore to be discovered; and here their statements are by no means so satisfactory. They do not fail to describe the rise in the price of all supplies required by their estates from the European and American markets, and the augmentation also of the island expenses. Freight in like manner has increased, and insurance is upon the war establishment. Meanwhile, the colonies of the enemy being supplied by neutral carriers, raise their sugars at less expense, and, transmitting their produce by the same means, bring it at a smaller charge to the market. It is calculated, for example, that they freight and insure their sugars in American bottoms, to the north of Europe, for about 9s. per cwt., and to the Mediterranean for 12s. 6d. less than we can carry ours to the same markets. Such an advantage, say the West Indians, gives the foreign colonies the entire command of the European market; and while our conquests in the West Indies have brought into our own markets a vast addition to the overplus beyond our home consumption, the exportation, always necessary, and now more essential than ever, is thus nearly stopped by the foreign planters, through the neutral traders. A glut is thus occasioned in the British market; 280,000 hogsheads being annually imported, and only 140,000 consumed; while, of the overplus, not 70,000 could last year be sent abroad; and it happened that the importation was 13,000 above the average. Notwithstanding all this, the planters add, government, without relaxing the monopoly, has been constantly increasing the duties, and attempted to raise them greatly the very year that above 80,000 hogsheads were lying a drug in the warehouses.

Such, in substance, is the statement of all the West India body, and all their advocates, both in books, pamphlets and reports. But it leaves the difficulties of the case almost exactly where it found them. The neutral carriage is not of yesterday. During  
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the American war, the French opened their trade to neutrals; and the rule of the war 1756 was not enforced by this country. France took some of our colonies; and there was neither a glut of sugar in her markets, nor in our own. No sooner had the late war begun, than the French colony trade was again thrown open; and the English instruction of November 1793, only remained in force about two months, being modified by two subsequent instructions, (January 1794, and January 1798), which left the Americans rather more of the French colonial trade than they at present enjoy. During that war, the West India islands were exactly in the same hands as they now are, except that we then had Martinico, and now have Curassoa. At the very beginning of the present war, the French once more opened their West India trade; and, since that time, the Americans have carried it on. Is it conceivable that this carrying trade can have so rapidly augmented within the last year or two, or even since the beginning of the war, as to constitute the whole difference between the present crisis, and all former epochs of colonial affairs? But further—how was the foreign market supplied before, if the Americans carried little or no produce for the enemy? From this country, say the planters. But this answer will not do: for what became of the cultivation of the foreign islands all the while? It cannot surely be pretended, that Guadaloupe and Cuba, during last war, and Martinico also during the earlier part of the present war, were lying fallow, or storing up their useless crops, until the American shippers should come, in the fullness of time, to their assistance; and that then they proceeded to make all the sugar which is now regularly brought over to the Continent. Moreover, it is in vain to impute the low prices of our market to the Americans underfelling us. If the continental market is not fully supplied by the Americans at a cheap rate, it will furnish a demand for our surplus sugars at a higher rate; and if it furnishes no such demand,—if only a certain quantity of our sugars can enter it, at the American prices of course,—no doubt remains that there is as much of the article already supplied as is wanted; and that if peace were made to-morrow, the enemy would carry over his own sugar in his own ships, and receive as much of ours as he now does, and no more. The whole expense of carriage would be somewhat less to us—only about 4s. or 4s. 6d. per cwt., as the West Indians themselves admit: \* to the foreigners it would be likewise diminished, though not so much. If the statement mentioned above is correct (which we do not believe), we should still be underfold; but, at all events, we should meet the foreigner only on equal terms; and it remains for the planters to show how they

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\* West India Report, p. 19—37.

they could dispose of their present surplus. It will not avail them to say, that the Dutch and French colonies must then be restored. They probably will be so; but they do not surely raise the 60 or 70,000 hogheads at present exported by us; and that amount of exportation will necessarily be diminished by the transference of the conquered settlements, leaving the whole surplus in our home market exactly where it was before. In fact, during the last peace, produce sold almost as cheap as it does now.—Neither can the West Indians ascribe their distressed situation to the duties. Whatever be the effects of those duties on home consumption, they are wholly drawn back on exported sugar; and, indeed, their tendency to discourage consumption may be estimated from this, that while the duties have been rising, the consumption has increased; and that whatever effect the duties might have in checking consumption, the glut must have more than counteracted it by a great diminution of the gross prices.—To deduce the ruin of the sugar trade from the duties on exportation imposed after our West India conquests last war, is altogether chimerical. Is any man senseless enough to believe that this could have cultivated the whole remaining settlements of the enemy? Then he will probably be surprised that the restoration of the full drawback did not destroy the culture which had been created by its partial suspension.

There is evidently a very different cause for all the distresses complained of, and one, the existence of which is quite compatible with the evidence produced by the West Indians, while it is substantiated by facts not to be found among their statements. It appears to us perfectly manifest, (as our readers have perhaps anticipated from the preceding argument) that the radical evil is a general glut of produce, at least of the great staple, sugar and rum, in the whole market of the world; that the West Indian colonies grow much more than the whole world can consume; and that, consequently, the prices must fall, and a large portion of the commodity remain unsaleable at any price, until the supply shall be contracted.

In all the ordinary lines of employment, the capital which is accumulated from profits, can only be reinvested, so as to augment the stock yielding annual increase, slowly and with difficulty. There are no means of suddenly or rapidly opening new supplies in proportion to the former gains upon the capital; and the supply, though always approaching, is scarcely ever in danger of overtaking, and still less of outstripping the demand. Thus a number of persons may acquire wealth in trade, and resolve at once to cultivate a vast district of waste land. But they cannot do so, without taking a multitude of labourers from other farms; they

they cannot find hands to carry on their speculation, or, if they do, a proportional district of country will cease to produce: they must proceed gradually, and await the slow increase of population: they have no power of glutting the market with corn. But in the West Indian agriculture, the case is, at least was, quite different. There always existed an unlimited facility of investing new capital in its operations. If speculators possessed wealth acquired in the other branches of commerce, they could soon purchase new lands; and the slave trade removed all the natural obstacles to clearing and cultivating them suddenly. Meanwhile, the rapid creation of new estates was not attended with the abandonment of those already in cultivation, even when they became much exhausted by length of time; because there is no kind of speculation in which so much uncertainty prevails, in which the adventurers labour under so many burdens, and are so unwilling to give up their chance of retrieving their affairs by a fine season, and from which capital must be withdrawn with such certain loss.

In this unnatural state of things, the capital accumulated in the old colonial speculations as well as in other branches of adventure, was applied to the clearing of new lands, which yielded extraordinary crops. It was calculated that the slave population of St Domingo had nearly doubled in ten years previous to 1792. The Spanish government, during the latter part of the last century, had adopted much more liberal views of colonial policy; and the trade and cultivation of its settlements increased with proportionate rapidity. Between 1765 and 1770, the customs at the Havannah were trebled. In 1765, the trade of Cuba scarcely employed six vessels;—in 1778, it required above two hundred. Since that period, the supply of slaves, both to Cuba and Trinidad, has been facilitated by various regulations; and, in 1789, the importation of negroes to all the islands, and to the Caraccas, was thrown open to foreigners as well as Spaniards. In the British islands, too, a considerable progress was making; and the average of importation of produce, about the year 1790, was considerably higher than it had ever stood before. All these improvements in the colonial agriculture were visibly perceived in the price of sugars; and, before the year 1792, the planters, if not in a state of considerable distress, were at least gaining very moderate returns from their estates. But the total destruction of the greatest sugar colony in the world, speedily gave a new aspect to West Indian affairs. A yearly quantity of above 110,000 hogheads was thus suddenly taken out of the market, and prices rose to an extravagant pitch. The confusion which took place in Guadaloupe soon after, and the operations of the war in the West Indies,

Indies, diminished the supply, and raised the price of produce still further. The speculations which had, before the destruction of St Domingo, been going on in every part of the West Indies, now proceeded with much greater rapidity, especially in Cuba, Trinidad and our own islands. The slave-trade furnished unlimited means of cultivating the waste lands; and that capital which was wanting in many foreign colonies, was soon supplied from this country, by the capture of a great part of them. Martinico, Tobago, St Lucia, Trinidad, and Dutch Guiana, were now in our possession, and their lands were rapidly cleared by our capital vested to an enormous amount in the slave trade. \* At the same time, the introduction of the Bourbon cane enabled even the bad land of the old islands to produce plentiful crops of sugar. So that, from all these causes, the total amount of this great staple raised in the West Indies, already too large for the demand, has been constantly and rapidly increasing since 1792; the blank occasioned in that year has been filled up; and a great surplus has been added to the ordinary produce of former periods.

This inference, which follows so clearly from facts universally known, is fully confirmed by the details. By authentic documents which appeared before the Court of Admiralty in 1805, it was proved, that the export of sugar from Cuba, for that year, amounted to 300,000 boxes, or about 1,275,000 cwt. The whole import of sugar into Spain from all its colonies, did not exceed 302,400 cwt., on an average, for the years 1794 and 1795, by the Spanish custom-house accounts for those years. This came chiefly from Cuba: part, however, came from Porto Rico, and a little from the Spanish Main. The ordinance, allowing negroes to be imported into the Havannah, duty free, was issued in 1789; and from that year to 1792 (both inclusive), 20,217 negroes were imported into the Havannah. In 1792 alone, 121 slave-ships entered that port;—a clear proof how rapidly the importation was going on. Before 1790, therefore, so far from there being any surplus for foreign exportation, it is evident that the Spanish colonies could not nearly supply the mother country; and, if we estimate the shipments from Cuba to have been at that time 200,000 cwt., we certainly allow more than the truth. Here, then, is an augmentation in the island of Cuba of 1,075,000 cwt. in fifteen years. Porto Rico has increased very considerably during the same period; and a good deal of sugar has been raised on the Mexican coast; but the quantities we have no means of estimating. As by much the greater part of the above quantity is clayed sugar, we may estimate it as equal to at least

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\* It is shocking to think that the annual amount of the British slave trade increased, by these speculations, from 25,000 to 57,000 negroes, in the short space of two years.



least 1,663,559 cwt., the total exportation of sugar (reducing the clayed to Muscovado, according to the usual proportion of 10 to 17) which was annually made from St Domingo at the period of the revolution. So that the clear increase of the Spanish sugars alone, is much more than sufficient to compensate the loss of St Domingo; for we have not reckoned Porto Rico and the other settlements, nor taken into the account that St Domingo itself had been most rapidly increasing.

That Guadaloupe, Martinico and other French islands, have been augmenting their cultivation, cannot be denied; but let us only consider the increase of our own sugars. In 1789, we imported 153,680 hogsheads; in 1805, from the same islands, together with Trinidad, which was almost entirely created during the interval, we imported 216,227 hogsheads; but in that year the Leeward Island crops were all uncommonly bad; so that we should take those at their produce in 1799, which was a fair average year, and then we shall have the total increase of sugar in our own islands, in fifteen years, equal to about 75,000 hogsheads. Again, the average annual importation for five years ending 1785 was 1,570,537 cwt. For six years ending 1806, it was 3,389,734 cwt.; being an increase of 1,819,177 cwt. in twenty years, upon our importation. From this is to be deducted the sugar exported at the former period from Guiana, Tobago, and St Lucia; but we cannot estimate the clear increase in the settlements at present in possession of Great Britain, at less than 1,500,000 cwt. It is not too much to estimate the increase of sugar in all other parts (Spanish, French and Portuguese colonies, \* besides the East Indies) at 500,000 cwt., being a total addition to the quantity of sugar brought annually into the European market, of about two millions cwt. in twenty years. The whole yearly consumption of sugar in Great Britain at the beginning of that period, was not above a million and a quarter cwt.

Such having been the prodigious increase in the supply, it is natural to ask, if the demand can possibly have increased in proportion. The state of the Continent renders it manifest, that during the last fifteen years the demand must have been rather checked in its natural progress. The rise of freight and insurance, too, in consequence of the war, and the efforts which have constantly been made to exclude British produce from the French territories, have no doubt had the same tendency. The use of sugar in the Mediterranean is said to have evidently declined from these causes; and even in this country, the West Indians assert, that  
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\* The increased cultivation of Brazil has been chiefly in sugar and cotton.

the use of this article among the lower orders is decreasing. The progress of the demand for it may, however, be estimated with sufficient precision from the following circumstance. The quantity of sugar retained in Great Britain for annual consumption, on an average of five years ending 1775, was 1,533,421 cwt. The quantity retained on an average of five years ending 1800, was 1,716,737 cwt. The like average of five years ending 1805, indeed, is 2,167,435; but then the average price for those years is 46s. 7d. instead of 65s. 4d., the average price during the preceding five years; a clear proof that the quantity retained is not that required for the consumption of the country, but a glut of the market. If, then, in twenty-five years, during which this country made the greatest progress in opulence and luxury that any nation ever made during an equal period, the effective demand for sugar only increased about 180,000 cwt.; we may easily imagine how inadequate the progress of the demand has been in other countries, under all their disadvantages, during the last twenty years, while their supply was augmented above 1,800,000 cwt. These considerations may convince us, that there is a real glut in the European market; that a great deal too much sugar is now made; and that until some diminution takes place in the supply, the planter must continue to be ruined by low prices, and, indeed, by an utter inability to get rid of his whole produce at any price. The French government, no doubt, may increase this evil by such rigorous measures as shall further contract the demand, and load the carriage with risk and expense; but the root of the evil is struck far deeper than this; and no change in either the French or English councils could materially remedy it.

The planters, however, propose various means of relief, which we shall shortly run over. 'The Americans,' say they, 'carry the enemy's sugars much cheaper than we can carry our own; a bounty, therefore, is requisite to put us on equal terms.' The difference is said to be about 9s. per cwt. in the north, and 12s. 6d. in the south of Europe. Suppose this were granted, and that, at the yearly expense to the country of a million Sterling, 140,000 hogheads were forced into the foreign market,—we say, this would furnish no relief whatever; for though we at present do not export half that quantity, the foreign market is glutted. This, indeed, the West India Committee have given us no proofs of, nor have they made a single remark on the subject; but it is perfectly true, and quite decisive of the question. From examining an account of sales of sugar exported, last August, from London to Amsterdam, it appears that the loss upon the transaction was exactly 8 per cent. The extravagant bounty of 9s. per cwt. would have converted this into a profit of about 16 per cent.; but  
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if the prices at Amsterdam were so low that we could not export above 70,000 hogheads without a loss, what would they have sunk to, had we suddenly exported as much more? We may safely assert, that if the quantity could be sold at all, there would be still a clear loss upon the transaction, in spite of the bounty. The prices of sugar have fallen on the Continent as well as here. By comparing the Amsterdam price currents for different years, it appears that, in August 1805, English sugars were at 14 to 17½ groots per lib. in the Dutch market; and, in August 1807, they were at 9 to 12; a fall from 15⅞ to 10½, and about the same that has taken place in our own market. In such circumstances, to talk of a bounty is nonsense; it can serve no end but to make the public pay a part of the necessary losses of the planter, and prevent the only remedy from being administered, from which permanent relief can be expected,—the conversion of the inferior sugar lands into provision grounds, and the employment of a number of slaves in the culture of other staples; a measure ruinous certainly to many individuals, but a necessary consequence of the excessive cultivation of the cane which has been carried on of late years.

A similar objection applies to the next expedient suggested by the West India body,—the purchase of rum for government service at higher prices than are now paid for brandies. Indeed, this is only one method of forcing the consumption of rum by a premium; and is a much less effectual relief than another, which might be proposed without any greater absurdity, viz. a general agreement among all ranks of the community to drink an additional quantity of sugar in their tea. The introduction of sugar in the distilleries is liable to the same general criticism, and to another still more specific objection. In whatever way this is effected, it must ultimately diminish, by a large amount, the whole grain in the market of the world. According to the Sixth Report of the Committee on the scarcity, 1800, there are used in the distilleries 500,000 quarters of barley, equal to about 360,000 quarters of wheat. If sugar is substituted in the operation, an annual diminution will be produced in the amount of the grain raised in this country, equal to the subsistence of 360,000 persons. In the event of a scarcity, therefore, we shall be deprived of a very important resource: we can no longer change our spirits into food. Then, say the West Indians, allow as much grain to be exported to the islands as they can take, instead of restricting the supplies. But, in that case, the evil is only removed one step; the American grower, on whom the islands now depend, will no longer raise so much grain; and a scarcity will leave this country in the dilemma, either of starving its colonies, or itself. In whatever way sugar is forced into the distilleries, the planter can only be relieved from the natural

consequences of his excessive cultivation, by forcing out of the world five bushels of grain for every cwt. of sugar, and, in the brewery, eight bushels.\* The practice of using grain for other purposes beside the support of life, furnishes the greatest resource to the country in a season of scarcity. It enables us to provide for our necessities out of our luxuries; and it is this resource that the West Indians desire us now to cut off, in order to relieve them from the effects of their overtrading.

It is further proposed to alter the duties upon sugar; but, on this point, the West India body are not agreed. The majority of them are for taking off a part of the duty, which, they conclude, will extend the home market, and at any rate will put so much clear gain into the planter's pocket. Others are for increasing the present duty, and making the conditional 3s. per cwt., laid on last year, absolute on all sugars consumed at home, in order to raise a fund for giving bounties on exportation. Upon the former proposition, it is obvious to remark, that a diminution of price will not now increase the consumption any further, when there is such a glut that prices have fallen much lower than they ever were before. But it is manifest, also, that the planter will not benefit by the scheme. The glut will continue as formerly; and sugars, instead of selling at 60s. duty included, as they do at present, will sell at 50s.; for the planter then will be exactly in the situation in which he now is. He is now forced to take 60s. rather than keep his goods on hand, although 27s. of this goes to government; and if 10s. of the duty is taken off, he will be very glad to bring so much more sugar into the market as will lower his price to the present sum; that is to say, he will sell for 50s. rather than not at all, and will gain as much by the sale as he now does. A diminution of duty, then, while the glut continues general, will only diminish the revenue to the country, and lower the price to the consumer. The project of a bounty to force sugars abroad, we have already discussed; and it signifies little how the fund for this bounty is provided. But if the price is raised by this plan, the consumption will in all probability be checked; and as the consumer knows nothing of price exclusive of duty, but pays at present 60s. altogether, in consequence of the glut in the market, it is difficult to perceive how an additional duty should alter this price, fixed as it is in the gross by the competition of sellers, which would remain

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\* Mr Bofanquet cannot comprehend why one cwt. of sugar should be equivalent to eight bushels in the brewery, and five only in the distillery, — because, if so, he thinks the brewer's interest would make him use it: but it must be remembered, that the Committee state that no quantity of sugar will make good beer.

main exactly as before : So that a new duty would only consummate the ruin of the grower.

The chief reliance of the West Indians, however, is on a blockade of the enemy's colonies. An actual blockade of Cuba is impossible ; and a proclamation that it is blockaded, together with all the other French and Spanish islands, is a declaration of war against all neutrals. Accordingly, that is the chief hope of the West Indians. Even this, however, would not bring effectual relief ; for the strictest blockade will not be able to prevent a large quantity of sugar from being brought over. We shall ourselves bring an increased quantity of prize-sugars to this country ; and a considerable quantity will still be carried underhand by Americans. Provisions, lumber, and all the planter's expenses will rise ; freight and insurance will be increased, and the demand will be still further contracted by the violent measures of our enemies in Europe. Unless we can, by our blockade, destroy as many sugar plantations as have been added to the former culture during the last twenty years ; that is to say, unless we can lay waste an extent of territory equal to the British West Indies as they stood in 1795, we do nothing by our violence. If the sugar is made and finds its way over, whether by English or by American vessels, it must bear a low price. If it is all brought to this country, and we have the entire command of the market, government may tax the article, at least until the foreign consumer refuses to take it (which, from the state of prices above mentioned would probably very soon happen) ; but the competition of English sellers will bring down both the home and foreign market, just as much as when different nations had the commodity in their hands : And then, the moment peace is made, all attempts to ruin the foreign colonies are out of the question ; the foreign market is more glutted than ever ; and though the surrender of the conquered colonies takes about 40,000 hogsheads out of the home market, it will be for that reason proportionably more difficult to export the remaining 100,000.

The true remedy for the evil is only to be found in diminishing the growth of sugar. The abolition of the slave trade will gradually operate this in a great degree ; both by forcing the planter to exact less work from his negroes, and by obliging him to provide more provision grounds for their use. The rigorous execution of this law is the greatest favour which can now be conferred on the West Indian body. In the mean time, however, many of the estates which produce bad sugars must be given up ; and many planters will be ruined, whose property is mortgaged. This will be a severe remedy,—but it is a radical one. Unfortunately, too, most of the foreign islands have a much better soil than ours ; and the shock will fall less heavily upon them than upon

us. They may even continue to cultivate new lands if they revive the slave trade, and may force us into still greater difficulties.

Thus, has the abominable commerce in human flesh produced a crisis in our colonial system, which it is equally impossible to contemplate without alarm, and to relieve without disproportionate injury to the rest of the empire. Nor can the enemies of that iniquitous traffic now be accused of enthusiasm and sentimental philanthropy. No proposition, resting on dry calculation, is more plainly and numerically substantiated, than the deduction by which the present calamitous situation of the West Indies is traced from the African slave trade. Happy indeed would it have been for the planters, had they in good time discovered, that a measure prescribed by justice may be also consistent with prudence; that the most calculating policy sometimes coincides with the dictates of humanity; and that there are other risks beside those of taking counsel from speculative statesmen.

If, however, any measures can be suggested, consistent with sound policy, and tending to lessen the evil, they must surely meet with a favourable reception from the legislature, which for so many years sanctioned the slave trade, and applauded the sugar colony war,—making itself a party to the two great causes of the present distresses. It seems to be quite consistent with sound policy, to free the West Indians from several of the trammels which the monopoly now imposes on them. If the shipping interest should object to the export of the greater staples in American bottoms, is it not a sufficient answer, that the ruin of the West Indians must contribute far more to injure the carriers of their produce, than any American interference? But what objection can be made to giving the planter full power to manufacture his sugar in the islands? He is now obliged, by the exorbitant duties on refined sugars, to ship a seventh part of his cargoes with the certainty of its being utterly lost; and to send the rest, in its rudest state, and most bulky form, at a time when the neutral carriers are chiefly underselling him in the articles of freight and insurance. If so silly a regulation must be continued for the increase of our tonnage, why are not the planters and others obliged to send over rubbish or cane trash, or to freight so many empty ships each year, in proportion to their crops? Some such relaxations of the monopoly seem to be the only general palliative that can now be administered to the disease of the colonial system; and it would not be difficult to point out several branches of manufacture which might furnish employment for the hands of deserted plantations. It is clear, however, that nothing can prevent the ruin of many proprietors, and the injury of almost all West India fortunes. Cases of individual distress may, no doubt, claim the attention of the country; but, unfortunately, things are brought

brought to such a state, that the sacrifice of many persons is the only means of reestablishing the general welfare.

The explanation which we have offered of the present distresses, founded on well known facts, and supported by the evidence of the West India body themselves, derives a remarkable confirmation from considering a part of the subject, not discussed in any of their pamphlets or reports. They confine their attention entirely to the state of the sugar trade; and our remarks have hitherto applied chiefly to that branch of the question. It may be asked, therefore, why the same difficulties are not felt by the growers of the other staples? And, in answering this question, we shall find, that every one of the positions formerly advanced rests upon additional proof.

Before the French revolution, no great supply of coffee was received from the British colonies. Jamaica, and the ceded islands, alone cultivated this staple. In Jamaica, however, the culture was increasing with considerable rapidity, having more than doubled, in fifteen years, ending 1789. Dominica had increased somewhat; and Grenada had fallen off greatly. The coffee exported from the British islands had, upon the whole, decreased; so that Great Britain did not import 33,000 cwt. in 1788, while, on an average of five years, ending 1775, she imported 52,000. But the reduction of duty in 1783, so much encouraged the Jamaica planters, that before the year 1792 the whole British importation stood much higher than it had ever done. At all times, coffee has been an article but little used in this country; and more than nineteen twentieths of the quantity imported was destined for the Continental market. During this period, however, the coffee culture was increasing rapidly in the French colonies. St Domingo, which in 1770 did not export above 50,000 cwt., had increased its exportation tenfold in 1786. In 1789 it exported 760,000 cwt.; and the crop of 1792 was expected to be 800,000 cwt.\* The total average export of coffee from all the French islands, before 1785, was 600,000 cwt.; so that the annual export of coffee from the French colonies, previous to 1792, must be estimated at above 900,000 cwt. The whole remaining export of this article; from all the other colonies, did not probably exceed 150,000 cwt. So rapidly was the supply of this produce augmented, and so great a part of the whole quantity was furnished by St Domingo. The consump-

\* Sir W. Young states the exportation of St Domingo, in 1788, at 320,000 cwt. (p. 74.) evidently from some mistake. The above sums are taken from the report of the Committee of Assembly in Jamaica, 1792; and the remarks of Mr Vaughan, inserted in Bryan Edwards, B. V. c. 4.—The official returns to the Legislative Assembly of France, make the exportation, 1791, above 680,000 cwt., although the rebellion broke out in August of that year.

tion of coffee, however, increased in proportion; and, in 1791, its price stood at 70s. per cwt. The destruction of St Domingo took above seven tenths of the whole supply out of the European market; and the price immediately rose to 90s. The emigration of the French planters, and the new encouragements to speculation offered to our own, by the rise of price, accelerated the increase of this culture in Jamaica. In five years (the time required for the maturity of the coffee plant), the produce of that island had increased sevenfold; and, in 1805, it exported 190,000 cwt. The foreign colonies have been increasing their coffee planting during the same period; but it is manifest, that the blank occasioned by the loss of St Domingo has not yet been filled up; for the average import of this country for 1804 and 1805 was no more than 308,000 cwt., though it included the produce of all the coffee colonies except Martinico, Guadaloupe and Cuba, in which last, the sugar cultivation has very far outstripped that of coffee; and the average importation from the same colonies, in 1791, cannot be taken at less than 100,000 cwt.; so that the total increase of coffee in those settlements, where the principal efforts have been made to fill up a blank of 760,000 cwt., does not amount to more than 208,000 cwt. in 1805. \* Accordingly, the price of coffee, in that year, was 6*l.* per cwt. in the British market, exclusive of duty. As the supply, however, is rapidly augmenting (Jamaica alone having, it is said, coffee walks sufficient speedily to produce 400,000 cwt.), and as considerable obstacles have lately been thrown in the way of our exportation to the Continent, it is certain that this price is on the decline. Indeed, it has fallen, since 1805, to 90 or 95s.

From these details, it is manifest, that the coffee and sugar planter have suffered so very differently from the excessive progress of West India agriculture, since the destruction of St Domingo, merely because that event diminished the whole supply of those two staples in a very different proportion. It is also obvious, that no other cause exists, for the distresses of the sugar trade, than the glut of the whole market of the world, otherwise the coffee trade would have suffered also. We find, on the contrary, that the exportation of coffee has been increasing rapidly to the present time, notwithstanding a duty not drawn back. Yet the Americans carry coffee to the continental markets † much cheaper than we can do; and those who ascribe the stoppage of our

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\* In the year ending September 1806, the Americans, according to their official returns, carried to Europe about 420,000 cwt. of coffee, being nearly the whole crop of the enemy's islands. Admitting that half of this was clear increase since the revolution (which is much above the truth), there remains a deficit of 340,000 cwt.

† See last Note.



our sugar exports to our being undersold by the neutral flags, must be sensible that coffee should, on their principles, be as much a drug as sugar. Further, it is clear, that the abolition of the slave trade having been carried into effect before the coffee market had been in any degree glutted, there is no danger of the coffee planter falling into the same situation with the sugar planter. Finally, as the deficiency in the supply occasioned by the revolution, has not yet been filled up, there is room for employing, in coffee planting, some of the negroes now engaged in sugar plantations; and as a great proportion of the capital vested in West India estates, consists of the value of the slaves, an opportunity is thus left of obtaining, for this valuable property, something like its fair price.

It is unnecessary to enter into similar details respecting the cotton trade. The demand for manufactures having increased prodigiously while the growth of cotton was making a rapid progress, especially in the Dutch and Portuguese colonies, and in Georgia, the price of the raw article has kept up, until last year, when, from the obstacles thrown in the way of our trade, the cotton manufacture began to experience, in common with the other branches of industry, the practical evils of a general war.

ART. X. *Poems.* By the Rev. J. Mant, M. A. 8vo. London. 1806.

**A**MONG the many injuries inflicted on the human intellect by the wits (for in truth they did not deserve the name of poets), who 'flourished' in the reign of Charles the Second, none was more permanent in its effects, than the total forgetfulness of that style of poetry which delineates the beauties of the country, and the enjoyment of rural happiness. Few of the inferior topics, however, are so interesting as this; and, to evince how natural it is to love even the plainest description of pleasing and familiar objects, we need only appeal to the popularity so long enjoyed by that dullest of all possible poems, the 'ingenious Mr Pomfret's Choice.' It is however true, that though all the 'gentlemen who wrote with ease,' and rhyming 'persons of honour' of that and the preceding age, occasionally thought it necessary to write pastorals, and to express their love of solitude and rural retirement, yet, by far the greater part knew nothing at all of what they professed to admire; and, when sent by debts into the country, considered it only as a horrible banishment among parsons and savages. Their poetical predecessors had no greater delight than in painting by words, and presenting to their readers a highly coloured image of those sublime natural phenomena

which the town-bred bards, whose idea of a mountain was acquired at Richmond, and who knew nothing of rural beauties but a haycock and a syllabub, had neither enthusiasm to imagine, or sufficient knowledge of the subject to describe. Their pastorals, accordingly, are merely imitations of the worst parts of Virgil; and, instead of real nature, are filled with fauns and satyrs which exist no where, or with love and politics which may be had any where.

They seem never to have suspected, that a lover might despair in Moorfields as well as in Arcadia; and that the stockjobbers at Garraway's, were at least as hearty as the swains of Trent, in their regret for King William's death. Nor did those who, like Philips and Gay, were really accurate observers of rural manners, at all admire or comprehend what were, properly speaking, rural beauties.

The grand and pervading fault, however, of the poets of the early part of the last century, is the indistinctness of their drawing, and the want of picturesque grouping. Milton and Spencer paint the landscapes they describe. Their distances are really indistinct; nor, when Milton describes towers and battlements,

' bosom'd high in tufted trees,'

does he describe the accurate form, or enter into a detail of their windows and furniture. Pope, on the other hand, and the author of *Grongar Hill*, (by no means the most feeble in their style of poetry), give rather a dry catalogue of beauties, than a representation of their general effect. Light and shade are disregarded; and they describe alike the foreground and the horizon with all the monotonous glare of a Chinese screen.

Thomson was perhaps the first who restored the ancient perception of the more striking features of nature, and brought back to our island a knowledge of her own beauties. Yet his times had so much remaining of bad taste and bad habits, that even Thomson had little opportunity to describe the more remote and sublimer landscape. The country was still considered rather as a threat to disobedient wives, than a desirable residence; and the description of a moor or a waterfall would be little understood or relished by the frequenters of Hampton Court, or those who listened with so much delight to the nightingales at Vauxhall. Goldsmith contributed, perhaps, even more than Thomson, to restore good taste in this instance; and Cowper, perhaps, possessed it more than either. Yet, while we admire his powers of description, we must always lament those unfortunate circumstances, which doomed the eye of a real poet to rest on the flat and unmeaning pastures of Buckinghamshire. He may, however, be said to have blown the enchanted horn; and all the ladies of hills, of woods, and of waters, were immediately in motion. Wealthy clergymen

clergymen began to walk in their forests; village curates to gather dandelions; and philosophers to mourn and moralize, and murmur over ponds 'three feet long, and two feet wide.' On the whole, we may be perhaps allowed to doubt, whether the advantages of a more accurate observation of nature, have not been counterbalanced, as well by the devouring flight of tourists, as by the equally annoying, and, now, equally periodical visitation of tame or forced, or silly descriptions of rural scenery, rural manners, or rural enjoyments.

Amid so much to disgust us, we are disposed, perhaps, to make large allowances, and to turn with real pleasure to the productions of a man of cultivated taste and unaffected, who, without the microscopic eye of some of our poetical Leuenhocks, is still an accurate observer of nature, and who feels what he writes, without professing to write from his feeling.

' I more safely like the bee  
Who, in pleasant Chamouny,  
Roams the piny wood, or skims  
Near her hive the liquid streams,  
Studios of the scented thyme;  
Weave with care my simple rhyme.  
Simple, yet sweet withal to these  
Whom most I love, and most would please.'

Mr Mant's principal fault is an extraordinary occasional feebleness, which sometimes entirely spoils the effect of what would else be pleasing description.

With some exceptions of this kind, the 'Sunday Morning' has great merit as an imitation of the golden age of English poetry. It is painful, however, to have our course stopt in such a poem, by being desired,

' Returning home, to muse  
On sweet and solemn views.'

—which may be an extract from a sermon, as the following is undoubtedly from a village epitaph,

' I hear a voice which speaks to me,  
And burn with zeal to follow thee.'

We were much pleased with the 'Inscription in an Arbour,' which is remarkably free from that neglect of perspective which we have censured in the works of many superior poets.

' But if the thrush, with warbling clear,  
Or whistling blackbird charm thine ear,—  
Or rooks that sail with solemn sound  
Duly their native pines around,—  
Or murmuring bee, or bleating shrill  
Of lambkin, from the sheltering hill.—  
If thine eye delight to rove  
O'er hazel copse, and birchen grove,

Sunny field, and shady nook  
 Ting'd with curls of azure smoke ;  
 Or flocks, whose snowy fleeces crown  
 The slope side of the ruffet down—  
 If thou seek no richer smell  
 Than such as scents the cowslip bell,  
 Or southerly gale, that blows more sweet  
 From the tufted violet,  
 Or the gadding woodbine's wreath,  
 Or the heifer's balmy breath'—

In this we cannot but observe, both in the choice of the epithets, 'tufted violet'—'gadding woodbine,' &c. and in the easy and natural flow of the whole description, a habit of observing nature accurately, and of seizing such beauties as are best suited to description. We have principally attended to Mr Mant's descriptions of nature, because it is there he seems to us most fortunate. His other poems have, on the whole, little to detain us. We must except from this general sentence, his War-Song on the threatened invasion, of which as well as the Dirge on Lord Nelson's death, it is barely justice to observe, that they are the best on the subject we have yet seen.

' I mourn thee not ;—though short thy day,  
 Circled by glory's brightest ray,  
 Thy giant course was run :  
 And Victory, her sweetest smile,  
 Reserv'd to bless thy evening toil  
 And cheer thy setting sun.

If mighty nations' hosts subdu'd,  
 If, mid the wasteful scene of blood,  
 Fair deeds of mercy wrought ;—  
 If thy fond country's joint acclaim,  
 If Europe's blessing on thy name  
 Be bliss,—I mourn thee not.'

Mr Mant must learn, however, that the too frequent mention of his own conjugal felicity is very dangerous ground ; and that, in general, addresses to private friends, and the occurrences of private families, require a very nervous lyre indeed to preserve them from the ridicule of a world, to whom their persons are uninteresting, and their characters probably unknown.

It is seldom, perhaps, much to the purpose, to praise a poet for his morality ; but it must always afford us pleasure, in one particularly of Mr Mant's profession, to observe in his whole volume, and every part of it, a strong and manly train of virtuous sentiment, which may be very advantageously contrasted with the strains of some of his most celebrated contemporaries.

On the whole, though these poems evince (what is no small or vulgar praise) considerable powers both of describing and enjoy-  
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ing the pleasures of an elegant and virtuous retirement, yet we cannot help hinting to Mr Mant, that we think he had more merit in composing than in publishing them. To write smooth verses is a very innocent amusement for a man of leisure and education, —and to read them in manuscript to his family or intimate associates is also a very venial and amiable indulgence, of vanity; —but to push them out into the wide world, is not altogether so safe or laudable a speculation: and, though we are happy to tell him, that we think his talents respectable, yet we feel it a duty to announce to him, that we have not been able to discern in his works any of the tokens of immortality; and to caution him not to put himself in the way of more unmerciful critics.

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ART. XI. *General Observations upon the probable Effects of any Measures which have for their Object the Increase of the Regular Army; and upon the Principles which should regulate the System for calling out the great Body of the People in Defence of the British Empire.* By a Country Gentleman. 8vo. pp. 100. London and Edinburgh. 1807.

IN considering the various measures which have been brought forward for the purpose of increasing our military strength, we are naturally struck with the ease and rapidity with which established plans are put down, in order to make way for new and more inviting experiments. Every year brings forth some new project; and a military plan, like the minister's budget, is almost expected to make part of the business of each new session of parliament. Does this propensity to continual alteration proceed from any national view of emendation, or is it the result of fickle and of erring counsels? We confess, we are rather inclined to favour the latter supposition, when we consider the origin and the fate of the various projects that have lately succeeded each other on this most important subject. It is now four years since we began to dabble in military matters; from that period we have been continually groping, with blind improvidence, from one experiment to another; and we now seem to be as far from any certain or settled views on the subject, as when we first set out. We appear, indeed, to have exhausted our stock of expedients; and, having no new device to exhibit, we are forced to have recourse to an old project, which, in an unlucky moment of sober reflection, we had abandoned for its iniquity and folly. There is, indeed, no department of our policy (although it is proper to speak with diffidence on this point) in which such puerility and mismanagement have been displayed, as in the measures which have been adopted for the increase of our army; it is

is on this account that we propose to make a sober appeal to the good sense of the country on the principle of those measures; fully convinced that, when they are brought to the test of reason and argument, their true tendency and character will quickly appear. For the sake of clearness, we must premise a very few general observations.

There are two ways, and only two, in which a state may recruit its armies; either by compulsion, or by voluntary service. Where the first of these modes is adopted, the business is accomplished with very little trouble to the government. The men are taken wherever they are found; and nothing is required but an order for a levy or conscription. As this mode of proceeding saves an infinite deal of trouble to the rulers, so it has always been much in favour with those who had the means of enforcing it, and, under one form or another, has been very generally adopted. Even in this country, although we have not often resorted to direct compulsion, our policy has always had a leaning that way. This has, indeed, been justified on the ground of necessity; but statesmen are always eager to lay hold of this plea, as an apology for their own incapacity or sloth. Before admitting it, therefore, it will be proper to consider, whether there are any inherent disadvantages in the military profession, which prevents the state from procuring, by voluntary enlistment, the number of men necessary for its defence.

It is an undoubted fact, that, in every other calling, whenever an additional number of hands is wanted, they are always procured without any violent interference with the natural order of society. The manufacturer, when he is setting up new works, never speculates on the possibility of being obstructed in his schemes by the want of workmen; and there is no employment, however disagreeable, disgusting, or dirty, however dangerous or unhealthy, to which there is the slightest difficulty in diverting the quantity of industry which society requires. It is natural, therefore, to inquire, how it happens that individuals are so successful in procuring, for their several vocations, the voluntary services of as many men as they require, while those, to whom the government of the country has been entrusted, although they have been dealing in military plans and projects for some years, have never been able to raise such a number of men as they judged necessary. The reason of this, however, will clearly appear, when it is considered that the means adopted by the two parties for attaining their respective objects, are wholly opposite. An individual, when he is recruiting for any employment which is disagreeable or unhealthy, knows he will not procure men on the same terms as those who are engaging them for more eligible occupations. He offers  
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higher wages, therefore; and when he has thus compensated the disadvantages of his calling, and set it on a level with other callings, he will procure the number of men which he wants. Unless the government of a country acts upon precisely the same principles in recruiting for soldiers, they can never hope to fill up their armies by means of voluntary enlistments; and where, in any shape, it is found impossible to turn the requisite proportion of the population to the military profession, this is a plain proof that sufficient encouragements are not held out:—we may rest assured that the pay and the privileges of the soldier are not such as to place him on a level with men in other employments. In that case, there is no resource, but either to resort to direct compulsion, or to apply a remedy to this radical defect in our military policy. The condition of the soldier must be ameliorated; it must be rendered, in advantages, in credit, in term of service, in present emolument, and in future provision, so desirable, as easily and naturally to draw from the population of the country the supply of men which may be required for its defence.

In Britain, the recruiting for the army has always gone on heavily, although every sort of chicanery and deception has been employed to entrap those into the service into which they could not be honestly persuaded to enter, and although the gaols have also been occasionally drained, in order to make up the deficiencies of the ordinary supply. This difficulty has obviously arisen from the very inadequate encouragement offered to soldiers. Through the inattention of government, their pay had received no augmentation for more than a century, although, during that period, the wages of all other labour had been more than doubled; and when a soldier was disabled in the service, he was dismissed with a very scanty provision for his future subsistence:—when he was regularly discharged, although he had spent the greater part of his life in the army, no part of his pay was continued to him. The cruel and degrading discipline which prevailed in the British army, tended also to spread a very general aversion to the service among the sober and thinking part of the community. In the civil code, the punishment of whipping is reserved for the most atrocious offences, and is supposed to draw after it a total forfeiture of estimation and character; but it is astonishing to observe for what slight offences it was formerly inflicted in the army, and how very little it contributed to the disgrace of the individual. Its frequency and cruelty rendered him, indeed, rather an object of sympathy among his companions; and, in this manner, the moral part of the punishment was effectually destroyed, while the alienation and terror which it excited, produced the most incalculable injury to the service.

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On witnessing the spectacle of a military execution, how must the honest labourer shudder at the idea of being himself exposed to such dreadful severity, or of sending his children into the army, which he would naturally enough conclude to be nothing better than a school of tyranny and of crime. When to all these disagreeable impressions is added the indefinite term of service, we need not wonder at the aversion which the great body of the people discover towards the military profession. To be irrevocably fixed to any employment by an obligation directly compulsory, is an idea sufficiently repulsive and galling; but when, with this mode of life, various associations are connected of the most odious kind, the most active efforts to recruit the army can only be attended with very partial success. It is remarked by Dr Smith, and the fact is indeed notorious, that no man inlists into the army with the consent either of his parents or friends. From that moment they consider him as lost, and exert all the influence they possess to deter him from what they consider as a ruinous step. It is impossible to do away these prejudices against a military life, unless we resolve at once to do justice to the military profession, and to set it completely on a level with all other professions. To lament over the expense which will be incurred in carrying this measure into effect, is quite useless and ridiculous. If defence be necessary, it must be paid for; and, in our opinion, the country cannot be so effectually and cheaply protected as by paying at once the fair price for a regular army. The annual expense of our idle expeditions would pay this price four times over.

The inefficiency of our military policy, from whatever causes it arose, being too obvious to be denied, immediately after the breaking out of the present war a plan was submitted to Parliament for supplying the deficiencies of the ordinary recruiting. It was supposed, at that time, that the enemy was just about to carry into effect his threats of invasion. The plan, it was said, was therefore suited to the urgency of the crisis, and was to furnish an immediate supply of 50,000 men. They were to be raised by a forced conscription; the conscripts were allowed to find a substitute or to pay a fine of 20*l.*, which exempted them from the ballot for one year. The forces so raised were not to serve abroad. In considering this plan, it is evident that the advantages of direct compulsion were, in a great measure, lost by commuting personal service for a pecuniary fine. The measure really operated as a tax; and no tax certainly can be conceived more iniquitous and oppressive, than where the objects of taxation are selected, not because they are able to pay, but because they happen to be of a certain age. The idea of personal service, on which the scheme  
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appeared to be founded, was, in fact, relinquished by the admission of fine and substitution. The burden ought, therefore, to have been extended, not only to those who were able to serve, but to those who were able to pay. The quota of each county might have been fixed by government, but the expense of raising the men ought to have been equally defrayed by the whole community; or, indeed, the business might have been more easily, as well as more expeditiously, accomplished, if men, practised in recruiting, had been employed to procure for the counties their respective quotas, and the expense had been charged upon them as a tax by government. But where is the necessity or utility of apportioning a certain quota of men to each county? Would it not have been as eligible for government to have raised the required number of men, and to have defrayed the expense out of the general fund raised by taxes? This naturally brings us back to the principle from which we set out, namely, that government ought to raise an army perfectly adequate to the defence of the country, whatever it may cost; and the expense or hardship ought to be borne by the community at large, and not by individuals, capriciously selected for the purpose. There is no doubt that men may be raised by means of money judiciously applied. It is both unjust and cruel, therefore, to force individuals into a service, into which, for a little better encouragement, they might be persuaded to enter voluntarily; and this, too, for the purpose of saving the rich from a very slight addition to the load of taxes which they already bear.

The necessity of the case—the urgency of the crisis—was constantly brought forward as an apology for the partiality and severity of the measure. The number of men wanted could not, it was said, be raised by voluntary enlistment; it was necessary, therefore, to resort to extraordinary means. Now, though necessity is certainly a complete justification of the severity of a measure, it is no excuse at all for its partiality. But, so far is it from being true that the men could not be raised by voluntary enlistment, that this, after all, was the way in which they were actually raised. The lot generally fell on those whose habits rendered them completely averse to a military life; or whose avocations rendered it impossible for them to serve personally. They were forced, therefore, either to pay the fine or to provide a substitute. The consequence of which was, that nine tenths of the army of reserve were substitutes. They were raised, therefore, at last, by voluntary enlistment; and they were raised by individuals totally unpractised in the business of recruiting. The bounties given were accordingly enormous; and they at last rose so high, that a final stop was put to every sort of recruiting; so that the number of men proposed to be raised by this plan were never completed.

completed. Its efficiency was, however, greatly boasted of by its authors and supporters. To us it appears, that all that it effected might have been much more easily brought about, and with far less oppression to the country, by other means. It is to be considered also, that the force raised by this measure was, by its constitution, rendered stationary in the country;—that it could not protect our distant possessions, or be rendered the source of active annoyance to our enemy;—it could not therefore increase our respect abroad, nor could it add to our influence in the counsels of the continental powers. The consequence accordingly was, that, having thus studiously crippled our force, and adapted it to one solitary mode of annoyance, when we at last succeeded in kindling a continental war, we were disabled by our own blind improvidence from interfering with the weight of our resources in that contest which irrevocably decided the fate of Europe.

The disorder and mischief which the operation of the ballot began to produce, became at length too notorious to be concealed. Bounties rose to 50*l.* and 60*l.*; and substitutes could not be procured at any price. The recruiting for the army was also completely stopped. It was asserted, to be sure, that although a bounty of 40*l.* and 50*l.* was given for substitutes for the army of reserve, the recruiting for the army went on as successfully as ever; which involved the following extraordinary assertion, that men preferred a bounty of 15*l.* to a bounty of 40*l.* Now that the support of the measure is no longer an article of ministerial faith, it appears inconceivable to every one how so monstrous a proposition could ever have been ventured upon. Although the ballot, however, was thus satisfactorily shown not to retard the recruiting of the army, yet it was thought necessary, for reasons which state policy no doubt prevented from being disclosed, to suspend its operation; and it was afterwards repealed. It was hooted and exploded indeed by all parties for its evident iniquity, and for the actual misery which it had occasioned.

After such recent experience of the mischiefs of projects rashly adopted, and hastily abandoned, it might naturally have been expected, that we would have resorted to some sound and obvious principle of common sense, for the future regulation of our military policy; that, afraid of blindly trusting the success of such important arrangements to chance, we would have checked our rage for device and experiment, and have considered, whether it might not be practicable to recommend a military life to the voluntary choice of the people, by connecting with it such substantial advantages as could not be hoped for in any other profession. Such at least appears to us to be the most obvious and

rational

rational method of recruiting the army; and we cannot help thinking, that if a system, founded on this principle, had been adopted, instead of being exhausted by a sudden effort, it would have grown more efficient the more generally it was known; and might, at length, have freed us from that constant fluctuation of counsel, from which it is impossible that substantial strength of any kind can result. The plan proposed was unfortunately very ill calculated to remove any of the evils complained of. Its principal object was to put an end to the obstacles which arose from the competition of high bounties, and to make good the existing deficiencies in the army of reserve, and in the militia, amounting in the former to 9000 men, and in the latter to 7000. For this purpose, the recruiting service was to be entrusted to parish officers, who were prohibited by act of parliament from giving a higher bounty than 15%. In case the efforts of these worthy persons should prove unsuccessful, the counties were to be fined 20% for each man deficient. Upon what principle of common sense it was imagined, that parish officers with a bounty of 15% could persuade men to enlist who had refused a bounty of 30% or 40% from a recruiting sergeant, we are at a loss to discover. As little can we conceive, by what rule of policy, or of justice, the counties were to be fined for the bad success of their parish officers. This provision, though extremely oppressive to the counties, could not be expected to operate as a stimulus to the zeal of parish officers. But the whole plan was indeed an outrage against the most obvious maxims of policy and of reason. We never could discover upon what rational principle it was founded. It always appeared to us to be a collection of conceits and devices, arbitrarily and carelessly patched together.

In apologizing for the failure of the measure, Mr Pitt only accounted for it; he pointed out the reasons why it had failed; but his statements clearly showed that it was impossible it could have succeeded. Such, however, is the inordinate complacency of mankind for their own schemes, that Mr Pitt was very far from attributing the miscarriage of his measure to any defect in its principle or contrivance; he rather chose to imagine a want of zeal and patriotism in the people of England; and boldly asserted, that it was entirely owing to a misconception which had gone abroad, that the penalties leviable on the counties in case the provisions of the act were not complied with, would not be exacted, that the number of men required were not procured;—and, after declaring that these penalties would be rigorously exacted, he expressed the most perfect confidence respecting the ultimate success of his project. It was no doubt true, that very little activity had been displayed in carrying this

scheme into effect, because it was universally believed to be absurd and impracticable; nor was it very gratifying to observe the people deriding the folly and weakness of the government, and the government, on the other hand, charging the people with a want of zeal in their own cause; and hinting to them, that it would be much for their benefit to have their patriotic efforts stimulated by fines and penalties. It is certainly very unaccountable, how a statesman of Mr Pitt's acknowledged abilities should have given his sanction to so mean and foolish a project.

The parish-bill, as it was generally termed, was repealed very soon after the accession of the last ministry, and another measure substituted in its place. By that measure, the term of military service was divided into three periods, of seven years each. At the end of every period the soldier might claim his discharge; if he left the army after the first period, he was entitled to exercise his trade in any town in Britain; at the end of the second period, he was besides entitled to a pension of 3s. 6d. per week; and he was dismissed from the army, after having served twenty-one years, with a pension of 7s. per week. If he was wounded or disabled in the service, he was to receive the same pension as if he had served out the full term. During the second and third period of his service, he received a small advance of pay.

This is undoubtedly the first measure for recruiting the army in which we can discern any thing like an appeal to the principles of common sense. The object is to raise men by voluntary enlistment; and accordingly, it proceeds upon the principle of recommending the military profession to the attention of the people by the solid advantages which it holds out to them. It endeavours to place the calling of the soldier on a level with all other callings, in order that the number of men which is required for the defence of the state may be naturally drawn from the population of the country. We can conceive no other way in which this object can be attained; and, as far as we have had access to observe the operation of this measure, its success has been very conspicuous. A great number of young men, from about seventeen to twenty-five years of age, have been induced to enter into the army from the comparatively great encouragements now held out to them. The short term of service is a regulation peculiarly acceptable. The objections which were urged against this measure scarcely deserve notice; they were such as might have been expected from those who could wrangle with such plodding perseverance in defence of the folly and absurdity of the parish-bill. The additional expense was grudged, although it would be difficult to show in what way money could be expended with such sure and ample returns of advantage, as in ameliorating

ing the condition of the soldier: there is no way of procuring military service but by paying the just price for it, unless, indeed; it be wrung from the misery and oppression of the poor. The inconvenience arising from men claiming their discharge at the expiration of their several terms of service, was strongly urged; and some inconvenience may no doubt result from this regulation; but, with a very little foresight, it appears to us, that it may be easily provided for. Our choice, it must be recollected, lies between opposite evils; and we can scarcely conceive one greater than the general aversion which the indefinite term of service created to a military life. It was argued, indeed, that men would as soon enlist for life as for seven years; which may serve to show the straits to which those who opposed the measure were reduced. It appears to us, that the principle of the plan was quite invulnerable; and that its particular provisions furnished the only plausible ground of attack. It might have been urged, that the additions of pay in the two different periods of service were too small; that, considering the high wages of common and manufacturing labour, the weekly pensions as a reward for service were not sufficiently liberal. And it must be confessed, indeed, that it would have been better to have erred on the side of liberality than on that of economy. We have always been too niggardly in rewarding both military and naval service. It will be recollected; that the last rise both in the pay of the army and navy, was procured, not from the thoughtful liberality of government, but by means of the mutiny in the fleet. As that matter, however, is regulated by government; the pay both of the seamen and soldiers, ought from time to time to be taken under their consideration; and to be augmented according as the wages in other employments rise. The pay of the seamen ought evidently to be measured by the wages given in the merchant service, and the pay of the army by the wages of common labour. To force men into an employment which they dislike, and to pay them too little for their service, is to add fraud to violence.

Notwithstanding, however, all the encouragements offered to voluntary enlistment, it was said to be impossible, without adopting more efficient measures, even to keep up the army to its present numbers. No proof was indeed offered of the truth of this assertion. But, allowing it to be true, what did it prove? Not that the principle of the measure already adopted was wrong, but merely that the encouragements which it held out to enter into the army were still insufficient. The details of the plan might therefore have been improved without varying from the principle; as it is evident that nothing tends to produce greater confusion and weakness than continual alteration; and nothing also more clearly

indicates a total want of any steady principle of action, or of any settled rule of policy. The plan brought forward since the change of administration does not indeed directly repeal the last measure for increasing the army; but it interferes with it so materially, that for a considerable time it must be rendered utterly nugatory. It is neither more nor less than a revival of the ballot as a temporary expedient; that ballot which all parties had concurred in reprobating and abolishing as partial, cruel, and oppressive. The recourse which is had at present to this exceptionable mode of raising men, is, indeed, justified on the ground of necessity. Politicians are generally very fond of imagining cases of necessity; they afford a most convenient apology for every illegal stretch of power, and for every deviation from the rules of justice or of sound policy. The following very simple considerations will show, however, that, in the present case, the plea is advanced with even less than the common apology.

It appears to us to be one very great recommendation of voluntary enlistment, that it recruits the army from that class of the population to whom a military life is no hardship,—to whom it even presents powerful attractions. Even although the expense of raising men in this way should exceed that of raising them by a compulsory conscription, yet, if the burden were fairly distributed, we are convinced the sum of hardship imposed upon the community in general would be infinitely less. The ballot extends from the age of 17 to 45; the lot must consequently fall generally on those who are soberly settled at some regular pursuit,—who are married perhaps, and have families,—to all whose habits the military profession is completely revolting, and whose views of life it would utterly confound and disturb. Rather than enter into the army, therefore, such persons either insure themselves against the risk of the ballot, or they enter into clubs. The expense of insuring is from three to five guineas per annum. It is not easy to say what may be the expense to each individual in a club. It may probably be from three to four guineas. Those therefore, who can, by borrowing, or by any other exertion, raise this money, will not run the risk of the ballot, although they must abridge themselves of the necessaries of life in order to repay it.\* A heavy tax is thus levied on those whose necessities should wholly exempt them from all direct taxation, and who ought to be very lightly touched by any sort of impost. As by the present plan, the paying of a fine exempts indeed the individual

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\* We know one individual, with a wife and two children, and only nine shillings per week, who paid fifty shillings to be free from the ballot for the militia and army of reserve.

dividual from the ballot for one year, but does not stop the operation of the ballot, it is the interest of the clubs to raise the men at any price, rather than pay the fine. But they have no way of procuring men but by voluntary enlistment. *They* cannot have recourse to ballots. That by far the greater part of the men procured will be raised by clubs and insurance offices, we can have no doubt, as it appears, by returns laid before Parliament, that both in the militia, and in the army of reserve, the principals bore no proportion to the substitutes. That the proportion of principals will be greater in the present than in any former levy, we readily admit, because the means of relief are less attainable; and it must be observed, that the principals consist of those who are disabled, by their scanty means, from securing the enjoyment of their liberty. Their exposure to the ballot seems to be imposed on them by the humanity of the legislature as a penalty on their poverty. As it appears evident, therefore, that the greater part of the men raised will be procured by voluntary enlistment, what, it may be asked, becomes of the argument drawn from the necessity of the case? Cannot government procure the men by voluntary enlistment as well as individuals? And would it not be fully more equitable to raise them in this way, and to defray the expense, by an *equal* tax on the community in general, than to exact it principally from the labouring classes of society? It looks almost as if the authors of this severe measure were more anxious to save the rich from contribution, than the poor from oppression. We cannot forget how they whined about the expense of voluntary enlistment, when it was proposed to provide for it in parliament; but now that it is to fall upon the poor individually, they seem to think it of no importance. The discontent and disaffection produced by this project, is not among the least of its evils. To talk to men, who are forcibly dragged into the army, of the blessings of liberty, must be admitted to be a little unseasonable; and we have heard, indeed, from those who were the objects of this severity, various shrewd sarcasms on the blessing of living under a free government. Other objections might have been enumerated to this measure, such as the renewing of the old competition between the bounties of the regular army, and the bounties of private recruiting; but we wished principally to appeal to the country, and to parliament, on its manifest injustice and inhumanity.

With respect to the other modes of defence which have been adopted, namely, the volunteer system, the training act, &c. it is not our intention to say much. We cannot help observing, however, that, in case of invasion, it appears to us that our main reliance must be placed on the exertions of the regular ar-

my. Those who argue in favour of the efficacy of militia and volunteers, do not seem to consider, that the country in which they would have to act is exceedingly unfavourable to their operations. It is only in woody, mountainous, and difficult countries, where there is abundance of defensive positions, that inexperienced troops can be employed with any hope of success against veterans. This was precisely the case in America; and if our readers will look into the history of the American war, they will find that the object of General Howe was always to bring Washington to a battle on fair and equal terms, which the latter always declined, by retiring to strong defensive positions on the high grounds; and these positions he still further fortified, by throwing up entrenchments, in order to prevent the possibility of being dislodged. Why, it may be asked, did the two hostile generals, in pursuing the same objects, namely, the ruin of their respective opponents, adopt such opposite means for its attainment? Evidently, because they were both of opinion that the American levies were unable to withstand the British army in the field. Had America been a flat country, however, Washington would have had no defensive positions to retire to, and it is probable his army must have been soon ruined. Now, this is precisely the case in Britain. The country is level; and abounding with excellent roads, and in any part of it almost an enemy might be forced to a battle without any very decided advantage of position. The skill of the officers, therefore, and the bravery of the troops, must evidently be our only reliance. And to us it has always appeared, that discipline was something very different from mere proficiency in the manual and platoon exercise. The battle of Jena shows that men may have the external appearance of soldiers, without any thing of their real character. The Prussians were probably dressed in very smart uniforms, and, we have no doubt, went through all their manœuvres with complete accuracy. And yet, how completely were they discomfited by the attack of the French! It will be recollected, also, that 6000 of our militia fled before about 1200 French in Ireland; which may serve to show us how little dependance can be placed on that sort of troops. We throw out these observations merely to recommend caution, and to prevent men from being placed in situations for which they are unfit.



ART. XII. *Corinne, ou L'Italie. Par Madame de Staël Holstein.*  
A Londres, chez M. Peltier. 1807.

THE plan of this work, if not altogether new, is at least very different from that of an ordinary novel. The object of Madame de Staël has been, to intermix, with the incidents of a fictitious narrative, the description of whatever was to be found in Italy most worthy of attention, while that country remained in full enjoyment of the noble patrimony which it inherited from past ages. This attempt, therefore, is in some respects the same with that of Barthelemi, in the Travels of the Younger Anacharsis. It must, however, be admitted, that the union of the true with the imaginary is much more skilfully effected in the work before us than in that of the French academician. The story, by which he has endeavoured to connect together his descriptions of Greece, is, in itself, dull and uninteresting, and comes across the reader every now and then as an unseasonable interruption. The narrative of Madame de Staël is as lively and affecting as her descriptions are picturesque and beautiful; so that each of them, by itself, could maintain a high place in the species of composition to which it belongs. The conception of the story is also in a high degree original; the difference of national character is the force that sets all in motion; and it is Great Britain and Italy, the extremes of civilized Europe, that are personified and contrasted in the hero and heroine of this romantic tale.

Oswald, Lord Nelvil, is a Scots nobleman of great promise and accomplishment, who, at the age of twenty-five, travels into Italy on account of his health. The loss of a father, whom he loved with more than filial affection, and absence at the moment of his father's death (which, though unavoidable, seemed, in his rigorous estimate of duty, to involve a degree of culpability), had produced a deep melancholy, that made him indifferent to life, and little concerned either about its pleasures or its pains. In the circuitous route which he was obliged to pursue (it was in 1794), he passed through Inspruck, and there made an acquaintance with the Count d'Erfeuil, a French emigrant, whom he carried with him into Italy. The gay, frivolous, and unsteady character of the Count, is well delineated throughout; and he finds in these qualities, as so many of his countrymen have lately done, a defence against misfortune, more effectual perhaps than the deepest thought and most unshaken constancy would have afforded.

As they passed through Ancona, a fire that happened in the town, and threw all the inhabitants into dismay, called forth the

activity of Lord Nelvil, and gave occasion for him to show, that, in proportion as he was regardless of his own sufferings, he was disposed to feel for the sufferings of others.

When they arrived in Rome, Lord Nelvil found that a journey through a country where he knew nobody, and was known to none, so far from removing the gloom that hung over his mind, had only rendered his insulation from the world more complete. On the day, however, after his arrival, the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon announced some great solemnity; and he was told, on inquiry, that CORINNA was going to be crowned in the *Capitol*. To the question, who is CORINNA? he received for answer, that she was the most celebrated personage in all Italy,—an excellent poet,—an *improvisatrice*,—and one of the most beautiful women in Rome. That her first work had appeared about five years before,—that she was a woman of fortune,—but that of her birth and family nothing certain was known.

This mixture of mystery and celebrity excited the curiosity of the strangers, and they made haste to mingle in the crowd. Corinna appeared in a chariot drawn by four white horses; and was conveyed to the Capitol, amid the shouts and applauses of the Roman people. The Prince de Castel Forte pronounced a speech in her praise; she herself spoke an extempore poem in praise of Italy; and the *Senator* of Rome placed a crown of myrtle and of laurel on her head. Nelvil felt himself interested in this extraordinary scene, and in the singular person who gave occasion to it. His appearance had also been remarked by Corinna; and, as she descended the stairs of the Capitol, turning about to look at him, her crown fell on the ground; Nelvil, catching it up, presented it to her, with a suitable compliment; to which she replied in good English, without any trace of a foreign accent.

The novelty of the whole scene, and the surprise occasioned by this last circumstance, could not but produce in Nelvil the strongest desire to become acquainted with Corinna. While he was contriving in his own mind how this was to be brought about, he found that his wishes were anticipated by Count d'Erfeuil, who had already written a note to Corinna, requesting that he and his friend might be permitted to wait on her. The account of the first visit to Corinna,—the description of her house,—her person,—her conversation,—are striking and beautiful in the highest degree. Nelvil began to feel more interest in life than he had done for a long time. Their intercourse was kept up; and, after a little, Corinna, as Nelvil was yet an entire stranger to Rome, offered herself to become his guide and conductor to all the curiosities of the antient metropolis of the world.

world. Here a field is opened for the display of taste, learning, and eloquence; and it is but justice to say, that Corinna is every where equal to her subject. The observations which Madame de Staël has put in the mouth of her accomplished heroine, are those of a person of taste and sentiment, who has strongly felt, and deeply studied, the impressions made by whatever is great or beautiful in nature or in art. In the mean time, the mutual passion of Nelvil and Corinna was fed by the display of so much talent, genius and feeling, and by the entire sympathy produced by the constant admiration of the same objects. The character of Corinna becomes more interesting as it develops itself; all her powers and accomplishments are joined to an extreme simplicity and sincerity of mind, to that entire want of selfishness, that *abandon de soi même*, which is the charm of charms. Though the mind of Nelvil yielded to the force of those impressions, there were some elements in it more refractory than the rest, from the resistance of which was to be expected one of those struggles so consoling to the writers, and so distressing to the heroes of romance. As the citizen of a free country, he was passionately attached to it; he considered himself as called by his rank to take a share in active life; and no consideration could have induced him to think of living any where but in Britain. The difficulty that a woman, accustomed like Corinna to the manners of Italy, and to the public admiration which she every day experienced, must feel in accommodating herself to the duties of domestic life, and to the retirement and privacy in which an English woman passes her time, appeared to him an insurmountable obstacle to their union. He knew, too, that it had been the wish of his father that he should marry Lucilia, the daughter of his friend Lord Edgermond; and, though no formal proposal had ever been made to that effect, yet Nelvil was accustomed to regard the slightest intimation of his father's will as a law, which his death had only rendered more binding. It is here, however, that, combined with those high principles of honour and of filial piety, the faulty part of Lord Nelvil's character comes in sight. If he could not think of devoting himself to Corinna; if he could not reconcile his doing so with his ideas of duty or of happiness, he should have tied himself, like Ulysses, to the mast, and fled from a Syren, who charmed, as Homer's did, with the voice of wisdom. But he was irresolute, and yielded to present impressions: though, in matters of mere opinion, he seemed abundantly decided, his active principles were not equally firm; and, without any settled plan, he continued to pass his time in the society of Corinna. The explanation of her story was necessary, at all events, to enable him to determine what line of conduct he must pursue; and though  
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she promised to give that explanation, she constantly excused herself, and put it off to a time more distant. Nelvil fell ill; and Corinna, waving an etiquette that could be set aside in Italy, but that could not have been dispensed with in England, went to his lodgings, and attended him, during a tedious sickness, with the utmost tenderness and assiduity. On his convalescence, they travel together to Naples, where a new field of observation opens, hardly less interesting than that which Rome had afforded. On the eve of their departure from Naples, she put into the hands of Lord Nelvil, a paper, containing the explanation he had been so impatient to receive. Nothing can be more unexpected than the discovery now made. Corinna is no other than the daughter of Lord Edgermond, by his first wife, an Italian lady, and so is the half-sister of Lucilia Edgermond, whom we have just mentioned. Her education, till she was fifteen, had been in Italy; she was about ten years old when her mother died; her father leaving her to the care of an aunt, returned to England, where he married again, and where he brought his daughter, about five years after her mother's death. Here abundant room is given for description and contrast, both of manners and situation. Think of a young girl of fifteen, taken from the centre of Italy, with all the fire of genius just beginning to warm her, which had burst forth with such splendour in her maturer years;—think of her taken from the sun and climate of that favoured region, and transplanted at once to a land of strangers, to a village in the bleak climate and among the tame hills of Northumberland. The feeling description which she gives of this change, the satire, and at the same time the insight into the human character and manners, displayed in this part of the story, will be read *here* with peculiar interest. Miss Edgermond found herself under the dominion of a step-mother, cold, haughty and reserved; and her father, governed by his wife, transformed from the gay and fashionable man that she had seen him a few years before, to a grave and stiff personage, bending under the leaden mantle which *Mediocrity*, according to DANTE, throws over the shoulders of all who pass under his yoke. The formal manners and cloudy sky of this country, were intolerable to Miss Edgermond; and her only pleasure was in attending to the education of her young sister.

She had, in her father's house, an opportunity of seeing the late Lord Nelvil, who made a visit to Edgermond Hall, and who had signified to her father a wish that she might be married to his son. Whatever the impression was that the manner and character of Miss Edgermond had made on him was unknown; but, on his return home, he wrote to Lord Edgermond, that he thought her ~~two~~ young for his son. Lord Edgermond died soon after; and when she herself came of age, being put in possession

possession of her mother's fortune, and also of what her father had left her, she returned to the country whose remembrance was so deeply impressed upon her mind; assumed the name of Corinna, and became the admiration and the boast of Italy.

In this recital, though there was nothing that detracted from the merits of Corinna, there was sufficient to unsettle the mind of Lord Nelvil, fluctuating between love, and a vague or indistinct idea of duty. He proposed to return to England, to learn if possible what the circumstances were that had disinclined his father to the proposed match between Miss Edgermond and himself. He did not consider that the time was past for giving way to such considerations; and that his obligation never to forsake Corinna, but to unite his destiny to hers, had now become paramount to all other duties,—Corinna, to whom his faith had been so often pledged, who had so entirely devoted herself to him, had nursed him in his sickness, and had sacrificed for him the admiration of the world.

She was overwhelmed by Nelvil's determination, but recovered sufficient spirits to return with him to Rome, and afterwards to proceed to Venice. The description of Venice is here introduced with great effect; and this spot, more *sombre* and *triste* than the rest of Italy, is judiciously chosen for the parting scene between Nelvil and Corinna. She had been prevailed on to act the part of Juliet (in a translation of Shakespeare's *Romeo*), and had performed it with the greatest applause, when Lord Nelvil received despatches from England, informing him that his regiment was ordered to the West Indies. He must set out immediately, and Corinna must remain in Italy. The parting in the midst of the night, surrounded by the silence and mystery of the Venetian capital, is highly pathetic, and worked up with all the adventitious circumstances that can be supposed to aggravate the pain of separation.

From this point the conduct of the story evidently declines: probability is too often disregarded; the objects, though still interesting, are less agreeable; and the circumstances of distress are too much accumulated. Lord Nelvil remains in the West Indies for four years: the state of his mind makes him careless of life; and he distinguishes himself greatly as a soldier. Corinna lives retired and disconsolate in the neighbourhood of Venice all that time, her mind in a state of perpetual agitation, the brilliancy of her imagination impaired, and the powers of her mind all going to decline. She resolves, having heard nothing for a long time from Nelvil, to visit England, and arrives in London nearly about the time that he returns from the West Indies. She witnesses, unknown to him, the review of his regiment in Hyde Park. Her doubts about his sentiments

timents prevent her from discovering herself ; and in this there is a manifest departure from the simplicity of character which she has hitherto constantly maintained. As Nelvil hears nothing from her, he begins to think that she has forgot him. He visits Lady Edgermond, and, by her address, is induced to make proposals of marriage to her daughter Lucilia. Corinna being informed of this by report, goes down to Northumberland. She is present in the gardens of Edgermond-Hall, when a ball is given by Lady Edgermond, and takes that occasion to return to Lord Nelvil (by a blind man whom she meets with accidentally) a ring which he had given her, and which was to remain the pledge of his fidelity. The marriage takes place ; and Corinna, in wandering about through England in this forlorn situation, meets by chance with Count D'Erfeuil, by whom she is conducted to Plymouth, and, taking ship there, returns to Italy. She remains at Florence ; and the wane of a person and a mind, both of such distinguished excellence, expressed with the eloquence and feeling of Madame de Staël, affords one of the most melancholy pictures which we have any where found delineated.

Lady Nelvil is described as worthy, intelligent, and accomplished, but, at the same time, cold, reserved, and distant in her manners. Lord Nelvil, unhappy in his mind, feels his health decline ; is advised to go to Italy ; finds out Corinna when she is fast approaching to her end. Lady Nelvil is introduced to her as her sister. The interview is extremely pathetic. Corinna declines seeing Lord Nelvil ; and encounters death with great composure.

Such is the outline of a story, which, though obviously faulty in many respects, and involving in it so little incident, the genius of the author has contrived to render extremely interesting. We shall select but a few out of the many passages that seem to us deserving of attention, of those in particular, where, to use the words of Lord Nelvil, we see Rome ' *interprétée par l'imagination et le genie.*'

When Corinna and Nelvil were going to St Peters, they stopped before the castle of St Angelo ;

' *Voilà, dit Corinne, l'un des édifices dont l'extérieur a le plus d'originalité ; ce tombeau d'Adrien, changé en forteresse par les Goths, porte le double caractère de sa première et de sa seconde destination. Bâti pour la mort, une impénétrable enceinte l'environne, et cependant les vivans y ont ajouté quelque chose d'hostile par les fortifications extérieures qui contrastent avec le silence et la noble inutilité d'un monument funéraire.* On voit sur le sommet un ange de bronze avec son épée nue, et dans l'intérieur sont pratiquées des prisons fort cruelles. Tous les événemens de l'histoire de Rome depuis Adrien jusqu'à nos jours sont liés à ce monument. Bélisaire s'y défendit contre les Goths, et presque qu'aussi

qu'aussi barbare que ceux qui l'attaquaient, il lança contre ses ennemis les belles statues qui décoraient l'intérieur de l'édifice. Crescentius, Arnault de Brescia, Nicolas Rienzi, ces amis de la liberté romaine, qui ont pris si souvent les souvenirs pour des espérances, se sont défendus long-temps dans le tombeau d'un empereur. J'aime ces pierres qui s'unissent à tant de faits illustres. J'aime ce luxe du maître du monde un magnifique tombeau. Il y a quelque chose de grand dans l'homme qui, possesseur de toutes les jouissances et de toutes les pompes terrestres, ne craint pas de s'occuper long-temps d'avance de sa mort. Des idées morales, des sentimens désintéressés remplissent l'âme, dès qu'elle sort de quelque manière des bornes de la vie.' I. 158—160.

'When St Peter's appeared, "Behold, said Corinna, the greatest edifice ever constructed by man; for the pyramids of Egypt themselves are inferior to it in height. I ought, perhaps, said she, to have shewn you the finest of our buildings, last; but that is not my method. I think that to render ourselves sensible to the fine arts, we ought to begin by seeing those objects which inspire a lively and profound admiration. This sentiment, once felt, reveals, as it were, a new sphere of ideas, and makes us capable of admiring and judging those things, which, though of an inferior order, retrace the first impression we received. All these gradual approaches, these prudent and artful means of preparing us for great effects, are not according to my taste: we cannot reach the sublime by degrees; and an infinite distance separates it even from the beautiful." Oswald felt an extraordinary emotion on coming in front of St Peter's. It was the first time that the work of man had produced on him the effect of a wonder of nature. It is the only labour of art upon our globe, which possesses the grandeur that characterises the works of nature. Corinna enjoyed the astonishment of Oswald. "I have chosen, said she, a day in which the sun is in full splendour, to show you this monument. I reserve for you a pleasure more heartfelt, more sacred, to contemplate it by moon-light; but it was necessary first to introduce you to the most brilliant of festivals, the genius of man, embellished by the magnificence of nature."

'An obelisk 80 feet high, which seems nothing compared with the cupola of the church, stands in front of St Peter's. That monument, brought from Egypt to adorn the baths of Caligula, and which Sextus Quintus caused afterwards to be transported to the foot of St Peter's Church, this contemporary of so many ages, which have not been able to injure it, inspires us with a sentiment of reverence. Man, who feels his existence so fleeting, is impressed with awe in the presence of whatever is immoveable.'

The following remarks on Pompeii are very striking.

'Pompeii is the most curious ruin of antiquity. At Rome, are  
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to be found only the *remains* of public monuments, and they only record the political history of past ages ; but at Pompeii, it is the private life of the ancients which is laid open to our view as it really existed. The volcano which has overwhelmed that city with ashes, has preserved it from the ravages of time. Buildings exposed to the air could never have remained so complete ; but this relic, hidden in the earth, has been recovered entire. The paintings, the statues of bronze, retain their original beauty ; and all that served for domestic purposes, remains in a state of awful preservation. The cups are still prepared for the feast of the next day ; the flour is ready to be kneaded ; the remains of a woman are still adorned by the ornaments she wore on the festival which the volcano has interrupted ; and her withered arms no longer fill the bracelets of jewels by which they are still encircled. No where can there be seen such a striking image of the sudden interruption of life. The traces of the wheels are distinctly visible on the pavement of the streets ; and the stones which surround the wells, bear the marks of the ropes which have worn them by degrees. There are still to be seen on the walls of a guardhouse, the mishapen characters, and the figures, coarsely sketched, which the soldiers drew to pass away the time,—that time which was advancing to swallow them up. —

‘ It is with pieces of petrified lava that are built those houses which have been buried by other lavas. Thus, you see ruins upon ruins, tombs upon tombs. This history of the world, in which the epochas are reckoned from destruction to destruction ; this life, of which the traces are followed by the gleams of the volcanos which have destroyed it, fills the heart with sadness. For what a length of time has man existed ! How long is it since he began to live, to suffer, and to perish ! Where are to be found his sentiments and his thoughts ? ’

We give these passages, not as complete descriptions of the objects they relate to, but as reflections that are natural, though uncommon ; and such as will probably strike those who have actually seen these monuments, more than others who have only read of them.

The effects which the sight of ruins and antique monuments produce on the mind, must have been experienced by many, who will be pleased to find them so well expressed in the following passage.

‘ Oswald ne pouvait se lasser de considérer les traces de l’antique Rome du point élevé du Capitole où Corinne l’avait conduit. La lecture de Phisloire, les réflexions qu’elle excite, agissent bien moins sur notre ame que ces pierres en désordre, que ces ruines mêlées aux habitations nouvelles. Les yeux sont tout-puissans sur l’ame ; après avoir vu



les ruines romaines on croit aux antiques Romains, comme si l'on avait vécu de leur temps. Les souvenirs de l'esprit sont acquis par l'étude. Les souvenirs de l'imagination naissent d'une impression plus immédiate et plus intime qui donne de la vie à la pensée, et nous rend, pour ainsi dire, témoins de ce que nous avons appris. Sans doute on est importuné de tous ces bâtimens modernes qui viennent se mêler aux antiques débris. Mais un portique debout à côté d'un humble toit ; mais des colonnes entre lesquelles de petites fenêtres d'église sont pratiquées, un tombeau servant d'asile à toute une famille rustique, produisent je ne fais quel mélange d'idées grandes et simples, je ne fais quel plaisir de découverte qui inspire un intérêt continu. Tout est commun, tout est profane dans l'extérieur de la plupart de nos villes européennes, et Rome, plus souvent qu'aucune autre, présente le triste aspect de la misère et de la dégradation ; mais tout à coup une colonne brisée, un bas-relief à demi détruit, des pierres liées à la façon indestructible des architectes anciens, vous rappellent qu'il y a dans l'homme une puissance éternelle, une étincelle divine, et qu'il ne faut pas se lasser de l'exciter en soi-même et de la ranimer dans les autres.

The passage that immediately follows, breathes strongly the spirit of freedom.

‘Ce Forum, dont l'enceinte est si resserrée et qui a vu tant de choses étonnantes, est une preuve frappante de la grandeur morale de l'homme. Quand l'univers, dans les derniers temps de Rome, était soumis à des maîtres sans gloire, on trouve des siècles entiers dont l'histoire peut à peine conserver quelques faits ; et ce Forum, petit espace, centre d'une ville alors très-circonscrite, et dont les habitans combattaient autour d'elle pour son territoire, ce Forum n'a-t-il pas occupé, par les souvenirs qu'il retrace, les plus beaux génies de tous les temps ? Honneur donc, éternel honneur aux peuples courageux et libres, puisqu'ils captivent ainsi les regards de la postérité !’ vol. I. p. 184—186.

Corinna is represented as excelling in the character of an *Improvisatrice*, so peculiar to Italy, and so intimately connected with the flowing and sonorous language of that country. Several specimens of this sort of composition are given in the course of the work ; one of the most beautiful we think is an effusion that Corinna is supposed to make sitting on the promontory of MISENUM in a moonlight evening, just after sunset, with the bay of Naples, and all the classical and magnificent scenery that surrounds it, stretched out before her. The subject suggested by her friends was the recollections attached to the objects now in view. Melancholy had then begun to take possession of her thoughts, from the circumstances of her own situation ; and this is strongly marked in the whole of her discourse : we give only the end of it, where, after mentioning the names of Cornelia, Portia, Agrippina, who, in circumstances of deep distress, had all passed over the theatre before her, she goes on thus.

“Amour,

“ Amour, suprême puissance du cœur, mystérieux enthousiasme qui renferme en lui-même la poésie, l'héroïsme et la religion ! qu'arrive-t-il quand la destinée nous sépare de celui qui avait le secret de notre ame et nous avait donné la vie du cœur, la vie céleste ? Qu'arrive-t-il quand l'absence ou la mort isolent une femme sur la terre ? Elle languit, elle tombe. Combien de fois ces rochers qui nous entourent n'ont-ils pas offert leur froid soutien à ces veuves délaissées qui s'appuyaient jadis sur le sein d'un ami, sur le bras d'un héros !

“ Devant vous est Sorrente ; là, demeurait la sœur du Tasse, quand il vint en pèlerin demander à cette obscure amie un asile contre l'injustice des princes : ses longues douleurs avaient presque égaré sa raison ; il ne lui restait que la connaissance des choses divines, toutes les images de la terre étaient troublées. Ainsi le talent, épouvanté du désert qui l'environne, parcourt l'univers sans trouver rien qui lui ressemblable. La nature pour lui n'a plus d'écho ; et le vulgaire prend pour la folie ce malaise d'une ame qui ne respire pas dans ce monde assez d'air, assez d'enthousiasme, assez d'espoir. ”—

“ Sublime créateur de cette belle nature, protége-nous ! Nos élans sont sans force, nos espérances mensongères. Les passions exercent en nous une tyrannie tumultueuse, qui ne nous laisse ni liberté ni repos. Peut-être ce que nous ferons demain décidera-t-il de notre sort ; peut-être hier avons-nous dit un mot que rien ne peut racheter. Quand notre esprit s'élève aux plus hautes pensées, nous sentons, comme au sommet des édifices élevés, un vertige qui confond tous les objets à nos regards ; mais alors même la douleur, la terrible douleur, ne se perd point dans les nuages, elle les sillonne, elle les entr'ouvre. O mon Dieu, que veut-elle nous annoncer ? . . . ” Vol. II. 336—339.

It is remarked, that the Neapolitans were surprised with the melancholy strain of this song ; they admired the harmony and beauty of the poetry, but they wished that the verses had been inspired by a disposition less sad. The English, on the other hand, who were present and heard Corinna, were filled with unmixed admiration.

Madame de Staël, as appears from almost every part of this work, has studied with great care the character and manners of the English. She has done so also with singular success ; and, though all her notions may not be perfectly correct, we believe that hardly any foreigner, who has not resided long in England, ever approached so near to the truth. The residence of Corinna, at her father's house in Northumberland, affords an opportunity of entering into the *minutiae* of some parts of English manners. The representation of them is not very favourable : the long dinners—the free use of the bottle—the almost total separation of the male from the female part of the society that is the necessary consequence—the dullness of the latter during the long interval from dinner to tea,—all these are noted with considerable

able truth, though, perhaps, with a little of that involuntary exaggeration that mere contrast can hardly fail to produce. The coldness of manner in the English ladies, their reserve and want of animation, are painted too harshly, even though a large share of understanding and accomplishment is allowed them. Mad. de Staël at the same time entertains a high opinion of the men, and is aware of the superiority that they derive from having some object in active life, and some concern in the government of their country. In what respects conversation, however, and cultivation of mind, we must be permitted to say, that we believe the women are often superior to the men. The very circumstance of not being destined for active or public life, renders their conversation more intellectual, more connected with general principles, and more allied to philosophic speculation. Their taste, also, is often more cultivated; and we have known instances, where the daughters of a family could relish the beauties of Racine and Metastasio, while the sons could not converse on any thing but hunting, horse-racing, or those methods of *training*, by which the talents of men and of horses are brought as near as possible to an equality.

During the residence of Corinna in Northumberland, though her mind revolted against the formal rules of the dull and common-place people that surrounded her, yet she found herself gradually subdued by them, and insensibly tied down by their opinions, as Gulliver was by the threads of the Lilliputians. 'It is in vain' says she, 'that you say this man is not a proper judge of *me*; that woman has no comprehension of what I am about.—The human countenance ever exercises a great power over the human heart; and when you read on the faces of those around you, a disapprobation of your conduct, it disquiets you in spite of yourself. The circle you live in always comes to conceal from you the rest of the world; the smallest atom, placed near the eye, hides from it the body of the sun; and it is the same with the little *coterie* in which you live. Neither the voice of Europe, nor of posterity, can make you insensible to the noise of your neighbour's family; and therefore, whoever would live happily, and give scope to his genius, must first of all choose carefully the atmosphere with which he is to be immediately surrounded.' (Vol. II. p. 377.) These reflections are very just; but one who would apply them to his own case, must be careful not to mistake the suggestions of levity and caprice for the inspiration of genius and talent; for the same power which adjusts all to the mediocrity of the vulgar, and which may so unhappily fetter the two latter, often furnishes a salutary restraint to the two former. Much is said through the whole book, of the effect of climate; and the

sun of Italy is never mentioned but with an enthusiasm, that we believe arises from the author having really felt all that she describes. We are persuaded, however, that she has ascribed too much to physical causes, and that she does not sufficiently allow for the circumstances, moral and political, by which they are often overruled. The climate of Italy is not probably very different now from what it was in ancient times; and yet, what a difference between the ancient Romans and the modern Italians? We are persuaded we shall not, even by Mad. de Staël, be accused of any immoderate partiality in favour of our countrymen, when we say that an Englishman bears a much greater resemblance to a Roman, than an Italian of the present day. Here, therefore, the possession of liberty and laws, and, above all, the superiority which a man derives from having a share in the government of his country, has, in opposition to climate and situation, produced a greater resemblance of character, than the latter was able to do, when counteracted by the former.

On the whole, notwithstanding some such imperfections as we have now pointed out; notwithstanding also, that in the analysis of feeling, which is usually managed with great skill, some fanciful reflections now and then occur,—some false refinements, and some sentiments brought from too great a distance,—we can have no hesitation to say, that those blemishes are very inconsiderable, compared with the general execution of the work—with the imagination, the feeling, and the eloquence displayed in it.

Some of the writings of Madame de Staël have been censured, though perhaps without due consideration, as having an immoral tendency. This, we think, cannot, on any pretence, be alleged of the work before us: From the history and fate of the amiable and accomplished Corinna, the reader may learn to watch over a passion which, if left to itself, may become one of the worst distempers of the mind, blasting and consuming even the noblest faculties. One may learn, too, the necessity of conforming to those rules that restrain the intercourse of the sexes, and that are not to be rashly dispensed with, even where no immediate danger is apprehended.

The example of Lord Nelvil is calculated to show the danger of irresolution, especially when the interest of another is concerned; and to remind us, that a man, by the fear of doing what is not perfectly correct, may be led, if he is not on his guard, to the commission of what is highly criminal. The fear of impropriety might have been consulted, when the mutual attachment of Corinna and himself was in its commencement; but it was mere selfishness and want of feeling to be afterwards guided by such a fear, in opposition to the best sentiments of the heart,  
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and one of the greatest and most imperious of all moral obligations.

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ART. XIII. *The Code of Health and Longevity; or a Concise View of the Principles, calculated for the Preservation of Health, and the Attainment of Long Life: Being an Attempt to prove the Practicability of condensing, within a narrow Compass, the most material Information hitherto accumulated, regarding the different Arts and Sciences; or any particular Branch thereof.* By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. 8vo. 4 vol. Constable & Co. Edinburgh, Cadell & Davies, and J. Murray, London. 1807.

WE have studied this long title-page with great diligence, without being able to make even a probable conjecture as to the meaning of the greater part of it; and indeed have received no distinct impression from it whatever, except that it is a very improper title to stand at the head of four goodly octavo volumes, each containing about 800 pages of very close printing. It would require a greater share of health and longevity, than we can presume to reckon on, to carry us fairly through every part of their contents; but from what we have been able to examine, as well as from a distant view of the remainder, we think ourselves justified in saying, that this *concise view* of the principles of health and longevity,—this proof of the practicability of condensing *within a narrow compass* the essence of the arts and sciences, is the most diffuse, clumsy, and unsatisfactory compilation that has ever fallen under our notice.

The first volume consists of a vast indigested and injudicious abstract of all that the author had been able to find written upon the subject of which he was to treat; in which no attempt is made to separate truth from falsehood, to reconcile contradictions, or even to distinguish what is profound or important, from what is most trivial and obvious. The book, therefore, is chiefly occupied with rules and statements, which are perfectly familiar, not only to every individual who has had occasion but once in his life to consult an apothecary, but to every one almost who has merely existed about twelve or fifteen years in this great lazaret-house of a world. If we add to this, the blundering indistinctness of the worthy Baronet's divisions,—the incredible credulity manifested in many of his statements,—the masses of mawkish morality with which the whole olio is seasoned,—the marvellous ignorance that is occasionally betrayed on the subjects which lay properly in his way, and the still more insufferable display of superficial

perfidious learning on others to which he chuses to digress,—we shall have a pretty accurate conception of the value of this last great digest of ‘the *Macrobiotic art.*’ The other three volumes consist of choice extracts from the books which the author had read, and the communications which he had received. They are the raw materials, in short, out of which the first volume has been manufactured; and his conduct in reprinting them at large, as a sequel to it, resembles that of a man who should first cloy his guests with bad soups, jellies, and conserves, and then insist on cramming down their throats the bones, husks, and egg shells out of which his banquet had been extracted. Such, however, is the worthy author’s own opinion of the value and importance of this publication, that he modestly proposes in the preface, ‘that it should be translated into the principal languages of the continent, circulated among the learned in all quarters of the world, and premiums given (by government we suppose) to those who transmitted the best observations upon it;’ and afterwards asserts, without any hesitation, that any person who will carefully peruse and apply the maxims contained in it, ‘can *hardly fail* to add from ten to twenty, or even thirty years, to his comfortable existence.’—After all this, his readers may not perhaps be very much surprised to find him anticipating his own apotheosis; and informing them, in the motto on his title-page, that it is impossible for any mortal to approach nearer to a Divinity.\* Though our estimate of the work is certainly a great deal more moderate, yet, the very magnitude of these pretensions, imposes upon us the necessity of giving a pretty full account of it.

After a pretty long introduction, in which we are carefully informed that the worthy author was born in the year 1754, and, about five or six years ago, fell into a state of weakness, which made him incapable of prosecuting useful inquiries, or applying his mind to political pursuits with his former energy, we have a short view of the plan of the work; in the first part of which, he proposes to treat of ‘the circumstances which necessarily tend to promote health and longevity, *independent* of individual attention, or the observance of particular rules;’ and, in the second, to deliver those rules by which these great ends are to be attained.

The learned author is resolved to begin at the beginning; and accordingly, in his two first sections, he treats ‘of the structure of the human body,’ and ‘of its tendency to decay and perish.’ In the former, he is kind enough to present us with a definition  
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\* Neque enim ulla alia re homines propius ad Deos accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando.

of man, in which, however, the mind makes a much greater figure than the body. It is as follows.

‘ Man may be defined, “ a being, in whom reason or spirit, and body or matter are united, and whose existence depends upon that union ; for the individual who loses his reason, unless preserved by the care of others from destruction, would soon perish. ”

‘ As, without the possession and the exercise of reason, man could not exist for any space of time, it is necessary that the mind, and the reasoning and other faculties connected therewith, should be furnished with a proper place of residence ; accordingly, she is provided with the brain, where she dwells as governor or superintendant of the whole fabric.’  
I. p. 28, 29.

In the second section, he undertakes to prove, that all men must die ; and that not only by the vulgar argument derived from experience, but by a learned investigation of the changes which time necessarily makes on his structure. We do not very clearly see the force of the latter mode of reasoning ; but we are of opinion, notwithstanding, that he has made out the main fact of our mortality in a very satisfactory manner.

The first of the circumstances, independent of individual attention, by which health is likely to be influenced, according to our author, is ‘ Parentage ;’ and the sum of his doctrine, on this subject, is, that healthy and long-lived parents, are likely to have healthy and long-lived children ; but that this is not a necessary or uniform consequence. By far the most interesting part of the chapter, however, is an original theory of Sir John’s own, that a man generally takes his bodily form from his father, and his talents and disposition from his mother. In confirmation of this pleasant hypothesis, we are then informed, that the abilities and eloquence of Lord Chatham and Mr Pitt, *was* owing (so Sir John writes) to a fortunate connexion which one of their ancestors had made with a Miss Innes of Redhall, in the Highlands of Scotland !—and that the talents of the Dundases, in like manner, were also derived from the marriage of one of their progenitors to a Miss SINCLAIR of this kingdom !—Our national partialities disposed us very strongly to receive this intellectual genealogy ; but, unfortunately, its authenticity is completely disproved by the very theory in support of which it is referred to. If the talents come always through the mother, we are really at a loss to conceive how the genius of the Inneses—or even of the Sinclairs—could possibly be of any benefit, except to those who were immediately sprung from those accomplished females ; and, as this happy inoculation took place long ago, it seems difficult to imagine, that either Lord Chatham or Mr Pitt, whose mothers were unquestionably degenerate English, could derive any advantage from it.

The next requisite to health and long life, according to our author, is 'Perfect Birth;' by which, he means, birth after a full period of gestation. It is perfectly obvious, however, that cases of premature birth are so rare, comparatively, that no sound conclusion can be formed upon the subject; and Sir John himself mentions one instance of a man upwards of 100 years of age, who was born in the seventh month.

The third point is 'Gradual Growth,' under which title we find nothing in the least interesting, except a curious trait of the author's credulity in reporting a vulgar story of Bishop Berkeley having, by some peculiar systematic process, made a poor orphan boy grow to the height of seven feet before he was sixteen years of age; in consequence of which preternatural elongation, he became stupid, and died of old age at twenty!

We have next a dissertation on different constitutions and formations;—the issue of which is, that men perfectly well formed and of a middle size, are likely to be most healthy; with other truisms of equal importance. He then observes, that women have, upon the whole, a better chance of long life than men; though he declines determining whether this be owing to any generic superiority in their constitution, or to their being less exposed to accidents and intemperance. The last of the circumstances tending to prevent longevity is, we are told, 'the renovation of the distinctions of youth,' by getting new hair, teeth, &c. in advanced life. It affords a singular view of the author's notions of classification to find this enumerated among the circumstances by which longevity is *promoted*. It cannot even be very well said to be *indicated* by it; as, in most of the instances specified, those renovations took place but a very few years before the death of the individual.

Our ambitious author proceeds next to consider what qualities of *Mind* are most favourable to health. It must have given him some alarm to find, that men of great talents do not in general live long. Violent passions, too, we are told, or bad temper, are unfavourable to long life; except in the case of fat persons, who it seems receive much benefit from peevishness and anger.

After this, there follows a long chapter on the effects of Climate and Situation, containing exhortations to fly from large towns, and directions where to build villas; all which, with our author's usual accuracy, are classed under the head of circumstances independent of individual choice or exertion. The sum and substance of the inquiry, is a series of familiar and most obvious truths;—that extremes of heat and cold are unhealthy, but of the former the most so;—that the neighbourhood of the sea, and of running waters, is salubrious;—that trees are useful

for



for shelter, but that too many of them choke up the air ;—that it is desirable to be near good water and fuel ;—and that towns are not so healthful as the country. The only thing the least interesting is, that the natives of cold countries are longer lived than those of hot, even where the latter are perfectly healthy ; and that small islands, and lofty situations, are, of all other situations, the most favourable to long life. There must be many exceptions, however, to the first rule, if what is stated in this book as to the common longevity of the natives of Bermudas, Barbadoes and Madeira, be true ; nor can the second be received implicitly, when we reflect on the miserable insalubrity of most of the West India islands.

The fourth chapter treats of miscellaneous circumstances tending to promote longevity, independent of the choice or attention of the individual. Among these, we were rather surprised to find his ordinary occupation enumerated, and, still more, his conubial connexion ; for which classification, however, this pious and satisfactory reason is assigned by the worthy author, viz. ‘ that it is generally sanctioned by the approbation of his parents, and ought always to be so, if they are in life ! ’ The first of these miscellaneous circumstances, is rank and situation in life ; on occasion of which, Sir John observes, with great truth and originality, that the rich frequently injure their health by eating and drinking too luxuriously, and by keeping their houses and persons too warm. With his usual accuracy and regard to consistency, he then tells a story of an Irish doctor who lived for fifty years without having had a death in a numerous family, in consequence of having no glass in his windows, and encouraging a perpetual whirlwind in his mansion ; while, but a few pages before, he commemorates, with much approbation, the equally successful practice of another doctor, who lived to a hundred, by sleeping under eight blankets, and constantly inhabiting a stove-room heated up to 70 degrees of Fahrenheit.

The next miscellaneous circumstance connected with health, is Education, upon which Sir John, after boasting of having more children ‘ than usually fall to the lot of *literary* men, ’ is obliging enough to present his readers with a short dissertation. In the course of this, we meet with a variety of original and learned remarks ; such as, that the first food of children should be milk ; and that ‘ Camper agrees with *Plato* in preferring for the children of the rich—roasted meat to boiled. ’ We are likewise informed, that good air and regular exercise are advantageous ; and that ‘ *Aristotle* well observes, that an elegant person is preferable to many letters of recommendation. ’ All this we readily subscribe to ; but when the learned author proceeds to observe, that ‘ *Swift* recommends running up and down stairs as an ex-

cellent exercise ; and that he would have found it both amusing and wholesome, if he had had a number of fine children to have joined in the recreation ;' we cannot help suspecting, that his partiality to classical authorities has imposed in some measure on his usual prudence and caution. We really can scarcely conceive a more hazardous and inconvenient plan of exercise, for a crowd of heedless children, than a steep stair-case ; whether they run up and down after their papa, or each other.

The following section is on the comparative healthiness of different occupations. Husbandmen are supposed the most healthy ; and soldiers and sailors next. Learned persons do not, in general, live long. Inhabitants of cities are most remarkably shorter lived than those who reside in the country ; and unmarried persons than those who have entered into matrimony. The first part ends with some remarks on the miseries of extreme old age, and the advantages of a timely death. In three several places, the worthy author informs us, with the most laudable gravity, that the air of a certain valley in Norway is so *excessively* salubrious, that the inhabitants frequently live much longer than they wish, and get themselves removed to less blessed situations, that they may have the comfort of dying the sooner.

The second part, which alone can constitute the Code of Health and Longevity, professes to comprehend all the rules by which these great ends may be attained ; and accordingly, sets out with a long dissertation on the benefit which may be expected from the observance of such rules.

The first topic which is regularly discussed, is that of Air. And here, the redundant learning of the worthy author overflows in a sort of bad lecture on the composition of the atmosphere, extended through little less than thirty of his massive pages. We are here presented with an account of its chemical composition and various properties, and with numerous tables, showing the relative proportions of its ingredients, with the derivation of their modern names,—its volume in square inches, and its weight in pounds avoirdupois ; the knowledge of all which must obviously be of singular benefit to the invalid, who opens the book in search of directions for the restoration of his health. We cannot even compliment Sir John Sinclair upon the accuracy of this misplaced philosophy. He tells us, indeed, with great truth, that ' a fluid easily divisible, and liable to *perpetual agitations*, must be *constantly in motion* ;' but his doctrines are rather more questionable, when he assures us that it is owing to the *elasticity* of air that it is enabled to descend to the bottom of mines and coal-pits, and that it is by means of its *fluidity* that it is the medium of sound. It is evidently in consequence of its pressure or *gravitation*, that it descends ; and of its *elasticity*, that it transmits

mits the vibration of sounds. Sir John also thinks it necessary to announce, that men breathe when they are asleep, as well as when they are awake, and to confirm his assertion that they require a certain supply of fresh air, by the story of the Blackhole at Calcutta, and other anecdotes equally interesting and original. We are then told, that air may be too hot, or too cold,—too moist, or too dry,—too light, or too heavy; and that we should do the best we can to counteract the bad effects of these extremes, by the construction of our houses and clothing, and the regulation of our diet and exercise. In temperate climates, we are admonished to be very much in the open air; and the following interesting story is told in illustration of this precept,—which we gladly insert as a specimen of the vigour and vivacity which characterize the whole performance.

‘The advantages of fresh air, are happily exemplified by the following anecdote, related by a physician, of two sisters, whose system, in that respect, happened to be different. The elder, Maria, was fond of reading or needle-work, and in general of every thing that suited a sedentary life. She was weak; her nerves were very irritable; and every change of weather affected her. She was perpetually obliged to have recourse to medicines, which, being good of their kind, would undoubtedly have had the desired effect in strengthening her constitution, had they been properly assisted by moderate and gentle exercise. But Miss Maria was always at home, always in the hands of a physician and apothecary, and always ailing.

‘Her sister Jane, on the other hand, was a very lively girl, and naturally possessed of good sense. She did not neglect to apply to her works and studies at proper times, but she had made it a rule to walk out whenever the weather permitted. Bad weather had seldom any other effect upon her, than to deprive her of her usual exercise. By these means she enjoyed an excellent state of health; and, whenever she happened to have any complaint, her physician had the satisfaction never to be disappointed in the effects of his medicines.’ I. 223.

After about an hundred pages on air, we come next to Food; and first of all to liquid food, and to a preliminary dissertation on the necessity of such aliment. There are ten sections to prove that men are the better of occasionally swallowing fluids; we content ourselves with quoting the last.

‘When the body is exhausted, how refreshing is a single draught of a wholesome beverage: when the mind is borne down with care, how rapidly is it exhilarated by a cheerful glass: and when the whole frame is likely to sink under the pressure of disease, there is no medicine so likely, in certain cases, to restore it to its former health and strength, as the genuine juice of the grape.’ I. 237.

We now get on to the enumeration of the different kinds of fluids which are used for drinking; and find that the first division comprises the simple fluids of Water and Milk; and that neither

ther of these fluids is simple. The chapter on Water is very long; and the signs of good water are detailed with much diligence. One of its characteristics, it seems, is to be *saponaceous*; and another is, that 'a few drops of it let fall on *good copper* will occasion no spot thereon.' Rain-water, snow-water, hail-water, and ice-water, are then criticised and compared. Sir John is not of opinion that the swellings of the neck which annoy the inhabitants of the Alps, are occasioned by the use of snow-water; and observes, with more pertinency than is very usual with him, that the very same disease is prevalent in Sumatra, where ice and snow are never seen; and that it is wholly unknown in Chili or Thibet, although the rivers of those countries are chiefly supported by the melting of the mountain snow. It ought to have been mentioned, on the other hand, that Captain Cooke found several of his people affected with those swellings, after having been confined for some time to the use of water formed from the dissolution of ice taken from the middle of the ocean.

The following suggestions seem to be of substantial utility; and we feel it to be a duty, therefore, to do every thing in our power to make them more generally known.

'There is an excellent mode of preserving water, and by which it is filtrated at the same time, adopted at Paris. The water is put in what is called a *fountain*, which is a large and strong earthen jar, about four feet in height, placed on a wooden pedestal. At the bottom there is gravel to the height of six or eight inches, which should be cleared once a year. The fountain may be had for à louis-d'or; and the waterman receives a trifle for filling it twice a week, which is sufficient for the generality of families. The water, thus filtrated through the gravel, becomes as pure as crystal, and is drawn by a cock, at the bottom of the fountain. As the water of the Seine is rarely pure, and in a dry summer even noxious; such a machine is very convenient, and even indispensable. It is not liable to the many accidents, and constant wear, of our filtering stones, nor does it require the attention of those with charcoal, recently invented at Paris. It certainly would be of the highest importance, to have so simple, but so useful an article, introduced into this country.' l. 253, 254.

The same contrivance on a larger scale, and adapted for the use of a community, is described in the following account of the process for purifying the water of a small river near Paisley, which we know to have been attended with the most complete success.

'A well, about 25 yards from the river, and sunk below the level of its bed, receives its water by a covered cut. This cut is about eight feet wide, and four deep: it is filled with chipped freestone, which are broke smaller as it approaches the well. To prevent the intermingling of the earth, they are covered with Russia mats, over which the ground is levelled. A great deal of the filtering is effected by this first and simple operation. Over the well is a small steam-engine, which raises the

the water to an air-chest, whence it is forced to the 'external trench of the basin,' higher than the engine, and distant perhaps 60 or 70 yards. The air-chest may be about 16 feet above the river. The communication from it to the trench, is by a wooden pipe of Scots fir, of three inches bore. From the trench the water filters into the basin. The basin is a circle of about  $23\frac{1}{2}$  feet diameter, and 10 deep, sunk perhaps about two feet below the level of the ground; its bottom of puddled earth; its side, a wall of free-stone, neatly jointed, but laid without cement. It is surrounded by a bed of sand, or very fine gravel, about six feet wide, the same depth with the basin, and retained by a wall of free-stone rubble without cement, and, like the former, about a foot thick. A second bed of gravel surrounds this wall, of the same width and depth as the other, but the gravel coarser, and retained by a similar wall to the former. The water-trench succeeds: about six feet wide, of the same depth with the basin; the bottom of puddled earth, as are the bottoms of the sand-beds. The outer wall of the trench is double; the interior one hewn stone joined; the exterior, thick whinstone. A space of about 16 inches between them is rammed with clay or puddled earth; a coping of hewn stone covers both in; the outside is faced with earth and turf, and gradually sloped to the level of the surrounding ground. All the stone employed in the first communication from the river, and in the walls, is carefully picked from quarries perfectly free from any metallic tinge. From the basin, a pipe is carried below the sand-beds, to a distance of perhaps a furlong, to where a declivity in the ground gives opportunity to drive a cart below the mouth of the pipe, where a large cask, placed upon it, is commodiously and expeditiously filled.' Vol. 1. p. 260, 261.

The chapter ends with an account of the exaggerated and absurd assertions of a certain set of physicians, who maintained that water was the panacea for all diseases; and of the controversy which they maintained with a more jolly set, who asserted the superior virtue and salubrity of wine.

The chapter on Milk is also very diffuse; and we are minutely informed, that it may be eaten raw—boiled—sour—as cream—as butter—as whey—and *in punch*. Nay, the worthy Baronet actually condescends to insert into his text a particular recipe for the preparation of that luxurious beverage, known by the name of milk punch. The general directions for the use of this article are perfectly obvious and familiar.

We proceed next to fluids compounded with water, and not fermented; under which the learned author treats at great length of gruel, toast and water, teas, coffee, chocolate and soups. The dissertation on tea is full of all manner of common-places, and is incredibly tedious. The arguments for and against the use of this favourite beverage are stated at great length, and the balance held by so very impartial a hand, that it is not easy to say on which side the author understands it to preponderate. If people will  
drink

drink tea, however, he informs us that it should not be green, but black tea; that it should be mixed with much cream and sugar, and only taken along with solid aliments. We do not know on what authority he asserts, that the practice in the east is to *boil* at once the quantity of tea to be used, and thus, to speak learnedly, to employ the decoction instead of the infusion. Whatever the authority be, however, we should be disposed to reject it, on the faith of the celebrated ode or recipe of the great Chinese emperor Kien Long, who must certainly be admitted to be a judge without appeal in a question of this nature, and who, we recollect, is so far from recommending boiling the leaves, that he will only allow them to be infused for a very few minutes in an open cup. Barrow, too, assures us, that this is the universal mode of preparing tea, at least among the opulent part of the Chinese community.

The author gets at last to 'fermented liquors,' and favours us with the analysis of Wine from Thomson's chemistry. We have then a tiresome array of the arguments for and against the use of wine, drawn up in the most tame, vulgar, and childish language. We give the following as a fair specimen of this triticial essay.

'It is also said, that not only physicians, but that many philosophers, have recommended the use of wine as a preservative against chagrin, and as a salutary remedy in disease. Seneca informs us, that Solon and Cato sometimes cheered themselves with wine; a glass of which they considered as tending to produce strength, and as a remedy against many disorders, as well as an antidote to grief. Plato, though severe against the use of wine for the young, yet permitted men of forty years of age, to drink it with moderation, and even invites them to take a cheerful glass.

'The first effects of wine, we are told, are an inexpressible tranquillity of mind, and liveness of countenance; the powers of imagination become more vivid, and the flow of spirits more spontaneous and easy, giving birth to wit and humour without hesitation. *Dissepit ebrinus curas edaces.* All anxieties of business, that require thought and attention, are laid aside; and every painful affection of the soul is relieved or alleviated.

'Invigorated with wine, the infirm man becomes strong, and the timid courageous. The desponding lover forsakes his solitude, and silent shades, and in a cup of *Falernian*, forgets the frowns and indifference of an unkind mistress. Even the trembling hypochondriac, numbs of his fears and ominous dreams, sports and capers like a person in health. Regaled with the pleasures of the board, the soldier no longer complains of the hardships of a campaign, or the mariner of the dangers of the storm.' I. p. 311.

He ends with recommending temperance, and with Professor Hahnemann's test for the detection of deleterious substances in wine. After this he condescends to describe the process for making *negus* and

and cup; and, passing rapidly over cyder and perry, comes to malt liquor, the subject of which he introduces with the following learned paragraph.

‘We are informed, that in very early periods of history, the art of making a fermented liquor from barley, was discovered by the Egyptians, which was anciently called barley wine, (*vinum hordeaceum*,) and was afterwards known under the name of northern wine, (*vinum regionum septentrionalium*,) being principally used in northern countries; (indeed, in hot countries, or in very warm weather, it can hardly be made at all); and by some it has been called the strength of corn, or *liquid bread*.’—  
I. p. 326.

We are then presented with a long enumeration of contradictory opinions and affirmations on the subject of Ale, which the worthy author endeavours to reconcile, by the good wholesome recommendation of moderation in the use of it; and by observing, that most of the objections seem rather to be levelled against the abuse than the use of that article. He is also pleased to inform us, that ‘ale is said to be derived from *alo*, to nourish;’ that it is good for women giving suck; and, that ‘new ale is most nutritive; whence tipplers may be said, with Boniface, to eat as well as to drink their ale;’ though we really do not perceive very clearly the grounds of that facetious induction.

Spiritous liquors are treated, on the whole, with great indulgence; and are even recommended, in small quantities, when the body has been exposed to wet or fatigue. Of punch we are told, that it is ‘a mixture of substances very opposite in their nature, being strong and weak,—sweet and sour!’—and that the author’s correspondents in Glasgow make rather a favourable report as to its salubrity. Before closing the chapter of intoxicating fluids, we have, as might have been expected, some moral reflections on the effects of intemperance. We prefer, on the whole, the following observations on the feats of a noted toper, by name Mr Vanhorn, of whom we are informed—

‘In the space of three and twenty years, it is computed, that he drank, in all, thirty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-eight bottles, or fifty-nine pipes of red port. It does not appear, that Mr Vanhorn found this regimen favourable to longevity; indeed it is more than probable, that it cut him off before he had lived half a century. It is incredible, what pleasure any individual can feel, in such abundant potations, in the course of which, he resembles more a cellar than a man; for there are many cellars that never contained what this man’s stomach must have done, namely, fifty-nine pipes of port wine.’ I. p. 356.

There is something peculiarly ingenious, though rather severe, in the comparison of Mr Vanhorn’s stomach to a cellar; though, as he rarely exceeded four bottles at a time, it is rather hard on the honest gentleman, to say that his stomach ever actually contained  
fifty-nine

fifty-nine pipes of port. Sir John, however, is for all sorts of sobriety; he is of opinion, that we should rise from the table with the desert,—but allows us to drink a little more in winter than in summer, and in advanced life than in youth.

After this come 150 pages on ‘Solid Food,’ divided into eight long-sections, the first being dedicated to point out ‘the uses of solid food, and the necessity thereof;’ or, in other words, to prove that man could not subsist without eating. We do not think it necessary to make any abstract of the learned arguments by which Sir John has incontrovertibly established this important fact. We cannot say, however, that he has been altogether so successful in his attempt at medical lexicography; for, of the ten technical words of which he has been pleased to prefix an explanation to this chapter, he has mistaken the meaning of at least three. *Acescent* is not sourish, but having a tendency to become sour;—*Alkalescent*, in like manner, is that which has a tendency to become alkaline—not putrid as Sir John has it;—and *Esculent* does not mean nourishing, but eatable.

His first division is of Vegetable food; under which he treats of fruits, nuts, pulses, grains, roots, salads, &c.; and delivers nothing that we can discover but the most common and obvious maxims. In treating of salads, however, he informs us, that ‘there are instances of persons living only upon grass and hay;’ and quotes, in confirmation of this assertion, the 4th chapter and 32d verse of the prophet Daniel! We really did not expect to find the diet of poor Nebuchadnezzar commemorated in a modern treatise on vegetable food; but we cannot help admiring the accuracy with which the learned President of the Board of Agriculture speaks upon this interesting subject. The prophet says only, that the humbled monarch ate grass like an ox; but Sir John is too learned in the feeding of cattle, to let this pass uncorrected; he therefore makes the addition of hay also; taking it for granted, no doubt, that his Babylonish majesty grazed only during the summer season, but was stalled and fed with good dry hay in the winter.

We get next to Animal food; beginning with quadrupeds. He puzzles sadly about beef and veal;—first, beef is easily digested by persons in health;—then veal is not so easily digested, nor so fit for weak stomachs as is commonly imagined;—then, when properly roasted, it is not so heavy as beef, and ought to be given to the sedentary and delicate;—it is afterwards added, that the flesh of oxen is more digestible the younger it is;—and, finally, it is solemnly declared, that beef is easier of digestion than veal! This, it must be owned, is not altogether so distinct or consistent as might be wished; but, to make amends, we are told that  
‘pork



‘pork is savoury food; and, as this animal is of no use to man when alive, it is therefore properly designed for food; and, besides, from its loathsome appearance, it is killed without reluctance!’ Of birds, we are informed, that ‘the flesh is particularly calculated for persons in the studious professions, as the blood produced therefrom is *clear, light,* and full of *spirits,* and peculiarly favourable to exercises of the mind.’ And then we are told of pigeons, that ‘if any person were to live on them for sixty days, a fever would probably be the consequence!’ Of fish he eloquently observes, that ‘it makes an excellent addition to vegetable food; for instance, with potatoes or other roots, what can be more acceptable than a salted or smoked herring; to give a relish for such insipid diet?’ We have afterwards the following profound and important remarks.

‘Fish is much improved by the addition of butter. Indeed, the use of butter sauce seems to be a rule followed from some instigation of instinct, rather than a precept of reason, as it has not yet been fully accounted for. The use of butter, at the same time, must make the fish heavier; and hence those disagreeable consequences arise, which render drams necessary, the fault of which is occasioned by the sauce, though the innocent fish are blamed for it. Fish and milk are not proper together; nor are eggs to be used, unless with salt fish.’ I. p. 411.

The enumeration of esculent animals is closed with a long comparison between animal and vegetable diet, which results in this most impartial and conciliatory decision, ‘that a mixture of both is the proper plan to pursue.’

The worthy author’s philanthropy is not satisfied with directing us as to the kind of food we should eat, or order in general; but he dedicates two long sections to our instruction in the arts of Preserving and of Cooking it. The first is set about in a most orderly and scientific manner. After observing that wild and hungry men would probably eat their meat as they found it, he proceeds, with becoming solemnity, to trace the steps by which more provident and elegant practices would be introduced.

‘Men, however, would soon become desirous, not only to preserve food for a few days, and to render it more palatable, but would also see the necessity of laying up, while they had it in their power, a store of provision for future use, in order to prevent any risk of scarcity or famine. The various arts which have been discovered for that purpose, may be classed under the following general heads. 1. Drying in the sun. 2. Artificial heat. 3. Salting. 4. Pickling. 5. By butter. 6. By fugar. 7. By ice. 8. By charcoal.’ I. p. 431, 432.

Each of these articles is gone over at great length; and, in the end, we come to Cookery. This valuable section begins with telling us, that ‘the primeval inhabitants of the earth certainly ate their meat raw;’ and also, ‘that raw flesh produces great  
bodily

bodily vigour, ferocity of mind, and *love of liberty.*' We have then an accurate description—for it is in general nothing more—of the several ingenious processes of roasting, boiling, stewing, broiling, frying, baking, and digesting. There is then a sort of appendix subjoined upon bread-making, in which the author displays his usual learning and accuracy, in stating that *bread* may occasionally be made of dried *fish* and *flesh!* as well as of grain. Wheaten bread, which he admits however to be the best, is also most philosophically divided into 'fine bread, coarse bread,—and *rolls!*' Fermented bread, he thinks less wholesome than what is unleavened; we suspect, quite erroneously. The section ends with instructions for boiling potatoes.

The next section is 'of Condiments;' and contains a description of salt, sugar, vinegar, and other unknown substances. This is followed up by a learned chapter on the number and succession of our Meals. The result, in Sir John's own words, is the following general order.

'In summer, rise about seven; breakfast about nine; take a little fruit, a crust of bread, or a biscuit, about one; dine between four and five, so as to take some exercise in the cool of the evening; take tea or coffee, as is found most agreeable to the constitution, between eight and nine, and if any supper, strawberries, or any cooling fruit. Go to bed about eleven.

'In winter, rise about eight; breakfast about ten; *take a slight repast* about two; finish all the business of the day, and take a substantial dinner between six and seven; take tea or coffee about nine; no supper. Go to bed between eleven and twelve.' I. 483.

The quantities for sedentary people, but to be a little enlarged for the laborious, are as follows.

'For breakfast, four ounces of bread and eight of tea, or some other liquid; for dinner, four ounces of bread, eight of meat, eight of water, and twelve of wine, or some generous liquor; and for supper, eight ounces of liquid food, making in all three pounds four ounces.' I. 486.

The allowance of wine, we think, bears a most intemperate proportion to that of water or weaker fluids.

After a tedious variety of general rules, the substance of which seems to be, that our food should be gradually made more nutritive as we advance in life, and that substances hard of digestion are most proper for those who are condemned to hard labour, we get forward to a most erudite chapter on 'Digestion and the effects thereof.' It sets out with the following profound and philosophical observation.

'When one considers the immense quantity of liquid and of solid food, consumed by an individual in the space of a single year, and still more so, during the course of a long life, it is natural to inquire, what purposes can such a variety of articles answer, and what ultimately becomes

comes of them? In the course of a few years, the produce of several acres of land, the weight of a number of large oxen, and the contents of many tons of liquor, are consumed by one individual; whilst he continues nearly the same, whether he drinks the pure stream, or the beverage the most skilfully compounded; whether he feeds on a variety of articles produced from the animal and vegetable kingdom, or confines himself to one particular substance; and, whether his food is prepared in the plainest and simplest manner, or by the most refined and artificial modes that luxury has hitherto invented. All these circumstances depend upon the process called *digestion*; the nature and effects of which, we shall now endeavour briefly to explain.' I. 511.

We have then a learned and very tedious account of the process of chylication, absorption, assimilation, excretion, &c. &c. with many sage directions about aperient, diuretic, and diaphoretic medicines, the detail of which we dare not venture to lay before our readers. We may safely refer them, however, to the worthy Baronet's encomium on the Stomach; which he lovingly qualifies by the name of 'the father of the family,' and further exalts, by retailing the antient fable about the unfortunate dissension between it and the other members. Nay, he carries his affection for this useful organ so far, as actually to think it necessary to make an apology for its want of external beauty.

'The stomach,' he candidly observes, 'is far from recommending itself by any elegance of appearance; on the contrary, it is generally considered an unsightly membranous pouch; but the delicacy of its texture, the consideration of its extraordinary powers, and the importance of its functions to the health and existence of the human frame, must create a salutary reluctance to hazard any practice by which it can be injured.' I. 515.

We now advance to the chapter of Exercise, which fills about 150 pages. It sets out with an elaborate account of the uses of labour, and a learned deduction of the origin of that voluntary labour which is properly called exercise. The subject is then opened in this solemn and methodical manner.

'Exercises are usually divided into three sorts, the active, the passive, and the mixed; but it seems to me, that this important subject may be treated of in a more satisfactory manner, by dividing exercises into four branches. 1. The youthful. 2. The manly. 3. The gymnastic. and, 4. The healthful and amusing. Under one or other of these general heads, every species of exercise may be included.' I. 584.

Youthful exercises are then marshalled in a still more formidable array, as follows.

'We shall now proceed to consider the various sorts of youthful exercises, under the following heads. 1. Infantine or childish exercises. 2. Hopping. 3. Jumping. 4. Running. 5. Hooping. 6. Throwing. 7. Lifting and Carrying. 8. Balancing. 9. Climbing. 10.

Skipping. 11. Sliding. 12. Skating. 13. Swinging. 14. Bell-ringing. 15. Fiving. and, 16. Dancing.' I. 536.

All these various sports and pastimes are then elaborately described. We prefer the section on Jumping, as the shortest and most satisfactory.

'*Jumping*.—As this species of exercise is included among the gymnastic forts, under the head *Leaping*, it is unnecessary to dwell upon it in this place.' I. 587, 588.

The manly exercises of Tennis, Cricket, Golf, &c. are described in the same manner; then the gymnastic, of Leaping, Foot-racing, Boxing, &c.; and finally the healthful, as Walking, Riding, Sailing, &c. We do not find any thing in the least degree curious or important in the worthy Baronet's laborious and very fatiguing descriptions of these practices. He is very long, and, he seems to imagine, particularly ingenious, in the recommendation of *friction*. It cures sore throats, we are informed,—indigestion, rheumatism, &c. &c. Nay, such is its virtue, in Sir John Sinclair's opinion, that he exclaims, somewhat rudely, 'How many are there who keep a number of grooms to curry their horses, who would add *ten years* to their comfortable existence, if they would employ but one of them to curry themselves with a flesh-brush, night and morning!' The benefits of exercise are summed up in this manner. It prevents the formation of diseases; it cures many of them without the assistance of medicine; and it greatly facilitates the cure when medicines are necessary. After a full hundred pages of idle detail, we come to the grand result of the discussion, in these simple maxims,—which we really imagine might have been discovered with less exertion.

'It is an indispensable law of longevity, that one should exercise, at least, an hour every day, *in the open air*.

'Those who can, ought to spend two or three hours a day on horse-back; those who cannot ride, should employ the same time in walking.

'It is a good rule, to appropriate a considerable and fixed time daily, for being out in the open air, taking moderate exercise, in proportion to the constitution and time of life. Exercise, it is said, should, at least once a day, proceed to the borders of fatigue, and never pass them; through excess of exercise, probably, is not so hurtful as some appear to have imagined.' I. p. 675.

There is a curious Appendix to this chapter, containing the result of the author's inquiries as to the method pursued by those who undertake to *train* individuals for great feats of athletic exertion in walking, running, boxing, &c. To some readers this will appear the most interesting part of the publication; and therefore, we shall not pass it without notice; though it does appear to us that there is very little mystery in the business. The sum

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and substance of the method is, to strengthen the body with nutritive and digestible food, and to enure it to great exertion by constant practice. The detail of the process is shortly as follows. A purgative medicine is given at the beginning to clear the intestines. They are fed fully on the lean parts of beef or mutton slightly broiled or roasted, with a little vinegar and salt, but no spices. The only vegetable substance they are allowed, is stale bread. They are required to drink very little; not more than three or four pints in the day, and this of old unbottled ale, and in very small quantities at a time. Wine is only allowed to those with whom ale disagrees; and spirits are entirely prohibited. They are exercised violently for three hours early in the morning, when they are rubbed down, and dressed dry, and then breakfast on their beef and bread. In three or four hours after, they are exercised a second time; and, after they are refreshed, dine in the same manner. They usually get no supper, and are allowed eight hours sleep. The proper age for training, is from eighteen to twenty-five; and the process is generally completed within two months. The effects are to remove fat, and to add prodigiously to the muscular vigour, the goodness of the wind, and power of continuing in exertion. The training necessary for reducing the weight of jockies and riding grooms, consists almost entirely in abstinence and violent perspiration, brought on either by exercise, or heat and clothing. Some are said to have brought themselves down two stones in the course of ten days; and that without any sensible injury to their health.

The last chapter treats of Sleep; and begins with a long enumeration of the uses of this meritorious invention. The first practical inquiry is as to the proper quantity; and here, talking of Alfred and his tapers, the author is naturally led to inform us, that 'he himself has studied twelve hours a day for three months together; but he would not recommend it to any other person to try the same experiment.' After a great deal of argumentation, he settles in the old familiar axiom, that from six to eight hours is a proper portion of sleep; but that infants and invalids may have more. He is of opinion, moreover, that it is right to sleep in the night, and not to rise too early, especially in cold or bad weather. Our bed-chambers, he thinks, should be airy, and not too warm. There follows, after this, a long deduction of the invention and improvement of Beds, which is treated of with proper gravity and method, in five sections, beginning thus.

'The subject of the bed or couch, may be explained under the following heads. 1. The nature of the feather-bed and bolster. 2. The height thereof. 3. The bed-clothes. 4. The curtains. 5. Miscellaneous remarks.

‘ 1. The materials on which any individual sleeps, is an important consideration. The skins of animals destroyed in the chase, would probably be the first article that hunters would think of. Rushes, straw, and heath, would naturally occur to husbandmen, and those who resided in the country; and are still general in many countries, as France and Italy. In cold countries, more warmth is necessary, and feathers were thought of. Indeed, so partial are they in many countries in the northern parts of Europe to feathers, that they actually sleep between two down-beds, however strange such a circumstance may appear to those who have not witnessed it. But, on the whole, the invention of what are called hair-matresses, is superior to every other, not overheating and relaxing the body, as feathers are apt to do.’ I. p. 741.

We are told, moreover, that we should undress when we go to bed; not wear too warm nightcaps, and lye on our sides, with eyes and mouth closed; and that if we find any difficulty in getting to sleep, we should abstain from tea and coffee, take exercise, bathe the feet, and count to a thousand. The chapter is closed by a variety of miscellaneous rules; the complexion of which may be judged of from the following specimen.

‘ It is a good rule, to lock the door of your bed-room previous to going to rest, so as to prevent your being suddenly and hastily roused by any person coming into the room; and you should also examine the room carefully, that no cat, or dog, or any other animal, may disturb your sleep, the alarm of which may be highly injurious.’ I. p. 767, 768.

We have now gone through the whole original part of the Code of Health and Longevity, with such feelings of disappointment and fatigue, as, we are afraid, must have extended their influence to our readers; and, really, after the long trial to which we have subjected their patience, we have neither confidence nor courage to engage them in a minute examination of the supplementary volumes. Near 2000 pages of close printing, however, cannot be dismissed without some little notice of their contents; and, for the satisfaction of those whose curiosity is not yet satisfied, we shall now make an hasty sketch of their subject.

The second volume contains an account of the Antient writers on health and longevity, with extracts from their works; a catalogue of all the books ancient and modern on those subjects; and a selection from the communications which were made to the author during the composition of this work.

The account of antient authors is wholly extracted from modern commentators, or translators of their works. The catalogue, which is a mere list of title-pages, like a common sale catalogue, fills about 150 pages of pleasant reading. The communications which relate to the training of boxers and racers are the most curious and interesting. The greater part, however, consists of accounts of individuals who have attained to a great  
age,

age, with some notices of their maxims and habits, which are various and contradictory, to a degree that sets all system and theory at defiance. There is an infinite deal of trash, of course, in these village gossipings. The most preposterous, perhaps is in the account of an old man in Caithness, of whom it is recorded, 'that he recollected a number of old anecdotes, particularly of Sir George Sinclair of Blyth, a cadet of the family of Ulbster, who, for his sagacity, and the manly, liberal and generous spirit which he displayed on all occasions, was called "the Cock of the North."

The third volume is entirely occupied with an account of the Foreign authors who have treated of health and longevity, and with extracts from their works, beginning with the *Règimen Sanitatis Salerni*, and ending with the treatise of Hallé on the *Hygiène*. There are some rare and curious things reprinted in this volume, with many that are dull, common, and contemptible.

The last volume is dedicated to the British authors who have treated of health and longevity, and is chiefly occupied with a republication of Lord Bacon's most insane and credulous quackeries, and the common and neglected treatises of Sir W. Temple and Mr Boyle on health and specific medicines. Among the British authors, Sir John Sinclair has admitted two American pamphlets; one by Dr Rush on old age, and another by Dr Waterhouse on smoking cigars; which last is about the most miserable and childish performance we have ever seen, from any pen either British or foreign.

We take our leave of Sir John Sinclair with feelings of renewed astonishment at his patience and his temerity, in undertaking a work for which he was in all respects so unqualified: but without any emotions either of surprise or of compassion at his ill success. It is perfectly plain, that no one but a medical man, of much experience and high reputation, can ever produce any work on dietetics, of the smallest authority, or, consequently, of the smallest use. Even if it were possible for a mere *dilettante* to avoid the many gross and dangerous errors into which Sir John Sinclair must have fallen, it is evident that no prudent man would give him credit for such sagacity, or think himself safe in the guidance of a mere adventurer, in a matter where we do not commit ourselves without anxiety to the care of the most experienced practitioner. In the hands of a bold theorist, however, the mass of materials which are here huddled together, might have produced many ingenious conjectures, and suggested many curious analogies. In the hands of Sir John Sinclair, they have been altogether unfruitful, and produced nothing. His work is still a chaos, without harmony or order; and, instead of settling controversies by his reasonings, or maturing conjecture in-

to science by his genius, he appears merely as a doubtful reporter of contradictory opinions, and a timid retailer of the most shallow and familiar precepts. We have expressed our opinion of this work the more freely, because the author appears to us to have stepped altogether out of his proper sphere in composing it, and, by this breach of privilege, to have exposed himself to the utmost severity of criticism. It is no part of the duty of a country gentleman, or a member of parliament, to be profoundly skilled in physiology; nor is it any disparagement to him, after all, to have written injudiciously on the most delicate and important of all the branches of Medicine. We give Sir John full credit for the excellence of his motives, and willingly bear testimony to the industry by which they have been seconded. It is our duty, however, to say, that on this occasion, his philanthropy has been misdirected and his industry misapplied.

ART. XIV. *Poems, in Two Volumes.* By William Wordsworth, Author of the *Lyrical Ballads.* 8vo. pp. 320. London, 1807.

THIS author is known to belong to a certain brotherhood of poets, who have haunted for some years about the Lakes of Cumberland; and is generally looked upon, we believe, as the purest model of the excellences and peculiarities of the school which they have been labouring to establish. Of the general merits of that school, we have had occasion to express our opinion pretty fully, in more places than one, and even to make some allusion to the former publications of the writer now before us. We are glad, however, to have found an opportunity of attending somewhat more particularly to his pretensions.

The *Lyrical Ballads* were unquestionably popular; and, we have no hesitation in saying, deservedly popular; for in spite of their occasional vulgarity, affectation, and silliness, they were undoubtedly characterised by a strong spirit of originality, of pathos, and natural feeling; and recommended to all good minds by the clear impression which they bore of the amiable dispositions and virtuous principles of the author. By the help of these qualities, they were enabled, not only to recommend themselves to the indulgence of many judicious readers, but even to beget among a pretty numerous class of persons, a sort of admiration of the very defects by which they were attended. It was upon this account chiefly, that we thought it necessary to set ourselves against this alarming innovation. Childishness, conceit, and affectation, are not of themselves very popular or attractive; and though mere novelty has sometimes been found sufficient to give them a temporary



temporary currency, we should have had no fear of their prevailing to any dangerous extent, if they had been graced with no more seductive accompaniments. It was precisely because the perverseness and bad taste of this new school was combined with a great deal of genius and of laudable feeling, that we were afraid of their spreading and gaining ground among us, and that we entered into the discussion with a degree of zeal and animosity which some might think unreasonable towards authors, to whom so much merit had been conceded. There were times and moods indeed, in which we were led to suspect ourselves of unjustifiable severity, and to doubt, whether a sense of public duty had not carried us rather too far in reprobation of errors, that seemed to be atoned for, by excellences of no vulgar description. At other times, the magnitude of these errors—the disgusting absurdities into which they led their feebler admirers, and the derision and contempt which they drew from the more fastidious, even upon the merits with which they were associated, made us wonder more than ever at the perversity by which they were retained, and regret that we had not declared ourselves against them with still more formidable and decided hostility.

In this temper of mind, we read the *announcement* of Mr Wordsworth's publication with a good deal of interest and expectation, and opened his volumes with greater anxiety, than he or his admirers will probably give us credit for. We have been greatly disappointed certainly as to the quality of the poetry; but we doubt whether the publication has afforded so much satisfaction to any other of his readers:—it has freed us from all doubt or hesitation as to the justice of our former censures, and has brought the matter to a test, which we cannot help hoping may be convincing to the author himself.

Mr Wordsworth, we think, has now brought the question, as to the merit of his new school of poetry, to a very fair and decisive issue. The volumes before us are much more strongly marked by all its peculiarities than any former publication of the fraternity. In our apprehension, they are, on this very account, infinitely less interesting or meritorious; but it belongs to the public, and not to us, to decide upon their merit, and we will confess, that so strong is our conviction of their obvious inferiority, and the grounds of it, that we are willing for once to wave our right of appealing to posterity, and to take the judgment of the present generation of readers, and even of Mr Wordsworth's former admirers, as conclusive on this occasion. If these volumes, which have all the benefit of the author's former popularity, turn out to be nearly as popular as the lyrical ballads—if they sell nearly to the same extent—or are quoted and imitated

among half as many individuals, we shall admit that Mr Wordsworth has come much nearer the truth in his judgment of what constitutes the charm of poetry, than we had previously imagined—and shall institute a more serious and respectful inquiry into his principles of composition than we have yet thought necessary. On the other hand,—if this little work, selected from the compositions of five maturer years, and written avowedly for the purpose of exalting a system, which has already excited a good deal of attention, should be generally rejected by those whose prepossessions were in its favour, there is room to hope, not only that the system itself will meet with no more encouragement, but even that the author will be persuaded to abandon a plan of writing, which defrauds his industry and talents of their natural reward.

Putting ourselves thus upon our country, we certainly look for a verdict against this publication; and have little doubt indeed of the result, upon a fair consideration of the evidence contained in these volumes.—To accelerate that result, and to give a general view of the evidence, to those into whose hands the record may not have already fallen, we must now make a few observations and extracts.

We shall not resume any of the particular discussions by which we formerly attempted to ascertain the value of the improvements which this new school has effected in poetry\*; but shall lay the grounds of our opposition, for this time, a little more broadly. The end of poetry, we take it, is to please—and the name, we think, is strictly applicable to every metrical composition from which we receive pleasure, without any laborious exercise of the understanding. This pleasure, may, in general, be analyzed into three parts—that which we receive from the excitement of Passion or emotion—that which is derived from the play of Imagination, or the easy exercise of Reason—and that which depends on the character and qualities of the Diction. The two first are the vital and primary springs of poetical delight, and can scarcely require explanation to any one. The last has been alternately overrated and undervalued by the professors of the poetical art, and is in such low estimation with the author now before us and his associates, that it is necessary to say a few words in explanation of it.

One great beauty of diction exists only for those who have some degree of scholarship or critical skill. This is what depends on the exquisite *propriety* of the words employed, and the delicacy with which they are adapted to the meaning which

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\* See Vol. I. p. 63, &c.—Vol. VII. p. 1, &c.

is to be expressed. Many of the finest passages in Virgil and Pope derive their principal charm from the fine propriety of their diction. Another source of beauty, which extends only to the more instructed class of readers, is that which consists in the judicious or happy application of expressions which have been sanctified by the use of famous writers, or which bear the stamp of a simple or venerable antiquity. There are other beauties of diction, however, which are perceptible by all—the beauties of sweet sound and pleasant associations. The melody of words and verses is indifferent to no reader of poetry; but the chief recommendation of poetical language is certainly derived from those general associations, which give it a character of dignity or elegance, sublimity or tenderness. Every one knows that there are low and mean expressions, as well as lofty and grave ones; and that some words bear the impression of coarseness and vulgarity, as clearly as others do of refinement and affection. We do not mean, of course, to say any thing in defence of the hackneyed common-places of ordinary versemen. Whatever might have been the original character of these unlucky phrases, they are now associated with nothing but ideas of schoolboy imbecility and vulgar affectation. But what we do maintain is, that much of the most popular poetry in the world owes its celebrity chiefly to the beauty of its diction; and that no poetry can be long or generally acceptable, the language of which is coarse, inelegant, or infantine.

From this great source of pleasure, we think the readers of Mr Wordsworth are in a great measure cut off. His diction has no where any pretensions to elegance or dignity; and he has scarcely ever condescended to give the grace of correctness or melody to his versification. If it were merely slovenly and neglected, however, all this might be endured. Strong sense and powerful feeling will ennoble any expressions; or, at least, no one who is capable of estimating those higher merits, will be disposed to mark these little defects. But, in good truth, no man, now-a-days, composes verses for publication with a slovenly neglect of their language. It is a fine and laborious manufacture, which can scarcely ever be made in a hurry; and the faults which it has, may, for the most part, be set down to bad taste or incapacity, rather than to carelessness or oversight. With Mr Wordsworth and his friends, it is plain that their peculiarities of diction are things of choice, and not of accident. They write as they do, upon principle and system; and it evidently costs them much pains to keep *down* to the standard which they have proposed to themselves. They are, to the full, as much mannerists, too, as the poetasters who ring changes on the common-places of magazine

zine versification; and all the difference between them is, that they borrow their phrases from a different and a scantier *gradus ad Parnassum*. If they were, indeed, to discard all imitation and set phraseology, and to bring in no words merely for show or for metre,—as much, perhaps, might be gained in freedom and originality, as would infallibly be lost in allusion and authority; but, in point of fact, the new poets are just as great borrowers as the old; only that, instead of borrowing from the more popular passages of their illustrious predecessors, they have preferred furnishing themselves from vulgar ballads and plebeian nurseries.

Their peculiarities of diction alone, are enough, perhaps, to render them ridiculous; but the author before us really seems anxious to court this literary martyrdom by a device still more infallible,—we mean, that of connecting his most lofty, tender, or impassioned conceptions, with objects and incidents, which the greater part of his readers will probably persist in thinking low, silly, or uninteresting. Whether this is done from affectation and conceit alone, or whether it may not arise, in some measure, from the self-illusion of a mind of extraordinary sensibility, habituated to solitary meditation, we cannot undertake to determine. It is possible enough, we allow, that the sight of a friend's garden-spade, or a sparrow's nest, or a man gathering leeches, might really have suggested to such a mind a train of powerful impressions and interesting reflections; but it is certain, that, to most minds, such associations will always appear forced, strained, and unnatural; and that the composition in which it is attempted to exhibit them, will always have the air of parody, or ludicrous and affected singularity. All the world laughs at Elegiac stanzas to a sucking-pig—a Hymn on Washing-day—Sonnets to one's grandmother—or Pindarics on gooseberry-pye; and yet, we are afraid, it will not be quite easy to convince Mr Wordsworth, that the same ridicule must infallibly attach to most of the pathetic pieces in their volumes. To satisfy our readers, however, as to the justice of this and our other anticipations, we shall proceed, without further preface, to lay before them a short view of their contents.

The first is a kind of ode 'to the Daisy,'—very flat, feeble, and affected; and in a diction as artificial, and as much encumbered with heavy expletives, as the theme of an unpractised schoolboy. The two following stanzas will serve as a specimen.

' When soothed a while by milder airs,  
 Thee Winter in the garland wears  
 That thinly shades his few grey hairs;  
     *Spring cannot sbun thee;*  
 Whole summer fields are thine by right;  
 And Autumn, melancholy Wight!

' Doth

Doth in thy crimson head delight  
 When rains are on thee.  
 In shoals and bands, a morrice train,  
 Thou greet'st the Traveller in the lane ;  
 If welcome once thou count'st it gain ;  
*Thou art not daunted,*  
 Nor car'st if thou be fet at naught ;  
 And oft alone in nooks remote  
 We meet thee, like a pleasant thought,  
*When such are wanted.* ' I. p. 2.

The scope of the piece is to say, that the flower is found every where; and that it has suggested many pleasant thoughts to the author—some chime of fancy '*wrong or right*'—some feeling of devotion '*more or less*'—and other elegancies of the same stamp. It ends with this unmeaning prophecy.

' Thou long the poet's praise shalt gain ;  
 Thou wilt be more beloved by men  
 In times to come ; thou not in vain  
 Art Nature's favourite.' I. 6.

The next is called '*Louisa*,' and begins in this dashing and affected manner.

' I met Louisa in the shade ;  
 And, having seen that lovely maid,  
*Why should I fear to say*  
 That she is ruddy, fleet, and strong ;  
*And down the rocks can leap along,*  
 Like rivulets in May?' I. 7.

Does Mr Wordsworth really imagine that this is at all more natural or engaging than the ditties of our common song writers ?

A little farther on we have another original piece, entitled, '*The Redbreast and the Butterfly*,' of which our readers will probably be contented with the first stanza.

' Art thou the bird whom man loves best,  
 The pious bird with the scarlet breast,  
 Our little English Robin ;  
 The bird that comes about our doors  
 When autumn winds are sobbing ?  
 Art thou the Peter of Norway Boors ?  
 Their Thomas in Finland,  
 And Russia far inland ?  
 The bird, whom *by some name or other*  
 All men who know thee call their brother,  
 The darling of children and men ?  
 Could Father Adam open his eyes,  
 And see this sight beneath the skies,  
 He'd wish to close them again.' I. 16.

This, it must be confessed, is '*Silly Sooth*' in good earnest. The three last lines seem to be downright raving.

By and by, we have a piece of namby-pamby 'to the Small Celandine,' which we should almost have taken for a professed imitation of one of Mr Philips's prettyisms. Here is a page of it.

' Comfort have thou of thy merit,  
 Kindly, unassuming spirit!  
 Careless of thy neighbourhood,  
 Thou dost show thy pleasant face  
 On the moor, and in the wood,  
 In the lane;—there's not a place,  
 Howsoever mean it be,  
 But 'tis good enough for thee.  
 Ill befall the yellow flowers,  
 Children of the flaring hours!  
 Buttercups, that will be seen,  
 Whether we will see or no;  
 Others, too, of lofty mien;  
 They have done as worldlings do,  
 Taken praise that should be thine,  
 Little, humble Celandine!' I. 25.

After talking of its 'bright coronet,'

' And its arch and wily ways,  
 And its store of other praise,'

the ditty is wound up with this piece of babyish absurdity.

' Thou art not beyond the moon,  
 But a thing "beneath our shoon;"  
 Let, as old Magellan did,  
 Others roam about the sea;  
 Build who will a pyramid;  
 Praise it is enough for me,  
 If there be but three or four  
 Who will love my little flower.' I. 30.

After this come some more manly lines on 'The Character of the Happy Warrior,' and a chivalrous legend on 'The Horn of Egremont Castle,' which, without being very good, is very tolerable, and free from most of the author's habitual defects. Then follow some pretty, but professedly childish verses, on a kitten playing with the falling leaves. There is rather too much of Mr Ambrose Philips here and there in this piece also; but it is amiable and lively.

Further on, we find an 'Ode to Duty,' in which the lofty vein is very unsuccessfully attempted. This is the concluding stanza.

' Stern lawgiver! yet thou dost wear  
 The Godhead's most benignant grace;  
 Nor know we any thing so fair  
 As is the smile upon thy face;

Flowers laugh before thee on their beds ;  
 And fragrance in thy footing treads ;  
 Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong ;  
 And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and  
 strong.' I. 73.

The two last lines seem to be utterly without meaning ; at least we have no sort of conception in what sense *Duty* can be said to keep the old skies *fresh*, and the stars from wrong.

The next piece, entitled 'The Beggars,' may be taken, we fancy, as a touchstone of Mr Wordsworth's merit. There is something about it that convinces us it is a favourite of the author's ; though to us, we will confess, it appears to be a very paragon of silliness and affectation. Our readers shall have the greater part of it. It begins thus.

' She had a tall man's height, or more ;  
 No bonnet screen'd her from the heat ;  
 A long drab-coloured cloak she wore,  
 A mantle reaching to her feet :  
 What other dress she had I could not know ;

Only she wore a cap that was as white as snow.

' Before me begging did she stand,  
 Pouring out sorrows like a sea ;  
 Grief after grief :—on English land  
 Such woes I knew could never be ;  
 And yet a boon I gave her ; for the creature

Was beautiful to see ; a weed of glorious feature !' I. 77, 78.

The poet, leaving this interesting person, falls in with two ragged boys at play, and 'like that woman's face as gold is like to gold.' Here is the conclusion of this memorable adventure.

' They bolted on me thus, and lo !  
 Each ready with a plaintive whine ;  
 Said I, " Not half an hour ago  
 Your mother has had alms of mine. "

" That cannot be," one answered, " She is dead. "

" Nay but I gave her pence, and she will buy you bread. "

" She has been dead, Sir, many a day. "

" Sweet boys, you're telling me a lie ;

" It was your mother, as I say— "

And in the twinkling of an eye,

" Come, come ! " cried one ; and, without more ado,

Off to some other play they both together flew.' I. 79.

' Alice Fell' is a performance of the same order. The poet, driving into Durham in a postchaise, hears a sort of scream ; and, calling to the post-boy to stop, finds a little girl crying on the back of the vehicle.

" My

“ My cloak ! ” the word was last and first,  
 And loud and bitterly she wept,  
 As if her very heart would burst ;  
 And down from off the chaise she leapt.

“ What ails you, child ? ” she fobb’d, “ Look here ! ”  
 I saw it in the wheel entangled,  
 A weather beaten rag as e’er  
 From any garden scarecrow dangled.’ I. 85, 86.

They then extricate the torn garment, and the good-natured bard takes the child into the carriage along with him. The narrative proceeds—

“ My child, in Durham do you dwell ? ”  
 She check’d herself in her distress,  
 And said, “ My name is Alice Fell ;  
 I’m fatherless and motherless.

And I to Durham, Sir, belong. ”  
 And then, as if the thought would choke  
 Her very heart, her grief grew strong ;  
 And all was for her tatter’d cloak.

The chaise drove on ; our journey’s end  
 Was nigh ; and, sitting by my side,  
 As if she’d lost her only friend  
 She wept, nor would be pacified.

Up to the tavern-door we post ;  
 Of Alice and her grief I told ;  
 And I gave money to the host,  
 To buy a new cloak for the old.

“ And let it be of duffil grey,  
 As warm a cloak as man can sell ! ”  
 Proud creature was she the next day,  
 The little orphan, Alice Fell ! ’ I. p. 87, 88.

If the printing of such trash as this be not felt as an insult on the public taste, we are afraid it cannot be insulted.

After this follows the longest and most elaborate poem in the volume, under the title of ‘ Resolution and Independence.’ The poet, roving about on a common one fine morning, falls into pensive musings on the fate of the sons of song, which he sums up in this fine distich.

‘ We poets in our youth begin in gladness ;  
 But thereof comes in the end despondency and madness.’ I. p. 92.

In the midst of his meditations—

‘ I saw a man before me unawares :  
 The oldest man he seemed that ever wore grey hairs.

Motionless as a cloud the old man stood ;  
 That heareth not the loud winds when they call ;  
 And moveth altogether, if it move at all.



At length, himself unfetling, he the pond  
 Stirred with his staff, and fixedly did look  
 Upon the muddy water, which he conn'd,  
 As if he had been reading in a book :  
 And now such freedom as I could I took ;  
 And, drawing to his side, to him did say,  
 " This morning gives us promise of a glorious day. "

" What kind of work is that which you pursue ?  
 This is a lonesome place for one like you. "  
 He answer'd me *with pleasure and surprise* ;  
 And there was, while he spake, a fire about his eyes.  
 He told me *that he to this pond had come*  
*To gather leeches*, being old and poor :  
 Employment hazardous and wearisome !  
 And he had many hardships to endure :  
 From pond to pond he roam'd, from moor to moor,  
 Housing, with God's good help, by choice or chance :  
 And in this way he gain'd an honest maintenance. ' I. p. 92—95.

Notwithstanding the distinctness of this answer, the poet, it seems, was so wrapped up in his own moody fancies, that he could not attend to it.

' And now, not knowing what the old man had said,  
 My question eagerly did I renew,  
 " How is it that you live, and what is it you do ? "  
 He with a smile did then his words repeat ;  
 And said, that, *gathering leeches*, far and wide  
 He travelled ; stirring thus *about his feet*  
 The waters of the ponds where they abide.  
 " *Once I could meet with them on every side* ;  
 But they have dwindled long by slow decay ;  
 Yet still I persevere, and find them where I may. " I. p. 96, 97.

This very interesting account, which he is lucky enough at last to comprehend, fills the poet with comfort and admiration ; and, quite glad to find the old man so cheerful, he resolves to take a lesson of contentedness from him ; and the poem ends with this pious ejaculation—

" God, " said I, " be my help and stay secure ;  
 I'll think of the leech-gatherer on the lonely moor. " I. p. 97.

We defy the bitterest enemy of Mr Wordsworth to produce any thing at all parallel to this from any collection of English poetry, or even from the specimens of his friend Mr Southey. The volume ends with some sonnets, in a very different measure, of which, we shall say something by and by.

The first poems in the second volume were written during a tour in Scotland. The first is a very dull one about Rob Roy ; but the title that attracted us most was ' an Address to the Sons  
 of

of *Burns*, after visiting their Father's Grave.' Never was any thing, however, more miserable. 'This is one of the four stanzas.

' Strong bodied if ye be to bear  
Intemperance with less harm, beware!  
But if your father's wit ye share,  
Then, then indeed,  
Ye sons of Burns! for watchful care  
There will be need.' II. p. 29.

The next is a very tedious, affected performance, called 'the Yarrow Unvisited.' The drift of it is, that the poet refused to visit this celebrated stream, because he had 'a vision of his own' about it, which the reality might perhaps undo; and, for this no less fantastical reason—

" Should life be dull, and spirits low,  
" 'Twill soothe us in our sorrow,  
" That earth has something yet to show,  
" The bonny holms of Yarrow!" II. p. 35.

After this we come to some ineffable compositions, which the poet has simply entitled, 'Moods of my own Mind.' One begins—

' O Nightingale! thou surely art  
A creature of a fiery heart—  
Thou sing'st as if the god of wine  
Had help'd thee to a valentine.' II. p. 42.

This is the whole of another—

' My heart leaps up when I behold  
A rainbow in the sky:  
So was it when my life began;  
So is it now I am a man;  
So be it when I shall grow old,  
Or let me die!  
The child is father of the man;  
And I could wish my days to be  
Bound each to each by natural piety.' II. p. 44.

A third, 'on a Sparrow's Nest,' runs thus—

' Look, five blue eggs are gleaming there!  
*Few visions have I seen more fair,  
Nor many prospects of delight*  
More pleasing than that simple sight.' II. p. 53.

The charm of this fine prospect, however, was, that it reminded him of another nest which his sister Emmeline and he had visited in their childhood.

' She look'd at it as if she fear'd it;  
Still wishing, dreading to be near it:  
Such heart was in her, being then  
A little prattler among men.' &c. &c. II. p. 54.

We have then a rapturous mystical ode to the Cuckoo; in which the

the author, striving after force and originality, produces nothing but absurdity.

‘ O Cuckoo ! shall I call thee bird,  
Or but a wandering voice ? ’ II. p. 57.

And then he says, that the said voice seemed to pass from hill to hill, ‘ about, and all about ! ’—Afterwards he assures us, it tells him ‘ in the vale of visionary hours,’ and calls it a darling ; but still insists, that it is

‘ No bird ; but an invisible thing,  
A voice,—a mystery.’ II. p. 58.

It is afterwards ‘ a hope ; ’ and ‘ a love ; ’ and, finally,

‘ O blessed *bird* ! the earth we pace  
Again appears to be  
An unsubstantial, faery place,  
That is fit home for thee ! ’ II. p. 59.

After this there is an address to a butterfly, whom he invites to visit him, in these simple strains—

‘ This plot of orchard-ground is ours ;  
My trees they are, my sister’s flowers ;  
Stop here whenever you are weary.’ II. p. 61.

We come next to a long story of a ‘ Blind Highland Boy,’ who lived near an arm of the sea, and had taken a most unnatural desire to venture on that perilous element. His mother did all she could to prevent him ; but one morning, when the good woman was out of the way, he got into a vessel of his own, and pushed out from the shore.

‘ In such a vessel ne’er before  
Did human creature leave the shore.’ II. p. 72.

And then we are told, that if the sea should get rough, ‘ a beehive would be ship as safe.’ ‘ But say, what was it ? ’ a poetical interlocutor is made to exclaim most naturally ; and here followeth the answer, upon which all the pathos and interest of the story depend.

‘ A HOUSEHOLD TUB, like one of those  
Which women use to wash their clothes !! ’ II. p. 72.

This, it will be admitted, is carrying the matter as far as it will well go ; nor is there any thing,—down to the wiping of shoes, or the evisceration of chickens,—which may not be introduced in poetry, if this is tolerated. A boat is sent out and brings the boy ashore, who being tolerably frightened we suppose, promises to go to sea no more ; and so the story ends.

Then we have a poem, called ‘ the Green Linnet,’ which opens with the poet’s telling us,

‘ A whispering leaf is now my joy,  
And then a bird will be the *toy*  
That doth my fancy *teether*.’ II. p. 79.

and closes thus—

‘ While thus before my eyes he gleams,  
A brother of the leaves he seems ;  
When in a moment forth *he teems*  
His little song in gushes :  
As if it pleas’d him to disdain  
And mock the form which he did feign,  
While he was dancing with the train  
Of leaves among the bushes.’ II. p. 81.

The next is called ‘Star Gazers.’ A set of people peeping through a telescope, all seem to come away disappointed with the sight ; whereupon thus sweetly moralizeth our poet.

‘ Yet, showman, where can lie the cause ? Shall thy implement have blame,

A boaster, that when he is tried, fails, and is put to shame ?  
Or is it good as others are, and be their eyes in fault ?  
Their eyes, or minds ? or, finally, is this resplendent vault ?

Or, is it rather, that conceit rapacious is and strong,  
And bounty never yields so much but it seems to do her wrong ?  
Or is it, that when human souls a journey long have had,  
And are returned into themselves, they cannot but be sad ?’ II. p. 88.

There are then some really sweet and amiable verses on a French lady, separated from her own children, fondling the baby of a neighbouring cottager ;—after which we have this quintessence of unmeaningness, entitled, ‘Forefight.’

‘ That is work which I am rucing—  
Do as Charles and I are doing !  
Strawberry-blossoms, one and all,  
We must spare them—here are many :  
Look at it—the flower is small,  
Small and low, though fair as any :  
Do not touch it ! summers two  
I am older, Anne, than you.  
Pull the primrose, sister Anne !  
Pull as many as you can.

Primroses, the spring may love them—  
Summer knows but little of them :  
Violéts, do what they will,  
Wither’d on the ground must lie ;  
Daisies will be daisies still ;  
Daisies they must live and die :  
Fill your lap, and fill your bosom,  
Only spare the strawberry-blossom !’ II. p. 115, 116.

Afterwards come some stanzas about an echo repeating a cuckoo’s voice ; here is one for a sample—

‘ Whence the voice ? from air or earth ?  
*This the cuckoo cannot tell ;*

But

But a startling sound had birth,  
*As the bird must know full well.* II. p. 123.

Then we have Elegiac stanzas 'to the Spade of a friend,' beginning—

'Spade! with which Wilkinfon hath till'd his lands,'  
 —but too dull to be quoted any further.

After this there is a Minstrel's Song, on the Restoration of Lord Clifford the Shepherd, which is in a very different strain of poetry; and then the volume is wound up with an 'Ode,' with no other title but the motto, *Paulo majora canamus*. This is, beyond all doubt, the most illegible and unintelligible part of the publication. We can pretend to give no analysis or explanation of it;—our readers must make what they can of the following extracts.

'—But there's a tree, of many one,  
 A single field which I have look'd upon,  
 Both of them speak of something that is gone:  
     The pansy at my feet  
     Doth the same tale repeat:  
 Whither is fled the visionary gleam?  
 Where is it now, the glory and the dream?' II. 150.

'O joy! that in our embers  
 Is something that doth live,  
 That nature yet remembers  
 What was so fugitive!  
 The thought of our past years in me doth breed  
 Perpetual benedictions: not indeed  
 For that which is most worthy to be blest;  
 Delight and liberty, the simple creed  
 Of childhood, whether fluttering or at rest,  
 With new-born hope for ever in his breast:—  
     Not for these I raise  
     The song of thanks and praise;  
 But for those obstinate questionings  
 Of sense and outward things,  
 Fallings from us, vanishings;  
 Blank misgivings of a creature  
 Moving about in worlds not realiz'd,  
 High instincts, before which our mortal nature  
 Did tremble like a guilty thing surpriz'd:  
 But for those first affections,  
 Those shadowy recollections,  
     Which be they what they may,  
 Are yet the fountain light of all our day,  
 Are yet a master light of all our seeing;  
     Uphold us, cherish us, and make

Our noisy years seem moments in the being  
 Of the eternal silence : truths that wake,  
     To perish never ;  
 Which neither littlefnefs, nor mad endeavour,  
     Nor man nor boy,  
 Nor all that is at enmity with joy,  
 Can utterly abolish or destroy !  
     Hence, in a season of calm weather,  
     Though inland far we be,  
 Our souls have fight of that immortal sea  
     Which brought us hither,  
     Can in a moment travel thither,  
 And see the children sport upon the shore,  
 And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore. ' II.—154-6.

We have thus gone through this publication, with a view to enable our readers to determine, whether the author of the verses which have now been exhibited, is entitled to claim the honours of an improver or restorer of our poetry, and to found a new school to supersede or new-model all our maxims on the subject. If we were to stop here, we do not think that Mr Wordsworth, or his admirers, would have any reason to complain ; for what we have now quoted is undeniably the most peculiar and characteristic part of his publication, and must be defended and applauded if the merit or originality of his system is to be seriously maintained. In our own opinion, however, the demerit of that system cannot be fairly appretiated, until it be shown, that the author of the bad verses which we have already extracted, can write good verses when he pleases ; and that, in point of fact, he does always write good verses, when, by any accident, he is led to abandon his system, and to transgress the laws of that school which he would fain establish on the ruin of all existing authority.

The length to which our extracts and observations have already extended, necessarily restrains us within more narrow limits in this part of our citations ; but it will not require much labour to find a pretty decided contrast to some of the passages we have already detailed. The song on the restoration of Lord Clifford is put into the mouth of an ancient minstrel of the family ; and in composing it, the author was led, therefore, almost irresistibly to adopt the manner and phraseology that is understood to be connected with that sort of composition, and to throw aside his own babyish incidents and fantastical sensibilities. How he has succeeded, the reader will be able to judge from the few following extracts. The poem opens in this spirited manner—

‘ High in the breathless hall the Minstrel fate,  
 And Emont’s murmur mingled with the song.—  
 The words of ancient time I thus translate,  
 A festal strain that hath been silent long.

“ From

“ From town to town, from tower to tower,  
The red rose is a glad some flower.  
Her thirty years of winter past,  
The red rose is revived at last ;  
She lifts her head for endless Spring,  
For everlasting blooming ! ” II. p. 128-9.

After alluding, in a very animated manner, to the troubles and perils which drove the youth of the hero into concealment, the minstrel proceeds—

‘ Alas ! when evil men are strong  
No life is good, no pleasure long.  
The boy must part from Mosedale’s groves,  
And leave Blencathara’s rugged coves,  
And quit the flowers that summer brings  
To Glenderamakin’s lofty springs ;  
Must vanish, and his careless cheer  
Be turned to heaviness and fear.  
—Give Sir Lancelot Threlkeld praise !  
Hear it, good man, old in days !  
Thou tree of covert and of rest  
For this young bird that is distressed,  
Among thy branches safe he lay,  
And he was free to sport and play,  
When Falcons were abroad for prey.’ II. 133-4.

The poem closes in this manner.

‘ —Now another day is come,  
Fitter hope, and nobler doom :  
He hath thrown aside his crook,  
And hath buried deep his book ;  
Armour rusting in his halls  
On the blood of Clifford calls ;—  
“ Quell the Scot,” exclaims the lance,  
“ Bear me to the heart of France,  
Is the longing of the shield—  
Tell thy name, thou trembling field ;  
Field of death, where’er thou be,  
Groan thou with our victory !  
Happy day, and mighty hour,  
When our shepherd, in his power,  
Mail’d and hors’d, with lance and sword,  
To his ancestors restored,  
Like a reappearing star,  
Like a glory from afar,  
First shall head the flock of war ! ”

Alas ! the fervent harper did not know  
That for a tranquil soul the lay was framed,

Who, long compell'd in humble walks to go,  
Was softened into feeling, sooth'd, and tamed.

In him the savage virtue of the race,  
Revenge, and all ferocious thoughts were dead:  
Nor did he change; but kept in lofty place  
The wisdom which adversity had bred.

Glad were the vales, and every cottage hearth;  
The Shepherd-Lord was honour'd more and more:  
And, ages after he was laid in earth,  
"The Good Lord Clifford" was the name he bore.'

I. 136—138.

All English writers of sonnets have imitated Milton; and, in this way, Mr Wordsworth, when he writes sonnets, escapes again from the trammels of his own unfortunate system; and the consequence is, that his sonnets are as much superior to the greater part of his other poems, as Milton's sonnets are superior to his. We give the following 'On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic.'

'Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;  
And was the safeguard of the West: the worth  
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,  
Venice, the eldest child of liberty.  
She was a maiden city, bright and free;  
No guile seduced, no force could violate;  
And when she took unto herself a mate  
She must espouse the everlasting Sea.  
And what if she had seen those glories fade,  
Those titles vanish, and that strength decay,  
Yet shall some tribute of regret be paid  
When her long life hath reach'd its final day:  
Men are we, and must grieve when even the shade  
Of that which once was great is pass'd away.' I. 132.

The following is entitled 'London.'

'Milton! thou should'st be living at this hour:  
England hath need of thee: she is a fen  
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword and pen,  
Fire-side, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,  
Have forfeited their ancient English dower  
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;  
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;  
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.  
Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart:  
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea;  
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,  
So didst thou travel on life's common way,  
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart  
The lowliest duties on itself did lay.' I. 140.



We make room for this other ; though the four first lines are bad, and ' week-day man ' is by no means a Miltonic epithet.

' I griev'd for Buonaparte, with a vain  
 And an unthinking grief ! The vital blood  
 Of that man's mind what can it be ? What food  
 Fed his first hopes ? What knowledge could he gain ?  
 'Tis not in battles that from youth we train  
 The governor who must be wise and good,  
 And temper with the sternness of the brain  
 Thoughts motherly, and meek as womanhood.  
 Wisdom doth live with children round her knees :  
 Books, leisure, perfect freedom, and the talk  
 Man holds with week-day man in the hourly walk  
 Of the mind's business : these are the degrees  
 By which true sway doth mount ; this is the stalk  
 True power doth grow on ; and her rights are these. ' I. 130.

When we look at these, and many still finer passages, in the writings of this author, it is impossible not to feel a mixture of indignation and compassion, at that strange infatuation which has bound him up from the fair exercise of his talents, and withheld from the public the many excellent productions that would otherwise have taken the place of the trash now before us. Even in the worst of these productions, there are, no doubt, occasional little traits of delicate feeling and original fancy ; but these are quite lost and obscured in the mass of childishness and insipidity with which they are incorporated ; nor can any thing give us a more melancholy view of the debasing effects of this miserable theory, than that it has given ordinary men a right to wonder at the folly and presumption of a man gifted like Mr Wordsworth, and made him appear, in his second avowed publication, like a bad imitator of the worst of his former productions.

We venture to hope, that there is now an end of this folly ; and that, like other follies, it will be found to have cured itself by the extravagances resulting from its unbridled indulgence. In this point of view, the publication of the volumes before us may ultimately be of service to the good cause of literature. Many a generous rebel, it is said, has been reclaimed to his allegiance by the spectacle of lawless outrage and excess presented in the conduct of the insurgents ; and we think there is every reason to hope, that the lamentable consequences which have resulted from Mr Wordsworth's open violation of the established laws of poetry, will operate as a wholesome warning to those who might otherwise have been seduced by his example, and be the means of restoring to that antient and venerable code its due honour and authority.

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THE

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N<sup>o</sup>. XXII.

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ART. I. *Traité de Méchanique Céleste.* Par P. S. La Place, Membre de l'Institut National de France, et du Bureau des Longitudes. Paris. Vol. 1. An 7. Vol. 3. & 4. 1805.

ASTRONOMY is distinguished by several great and striking characters, which place it decidedly at the head of the physical sciences. The objects which it treats of, cannot fail to impart to it a degree of their own magnificence and splendour; while their distance, their magnitude, the steadiness and regularity of their movements, deeply impress the imagination, and afford a noble exercise to the understanding. Add to this, that the history of astronomy is that which is best marked out in the progress of human knowledge. Through the darkness of the early ages, we perceive the truths of this science shining as it were by their own light, and scattering some rays around them, that serve to discover a few definite objects amid the confusion of ancient tradition,—a few fixed points amid the uncertainty of Greek, Egyptian, or even Hindoo mythology. But what distinguishes astronomy the most, is the perfect explanation which it gives of the celestial phenomena. This explanation is so complete, that there is not any fact concerning the motions of the heavenly bodies, from the greatest to the least, which is not reducible to one single law—the mutual gravitation of all bodies to one another, with forces that are directly as the masses of the bodies, and inversely as the squares of their distances. On this principle Sir Isaac Newton long ago accounted for all the great motions in our system; and, on the same principle, his successors, after near a century of the most ingenious and elaborate investigation, have explained all the rest. The work before us brings those explanations into one view, and deduces them from the first principles of me-

chanics. It is not willingly that we have suffered so much time to elapse without laying before our readers an analysis of a work the most important, without doubt, that has distinguished the conclusion of the last or the commencement of the present century. But the book is still, in some respects, incomplete, and a historical volume is yet wanting, which, had we been in possession of it, would have very much facilitated the task that we have now undertaken to perform. We know not whether this volume is actually published. In the present state of Europe it may be a long time before it can find its way to this country; and, in the mean time, our duty seems to require that an account of the four volumes, which we possess, should no longer be withheld from the public.

Though the integral calculus, as it was left by the first inventors and their contemporaries, was a very powerful instrument of investigation, it required many improvements to fit it for extending the philosophy of Newton to its utmost limits. A brief enumeration of the principal improvements which it has actually received in the last seventy or eighty years, will very much assist us in appreciating the merit of the work which is now before us.

1. Descartes is celebrated for having applied algebra to geometry; and Euler hardly deserves less credit for having applied the same science to trigonometry. Though we ascribe the invention of this calculus to Euler, we are aware that the first attempt toward it was made by a mathematician of far inferior note, Christian Mayer, who, in the Petersburg Commentaries for 1727, published a paper on analytical trigonometry. In that memoir, the geometrical theorems, which serve as the basis of this new species of arithmetic, are pointed out; but the extension of the method, the introduction of a convenient notation, and of a peculiar algorithm, are the work of Euler. By means of these, the sines and cosines of arches are multiplied into one another, and raised to any power, with a simplicity unknown in any other part of algebra, being expressed by the sines and cosines of multiple arches, of one dimension only, or of no higher power than the first. It is incredible of how great advantage this method has proved in all the parts of the higher geometry, but more especially in the researches of physical astronomy. As what we observe in the heavens is nothing but angular position, so if we would compare the result of our reasonings concerning the action of the heavenly bodies, with observations made on the surface of the earth, we must express those results in terms of the angles observed, or the quantities dependent on them, such as sines, tangents, &c. It is evident that a calculus which teaches how this is to be accomplished, must be of the greatest value to the astronomer.

tronomer. Besides, the facility which this calculus gives to all the reasonings and computations into which it is introduced, from the elementary problems of geometry to the finding of fluents and the summing of series, makes it one of the most valuable resources in mathematical science. It is a method continually employed in the *Méchanique Céleste*.

2. An improvement in the integral calculus, made by M. D'Alembert, has doubled its power, and added to it a territory not inferior in extent to all that it before possessed. This is the method of *partial differences*, or, as we must call it, of *partial fluxions*. It was discovered by the geometer just named, when he was inquiring into the nature of the figures successively assumed by a musical string during the time of its vibrations: When a variable quantity is a function of other two variable quantities, as the ordinates belonging to the différent abscissæ in these curves must necessarily be, (for they are functions both of the abscissæ and of the time counted from the beginning of the vibrations), it becomes convenient to consider how that quantity varies, while each of the other two varies singly, the remaining one being supposed constant. Without this simplification, it would, in most cases, be quite impossible to subject such complicated functions to any rules of reasoning whatsoever. The calculus of partial differences, therefore, is of great utility in all the more complicated problems both of pure and mixt mathematics; every thing relating to the motion of fluids that is not purely elementary, falls within its range; and in all the more difficult researches of physical astronomy, it has been introduced with great advantage. The first idea of this new method, and the first application of it, are due to D'Alembert: it is from Euler, however, that we derive the form and notation that have been generally adopted.

3. Another great addition made to the integral calculus, is the invention of La Grange, and is known by the name of the *Calculus variationum*. The ordinary problems of determining the greatest and least states of a given function of one or more variable quantities, is easily reduced to the direct method of fluxions, or the differential calculus, and was indeed one of the first classes of questions to which those methods were applied. But when the function that is to be a *maximum* or a *minimum*, is not given in its form; or when the curve, expressing that function, is not known by any other property, but that, in certain circumstances, it is to be the greatest or least possible, the solution is infinitely more difficult, and science seems to have no hold of the question by which to reduce it to a mathematical investigation. The problem of the line of swiftest descent is of this nature; and though,

from some facilities which this and other particular instances afforded, they were resolved, by the ingenuity of mathematicians, before any method generally applicable to them was known, yet such a method could not but be regarded as a great *desideratum* in mathematical science. The genius of Euler had gone far to supply it, when La Grange, taking a view entirely different, fell upon a method extremely convenient, and, considering the difficulty of the problem, the most simple that could be expected. The supposition it proceeds on is greatly more general than that of the fluxionary or differential calculus. In this last, the fluxions or changes of the variable quantities are restricted by certain laws. The fluxion of the ordinate, for example, has a relation to the fluxion of the abscissa that is determined by the nature of the curve to which they both belong. But in the method of *variations*, the change of the ordinate may be any whatever; it may no longer be bounded by the original curve, but it may pass into another, having to the former no determinate relation. This is the calculus of La Grange; and, though it was invented expressly with a view to the problems just mentioned, it has been found of great use in many physical questions with which those problems are not immediately connected.

4. Among the improvements of the higher geometry, besides those which, like the preceding, consisted of methods entirely new, the extension of the more ordinary methods to the integration of a vast number of formulas, the investigation of many new theorems concerning quadratures, and concerning the solution of fluxionary equations of all orders, had completely changed the appearance of the calculus; so that Newton or Leibnitz, had they returned to the world any time since the middle of the last century, would have been unable, without great study, to follow the discoveries which their disciples had made, by proceeding in the line which they themselves had pointed out. In this work, though a great number of ingenious men have been concerned, yet more is due to Euler than to any other individual. With indefatigable industry, and the resources of a most inventive mind, he devoted a long life entirely to the pursuits of science. Besides producing many works on all the different branches of the higher mathematics, he continued, for more than fifty years during his life, and for no less than twenty after his death, to enrich the memoirs of Berlin, or of Petersburg, with papers that bear, in every page, the marks of originality and invention. Such, indeed, has been the industry of this incomparable man, that his works, were they collected into one, notwithstanding that they are full of novelty, and are  
written

written in the most concise language by which human thought can be expressed, might vie in magnitude with the most trite and verbose compilations.

5. The additions we have enumerated were made to the pure mathematics; that which we are going to mention, belongs to the mixt. It is the mechanical principle, discovered by D'Alembert, which reduces every question concerning the *motion* of bodies, to a case of equilibrium. It consists in this: If the motions, which the particles of a moving body, or a system of moving bodies, have at any instant, be resolved each into two, one of which is the motion which the particle had in the preceding instant, then the sum of all these third motions must be such, that they are in equilibrium with one another. Though this principle is, in fact, nothing else than the equality of action and reaction, properly explained, and traced into the secret process which takes place on the communication of motion, it has operated on science like one entirely new, and deserves to be considered as an important discovery. The consequence of it has been, that as the theory of equilibrium is perfectly understood, all problems whatever, concerning the motion of bodies, can be so far subjected to mathematical computation, that they can be expressed in fluxionary or differential equations, and the solution of them reduced to the integration of those equations. The full value of the proposition, however, was not understood, till La Grange published his *Méchanique Analytique*: the principle is there reduced to still greater simplicity; and the connexion between the pure and the mixt mathematics, in this quarter, may be considered as complete.

Furnished with a part, or with the whole of these resources, according to the period at which they arose, the mathematicians who followed Newton in the career of physical astronomy, were enabled to add much to his discoveries, and at last to complete the work which he so happily began. Out of the number who embarked in this undertaking, and to whom science has many great obligations, five may be regarded as the leaders, and as distinguished above the rest, by the greatness of their achievements. These are, Clairaut, Euler, D'Alembert, La Grange, and La Place himself, the author of the work now under consideration. By their efforts, it was found, that, at the close of the last century, there did not remain a single phenomenon in the celestial motions, that was not explained on the principle of Gravitation; nor any greater difference between the conclusions of theory, and the observations of astronomy, than the errors unavoidable in the latter were sufficient to account for. The time seemed now to be come for reducing the whole theory of astronomy into one work, that should

embrace the entire compass of that science and its discoveries for the last hundred years: La Place was the man in all Europe, whom the voice of the scientific world would have selected for so great an undertaking.

The nature of the work required that it should contain an entire System of Physical Astronomy, from the first elements to the most remote conclusions of the science. The author has been careful to preserve the same method of investigation throughout; so that even where he has to deduce results already known, there is a unity of character and method that presents them under a new aspect.

The reasoning employed is every where algebraical; and the various parts of the higher mathematics, the integral calculus, the method of partial differences and of variations, are from the first outset introduced, whenever they can enable the author to abbreviate or to generalize his investigations. No diagrams or geometrical figures are employed; and the reader must converse with the objects presented to him by the language of arbitrary symbols alone. Whether the rejection of figures be in all respects an improvement, and whether it may not be in some degree hurtful to the powers of the imagination, we will not take upon us to decide. It is certain, however, that the perfection of Algebra tends to the banishment of diagrams, and of all reference to them. La Grange, in his treatise of *Analytical Mechanics*, has no reference to figures, notwithstanding the great number of mechanical problems which he resolves. The resolution of all the forces that act on any point, into three forces, in the direction of three axes at right angles to one another, enables one to express their relations very distinctly, without representing them by a figure, or expressing them by any other than algebraic symbols. This method is accordingly followed in the *Méchanique Céleste*. Something of the same kind, indeed, seems applicable to almost any part of the mathematics; and a very distinct treatise on the conic sections, we doubt not, might be written, where there would not be a single diagram introduced, and where all the properties of the ellipse, the parabola, and the hyperbola would be expressed either by words or by algebraic characters. Whether the imagination would lose or gain by this exercise, we shall not at present stop to inquire. It is curious, however, to observe, that Algebra, which was first introduced for the mere purpose of assisting geometry, and supplying its defects, has ended, as many auxiliaries have done, with discarding that science (or at least its peculiar methods) almost entirely. We say, almost entirely; because there are, doubtless, a great number of the elementary propositions

propositions of geometry, that never can have any but a geometrical, and some of them a synthetical demonstration.

The work of La Place is divided into two parts, and each of these into five books. The first part lays down the general principles applicable to the whole inquiry, and afterwards deduces from them the motions of the primary planets, as produced by their gravitation to the sun. The second part, treats first of the disturbances of the primary planets, and next of those of the secondary.

In the first book, the theory of motion is explained in a manner very unlike what we meet with in ordinary treatises,—with extreme generality, and with the assistance of the more difficult parts of the mathematics,—but in a way extremely luminous, concise, and readily applicable to the most extensive and arduous researches. This part must be highly gratifying to those who have a pleasure in contemplating the different ways in which the same truths may be established, and in pursuing whatever tends to simplicity and generalization. The greater part of the propositions here deduced are already known; but it is good to have them presented in a new order, and investigated by the same methods that are pursued through the whole of this work, from the most elementary truths to the most remote conclusions.

For the purpose of instructing one in what may be called the Philosophy of Mechanics, that is, in the leading truths in the science of motion, and at the same time, in the way by which those truths are applied to particular investigations, we do not believe any work is better adapted than the first book of the *Mécanique Céleste*, provided it had a little more expansion given it in particular places, and a little more illustration employed for the sake of those who are not perfectly skilled in the use of the instrument which La Place himself employs with so much dexterity and ease.

From the differential equations that express the motion of any number of bodies subjected to the mutual attraction of one another, deduced in the second chapter, La Place proceeds to the integration of these equations by approximation, in the third and the following chapters. The first step in this process gives the integral complete in the case of two bodies, and shows that the curve described by each of them is a conic section. The whole theory of the elliptic motion follows, in which the solution of Kepler's problem, or the expression of the true anomaly, and of the *radius vector* of a planet, in terms of the mean anomaly, or of the time, are particularly deserving of attention, as well as the difference between the motion in a parabolic orbit, and in an elliptic orbit of great eccentricity.

In the greater part of this investigation, the theorems are such as have been long since deduced by more ordinary methods: the deduction of them here was however essential, in order to preserve the unity of the work, and to show that the simpler truths, as well as the more difficult, make parts of the same system, and emanate from the same principle. These more elementary investigations have this further advantage, that the knowledge of the calculus, and of the methods peculiar to this work, is thus gradually acquired, by beginning from the more simple cases; and we are prepared, by that means, for the more difficult problems that are to follow.

The general methods of integrating the differential equations above mentioned, are laid down in the Fifth Chapter, which deserves to be studied with particular attention, whether we would improve in the knowledge of the pure or the mixt mathematics. The calculus of variations is introduced with great effect in the last article of this chapter.

A very curious subject of investigation, and one that we believe to be altogether new, follows in the next chapter. In the general movement of a system of bodies, such as is here supposed, and such, too, as is actually exemplified in nature, every thing is in motion; not only every body, but the plane of every orbit. The mutual action of the planets changes the positions of the planes in which they revolve; and they are perpetually made to depart, by a small quantity, on one side or another, each from that plane in which it would go on continually, if their mutual action were to cease. The calculus makes it appear, that the inclinations of these orbits in the planetary system is stable, or that the planes of the orbits oscillate a little, backwards and forwards, on each side of a fixt and immoveable plane. This plane is shown to be one, on which, if every one of the bodies of the system be projected by a perpendicular let fall from it, and if the mass of each body be multiplied into the area described in a given time by its projection on the said plane, the sum of all these products shall be a *maximum*. From this condition, the method of determining the immoveable plane is deduced; and in the progress of science, when observations made at a great distance of time shall be compared together, the reference of them to an immoveable plane must become a matter of great importance to astronomers.

As the great problem resolved in this first book is that which is called the problem of the *three bodies*, it may be proper to give some account of the steps by which mathematicians have been gradually conducted to a solution of it so perfect as that which is given by La Place. The problem is,—Having given the masses



masses of three bodies projected from three points given in position with velocities given in their quantity and direction, and supposing the bodies to gravitate to one another with forces that are as their masses directly and the squares of their distances inversely, to find the lines described by these bodies, and their position, at any given instant.

The problem may be rendered still more general, by supposing the number of bodies to be greater than three.

To resolve the problem in the general form contained in either of these enunciations, very far exceeds the powers even of the most improved analysis. In the cases, however, where it applies to the heavens, that is, when one of the bodies is very great and powerful in respect of the other two, a solution by approximation, and having any required degree of accuracy, may be obtained.

When the number of bodies is only two, the problem admits of a complete solution. Newton had accordingly resolved the problem of two bodies gravitating to one another, in the most perfect manner; and had shown, that when their mutual gravitation is as their masses divided by the squares of their distances, the orbits they describe are conic sections. The application of this theorem and its corollaries to the motions of the planets round the sun, furnished the most beautiful explanation of natural phenomena that had yet been exhibited to the world; and however excellent, or in some respects superior, the analytical methods may be that have since been applied to this problem, we hope that the original demonstrations will never be overlooked. When Newton, however, endeavoured to apply the same methods to the case of a planet disturbed in its motion round its primary by the action of a third body, the difficulties were too great to be completely overcome. The efforts, nevertheless, which he made with instruments that, though powerful, were still inadequate to the work in which they were employed, displayed, in a striking manner, the resources of his genius, and conducted him to many valuable discoveries. Five of the most considerable of the inequalities in the moon's motion were explained in a satisfactory manner, and referred to the sun's action; but beyond this, though there is some reason to think that Newton attempted to proceed, he has not made us acquainted with the route which he pursued. It was evident, however, that beside these five inequalities, there were many more, of less magnitude indeed, but of an amount that was often considerable, though the laws which they were subject to were unknown, and were never likely to be discovered by observation alone.

It

It is the glory of the Newtonian philosophy, not to have been limited to the precise point of perfection to which it was carried by its author; nor, like all the systems which the world had yet seen, from the age of Aristotle to that of Descartes, either to continue stationary, or to decline gradually from the moment of its publication. Three geometers, who had studied in the schools of Newton and of Leibnitz, and had greatly improved the methods of their masters, ventured, nearly about the same time, each unknown to the other two, to propose to himself the problem which has since been so well known under the name of the Problem of Three Bodies. Clairaut, D'Alembert and Euler, are the three illustrious men, who, as by a common impulse, undertook this investigation in the year 1747; the priority, if any could be claimed, being on the side of Clairaut. The object of those geometers was not merely to explain the lunar inequalities that had been observed; they aimed at something higher; viz. from theory to investigate all the inequalities that could arise as the effects of gravitation, and so to give an accuracy to the tables of the moon, that they could not derive from observation alone. Thus, after having ascended with Newton from phenomena to the principle of gravitation, they were to descend from that principle to the discovery of new facts; and thus, by the twofold method of analysis and composition, to apply to their theory the severest test, the only infallible criterion that at all times distinguishes truth from falsehood. Clairaut was the first who deduced, from his solution of the problem, a complete set of lunar tables, of an accuracy far superior to any thing that had yet appeared, and which, when compared with observation, gave the moon's place, in all situations, very near the truth.

Their accuracy, however, was exceeded, or at least supposed to be exceeded, by another set produced by Tobias Mayer of Göttingen, and grounded on Euler's solution, compared very diligently with observation. The expression of the lunar irregularities, as deduced from theory, is represented by the terms of a series, in each of which there are two parts carefully to be distinguished; one, which is the sine or cosine of a variable angle determined at every instant by the time counted from a certain epocha; another, which is a coefficient or multiplier, in itself constant, and remaining always the same. The determination of this constant part may be derived from two different sources; either from our knowledge of the masses of the sun and moon, and their mean distances from the earth; or from a comparison of the series above mentioned, with the observed places of the moon, whence the values of the coefficients

ents are found, which makes the series agree most accurately with observation. Mayer, who was himself a very skilful astronomer, had been very careful in making these comparisons; and thence arose the greater accuracy of his tables. The problem of finding the longitude at sea, which was now understood to depend so much on the exactness with which the moon's place could be computed, gave vast additional value to these researches, and established a very close connexion between the conclusions of theory, and one of the most important of the arts. Mayer's tables were rewarded by the Board of Longitude in England; and Euler's, at the suggestion of Turgot, by the Board of Longitude in France.

It may be remarked here, as a curious fact in the history of science, that the accurate solution of the problem of the Three Bodies, which has in the end established the system of gravitation on so solid a basis, seemed, on its first appearance, to threaten the total overthrow of that system. Clairaut found, on determining, from his solution, the motion of the longer axis of the moon's orbit, that it came out only the half of what it was known to be from astronomical observation. In consequence of this, he was persuaded, that the force with which the earth attracts the moon, does not decrease exactly as the squares of the distances increase, but that a part of it only follows that law, while another follows the inverse of the biquadrate or fourth power of the distances. The existence of such a law of attraction was violently opposed by Buffon, who objected to it the want of simplicity, and argued that there was no sufficient reason for determining what part of the attraction should be subject to the one of these laws, and what part to the other. Clairaut, and the other two mathematicians, (who had come to the same result), were not much influenced by this metaphysical argument; and the former proceeded to inquire what the proportion was between the two parts of the attraction that followed laws so different.

He was thus forced to carry his approximation further than he had done, and to include some quantities that had before been rejected as too small to affect the result. When he had done this, he found the numerator of the fraction that denoted the part of gravity which followed the new law, equal to nothing; or, in other words, that there was no such part. The candour of Clairaut did not suffer him to delay, a moment, the acknowledgement of this result; and also, that when his calculus was rectified, and the approximation carried to the full length, the motion of the moon's apsides as deduced from theory, coincided exactly with observation.

Thus,

Thus, the lunar theory was brought to a very high degree of perfection; and the tables constructed by means of it, were found to give the moon's place true to 30". Still, however, there was one inequality in the moon's motion, for which the principle of gravitation afforded no account whatever. This was what is known by the name of the moon's acceleration. Dr Halley had observed, on comparing the ancient with modern observations, that the moon's motion round the earth appeared to be now performed in a shorter time than formerly; and this inequality appeared to have been regularly, though slowly, increasing; so that, on computing backward from the present time, it was necessary to suppose the moon to be uniformly retarded, (as in the case of a body ascending against gravity), the effect of this retardation increasing as the squares of the time. All astronomers admitted the existence of this inequality in the moon's motion; but no one saw any means of reconciling it with the principle of gravitation. All the irregularities of the moon arising from that cause had been found to be periodical; they were expressed in terms of the sines and cosines of arches; and though these arches depend on the time, and might increase with it continually, their sines and cosines had limits which they never could exceed, and from which they returned perpetually in the same order. Here, therefore, was one of the greatest anomalies yet discovered in the heavens—an inequality that increased continually, and altered the mean rate of the moon's motion. Various attempts were made to explain this phenomenon, and those too attended with much intricate and laborious investigation.

To some it appeared, that this perpetual decrease in the time of the moon's revolution, must arise from the resistance of the medium in which she moves, which, by lessening her absolute velocity, would give gravity more power over her; so that she would come nearer to the earth, would revolve in less time, and therefore with a greater angular velocity. This hypothesis, though so unlike what we are led to believe from all other appearances, must have been admitted, if, upon applying mathematical reasoning, it had been found to afford a good explanation of the appearances. It was found, however, on trial, that it did not; and that the moon's acceleration could not be explained by the supposed resistance of the ether.

Another hypothesis occurred, from which an explanation was attempted of this and of some great inequalities in the motions of Jupiter and Saturn, that seemed not to return periodically, and were therefore nearly in the same circumstances with the moon's acceleration. It was observed, that most of the agents we are acquainted with

with take time to pass from one point of space to another; that the force of gravity may be of this sort, and may not, any more than light, be instantaneously transmitted from the sun to the planets, or from the planets to one another. The effect that would arise from the time thus taken up by gravity, in its transmission from one point of space to another, was therefore investigated by the strictest laws of geometry; but it was found, that this hypothesis did not, any more than the preceding, afford an explanation of the moon's acceleration.

By this time also, it was demonstrated, that there was not, and could not be in our system, any inequality whatever produced by the mutual gravitation of the planets, that was not periodical, and that did not, after reaching a certain extent, go on to diminish by the same law that it had increased.

An entire suspense of opinion concerning the moon's acceleration therefore took place, till La Place found out a truth that had eluded the search of every other mathematician. It was known to him, both from the investigation of La Grange, and from his own, that there are changes in the eccentricities of the planetary orbits, extremely slow, and of which the full series is not accomplished but in a very long period. The eccentricity of the earth's orbit is subject to this sort of change; and as some of the lunar inequalities are known to depend on that eccentricity, they must vary slowly along with it; and hence an irregularity of a very long period in the moon's motion. On examining further, and the examination was a matter of great difficulty, La Place found this inequality to answer very exactly to what we have called the acceleration of the moon; for though, in strictness, it is not uniform, it varies so slowly, that it may be accounted uniform for all the time that astronomical observation has yet existed. It is a quantity of such a kind, and its period of change is so long, that for an interval of two thousand years, it may be considered as varying uniformly. Two thousand years are little more than an infinitesimal in this reckoning; and as an astronomer thinks he commits no error when he considers the rate of the sun's motion as uniform for twenty-four hours, so he commits none when he regards the rate of this equation as continuing the same for twenty centuries. That man, whose life, nay, the history of whose species, occupies such a mere point in the duration of the world, should come to the knowledge of laws that embrace myriads of ages in their revolution, is perhaps the most astonishing fact that the history of science exhibits.

Thus La Place put the last hand to the theory of the moon, nearly one hundred years after that theory had been propounded in the first edition of the *Principia*.

The

The branch of the theory of disturbing forces that relates to the action of the primary planets on one another, was cultivated during the same period, with equal diligence, and with equal success. In the years 1748 and 1752, the academy of sciences proposed for prize questions the inequalities of Jupiter and Saturn; both the prizes were gained by Euler, whose researches have thrown so much light on all the more difficult questions, both of the pure and the mixt mathematics. There was a particular difficulty that attended this inquiry, and distinguished it greatly from the case of the moon disturbed in its motion by so distant a body as the sun. In the case of Jupiter and Saturn, the disturbing body may be as near to the one disturbed as this last is to the body about which it revolves; for the distance of Saturn from Jupiter may sometimes be nearly the same with that of Jupiter from the sun. In such cases, the means of obtaining a series expressing the force of the one planet on the other, and converging quickly, was quite different from any thing required in the case of the moon, and was a matter of extreme difficulty. No man was more fit than Euler to contend with such a difficulty; he accordingly overcame it; and his mode of doing so has served as the model for all the similar researches that have since been made. It resulted from his investigation, that both the planets were subject to considerable inequalities, depending on the action of one another, but all of them periodical, and returning after certain stated intervals, not exceeding twenty or thirty years, nearly in the same order.

Though this agreed well with astronomical observations so far as it went, yet it afforded no account of two inequalities of very long periods, or perhaps of indefinite extent, which, by the comparison of ancient and modern observations, seemed to affect the motions of these two planets in opposite directions.

This was a subject, therefore, that remained for further discussion. In the mean time, it was considered that the other planets must no doubt be affected in the same way; and both Euler and Clairaut gave computations of the disturbance which the earth suffers from Jupiter, Venus, and the Moon. The same was extended to the other planets; and a great additional degree of accuracy was thus given to all the tables of the planetary motions.

In the course of these researches, the change in the obliquity of the ecliptic came first to be perfectly recognized, and ascribed to the action of the planets above named on the earth. It was proved by Euler, that the change in this obliquity is periodical, like all the others we have already seen; that it is not a constant diminution, but a small and slow oscillation on each side of a mean

mean quantity, by which it alternately increases and diminishes in the course of periods, which are not all of the same length, but by which, in the course of many ages, a compensation ultimately takes place.

Still, however, the secular inequalities to which Jupiter and Saturn were subject, and which seemed to increase continually without any appearance of returning into themselves, were not accounted for; so that the problem of their disturbance was either imperfectly resolved, or they must be supposed to be subject to the action of a force different from their mutual attraction. In the course of about twenty centuries to which astronomical observation had extended, it appeared that the motion of Jupiter had been accelerated by  $3^{\circ} 23'$ , and that of Saturn retarded by  $5^{\circ} 13'$ . This had been first remarked by Dr Halley, and had been confirmed by the calculations of all the astronomers who came after him.

With a view to explain these appearances, Euler, resuming the subject, found two inequalities of long periods that belonged to Jupiter and Saturn; but they were not such as, either in their quantity or in their relation to one another, agreed with the facts observed. La Grange afterwards undertook the same investigation; but his results were unsatisfactory; and La Place himself, on pushing his approximation further than either of the other geometers had done, found that no alteration in the mean motion could be produced by the mutual action of these two planets. Physical astronomy was now embarrassed with a great difficulty, and at the same time was on the eve of one of the noblest discoveries it has ever made. The same La Grange, struck with this circumstance, that the calculus had never yet given any inequalities but such as were periodical, applied himself to the study of this general question, whether, in our planetary system, such inequalities as continually increase, or continually diminish, and by that means affect the mean motion of the planets, can ever be produced by their mutual gravitation. He found, by a method peculiar to himself, and independent of any approximation, that the inequalities produced by the mutual action of the planets, must, in effect, be all periodical: that amid all the changes which arise from their mutual action, two things remain perpetually the same; *viz.* the length of the greater axis of the ellipse which the planet describes, and its periodical time round the sun, or, which is the same thing, the mean distance of each planet from the sun, and its mean motion remain constant. The plane of the orbit varies, the species of the ellipse and its eccentricity change; but never, by any means whatever, the greater axis of the ellipse, or the time of the entire revolution of the planet. The discovery of this great principle, which we may consider as the bulwark that secures the stability

bility of our system, and excludes all access to confusion and disorder, must render the name of La Grange for ever memorable in science, and ever revered by those who delight in the contemplation of whatever is excellent and sublime. After Newton's discovery of the elliptic orbits of the planets, La Grange's discovery of their periodical inequalities is, without doubt, the noblest truth in physical astronomy; and, in respect of the doctrine of final causes, it may truly be regarded as the greatest of all.

The discovery of this great truth, however, on the present occasion, did but augment the difficulty with respect to those inequalities of Jupiter and Saturn, that seemed so uniform in their rate; and it became now more than ever probable, that some extraneous cause, different from gravitation, must necessarily be recognized.

It was here that La Place stepped in again to extricate philosophers from their dilemma. On subjecting the problem of the disturbances of the two planets above mentioned, to a new examination, he found that some of the terms expressing the inequalities of these planets, which seemed small, as they involved the third power of the eccentricities, had very long periods, depending on five times the mean motion of Saturn *minus* twice the mean motion of Jupiter, which is an extremely small quantity, the mean motion of Jupiter being to the mean motion of Saturn in a ratio not far from that of five to two. Hence, it appeared, that each of these planets was subject to an inequality, having a period of nine hundred and seventeen years, amounting in the case of the former, when a maximum, to  $48^{\circ} 44''$ , and in that of the other to  $20^{\circ} 49''$ , with opposite signs.

These two results, therefore, are deduced from the theory of gravitation, and, when applied to the comparison of the antient and modern observations, are found to reconcile them precisely with one another. The two equations had reached their maximum in 1560: from that time, the apparent mean motions of the planets have been approaching to the true, and became equal to them in 1790. La Place has further observed, that the mean motions which any system of astronomy assigns to Jupiter and Saturn, give us some information concerning the time when that system was formed. Thus, the Hindoos seem to have formed their system when the mean motion of Jupiter was the slowest, and that of Saturn the most rapid; and the two periods which fulfill these conditions, come very near to the year 3102 before the Christian era, and the year 1491 after it, both of them remarkable epochs in the astronomy of Hindostan.

Thus, a perfect conformity is established between theory and  
observation,



observation, in all that respects the disturbances of the primary planets and of the moon; there does not remain a single inequality unexplained; and a knowledge is obtained of several, of which the existence was indicated, though the law could not have been discovered by observation alone.

The discoveries of La Place had first been communicated in the memoirs of the Academy of Sciences; as those of the other mathematicians above mentioned had been, either in these same memoirs, or in those of Petersburg and Berlin: An important service is rendered to science, by bringing all these investigations into one view, as is done in the *Méchanique Céleste*, and deducing them from the same principles in one and the same method: La Place, though far from the only one who had signalized himself in this great road of discovery, being the person who had put the last hand to every part, and had overcome the difficulties which had resisted the efforts of all the rest, was the man best qualified for this work, and best entitled to the honour that was to result from it. Indeed, of all the great cooperators in this unexampled career of discovery, La Grange and La Place himself were the only survivors when this work was published.

We cannot dismiss the general consideration of the problem of the *Three Bodies*, and of the Second book of the *Méchanique Céleste*, without taking notice of another conclusion that relates particularly to the stability of the planetary system. The orbits of the planets are all ellipses, as is well known, having the sun in their common focus; and the distance of the focus from the centre of the ellipsis, is what astronomers call the eccentricity of the orbit. In all the planetary orbits, this eccentricity is small, and the ellipse approaches nearly to a circle. These eccentricities, however, continually change, though very slowly, in the progress of time, but in such a manner, that none of them can ever become very great. They may vanish, or become nothing, when the orbit will be exactly circular; in which state, however, it will not continue, but change in the course of time, into an ellipsis, of an eccentricity that will vary as before, so as never to exceed a certain limit. What this limit is for each individual planet, would be difficult to determine, the expression of the variable eccentricities being necessarily very complex. But, notwithstanding this, a general theorem, which shows that none of them can ever become great, is the result of one of La Place's investigations. It is this: If the mass of each planet be multiplied into the square of the eccentricity of its orbit, and this product into the square root of the axis of the same orbit, the sum of all these quantities, when they are added together, will re-

main for ever the same. This sum is a constant magnitude, which the mutual action of the planets cannot change, and which nature preserves free from alteration. Hence no one of the eccentricities can ever increase to a great magnitude; for as the mass of each planet is given, and also its axis, the square of the eccentricity in each, is multiplied into a given coefficient, and the sum of all the products so formed, is incapable of change. Here, therefore, we have again another general property, by which the stability of our system is maintained; by which every great alteration is excluded, and the whole made to oscillate, as it were, about a certain mean quantity, from which it can never greatly depart.

If it be asked, is this quantity necessarily and unavoidably permanent in all systems that can be imagined, or under every possible constitution of the planetary orbits? We answer, by no means: if the planets did not all move one way,—if their orbits were not all nearly circular, and if their eccentricities were not small, the permanence of the preceding quantity would not take place. It is a permanence, then, which depends on conditions that are not necessary in themselves; and therefore we are authorized to consider such permanence as an argument of design in the construction of the universe.

When we thus obtain a limit, beyond which all the changes that can ever happen in our system shall never pass, we may be said to penetrate, not merely into the remotest ages of futurity, but to look beyond them, and to perceive an object, situated, if we may use the expression, on the other side of infinite duration.

Though in the detail into which we have now entered, we have anticipated many things that may be thought to belong to another place, we think that the leading facts are in this way least separated from one another. La Place, after treating of the problems of the *Three Bodies* generally in the Second book, to which the observations made above chiefly refer, resumes the consideration of the same problem, and the application of it to the tables of the planets in the Sixth and Seventh. These we shall be able to pass over slightly, as much of what might be said concerning them, is contained in the preceding remarks. We go on now to the Second volume, which treats of the figure of the planets, and of the tides.

In the First book, a foundation was laid for this research by the general theorems that were investigated concerning the equilibrium of fluids and the rotation of bodies. These are applied here; first, to the figure of the planets in general; and afterwards particularly to the figure of the earth.

The first inquiry into the physical causes which determine the figure

figure of the earth and of the other planets, was the work of Newton, who showed, that a fluid mass revolving on its axis, and its particles gravitating to one another with forces inversely as the squares of their distances, must assume the figure of an oblate spheroid; and that, in the case of a homogeneous body, where the centrifugal force bore the same ratio to the force of gravity that obtains at the surface of the earth, the equatorial diameter of the spheroid must be to the polar axis as 231 to 230. The method by which this conclusion was deduced, was however by no means unexceptionable, as it took for granted, that the spheroid must be elliptical. The defects of the investigation were first supplied by Maclaurin, who treated the subject of the figure of the earth in a manner alike estimable for its accuracy and its elegance. His demonstration had the imperfection, at least in a certain degree, of being synthetical; and this was remedied by Clairaut; who, in a book on the figure of the earth, treated the subject still more fully; simplified the view of the equilibrium that determines the figure; and showed the true connexion between the compression at the poles and the diminution of gravity on going from the poles to the equator, whatever be the internal structure of the spheroid. Several mathematicians considered the same subject afterwards; and, in particular, Le Gendre proved, that, for every fluid mass given in magnitude, and revolving on its axis in a given time, there are two elliptic spheroids that answer the conditions of equilibrium; in the instance of the earth, one of these has its eccentricity in the ratio of 231 to 230; the other, in the ratio of 680 to 1.

The results of those investigations, with the addition of several quite new, are brought together in the work before us, and deduced according to the peculiar methods of the author. These theoretical conclusions are next applied to the experiments and observations that have been actually made, whether by determining the length of the second's pendulum in different latitudes, or by the measurement of degrees. After a very full discussion, and a comparison of several different arches, on each of which an error is allowed, and this condition superadded, that the sum of the positive and negative errors shall be equal, and, at the same time, the sum of all the errors, supposing them positive, shall be a minimum, LaPlace finds that the result is not reconcileable with the hypothesis of an elliptic spheroid, unless a greater error be admitted in some of the degrees than is consistent with probability. In this determination, however, the Lapland degree is taken as measured by Maupertuis, and the other academicians who assisted him. The correction by the Swedish mathematicians was not made when this part of La Place's work was published. If that correction is attend-

ed, to, the result will come out more favourable to the elliptic theory than he supposes. There are, however, even after that correction is admitted, considerable deviations from the elliptic figure, such as the attraction of mountains is hardly sufficient to explain. The degrees that have been lately measured in France with so much exactness, compared with one another, give an ellipticity of about  $\frac{1}{230}$ , and the same ellipticity corresponds well to the degrees measured in the trigonometrical survey of England, whether of the meridian, or the perpendicular to it. At the same time, the measures in France compared with those in Peru, give  $\frac{1}{214}$  for the ellipticity of the meridian, which is less than half the former quantity. The observations of the lengths of the pendulum give the same nearly; so that this may be taken as the mean result.

The Fourth book of the *Méchanique Céleste*, treats of the tides;— a subject on which much new light has been thrown by the investigations of La Place.

The first satisfactory explanation which was given of the flux and reflux of the sea, was that of Newton, founded on the principle of attraction. The force of the moon acting on the terrestrial spheroid, supposing this last to be covered with water, must tend, as Newton demonstrated, to diminish the gravity of the waters toward the earth, both at the point where the moon was vertical, and at the point diametrically opposite; and this in such a ratio, that the waters would assume the figure of an oblong elliptic spheroid, with its greater axis directed to the moon. The sun must affect the great mass of the waters in a similar manner, and produce an aqueous spheroid, that at the time of new and full moon would coincide with the former, and therefore augment its effect; while at the quarters it would be at right angles to it, and in part destroy that effect.

The subject, however, was not so fully handled by Newton, but that great room appeared for improvements; and accordingly, the subject of the tides was proposed as the prize-question by the Academy of Sciences in the year 1740. This produced the three excellent dissertations of Daniel, Bernoulli, Euler, and Maclaurin, which shared the prize; but shared it, we must confess, with another essay, that of Father Cavalleri a Jesuit, who endeavoured to explain the tides by the system of vortices. It is the last time that the vortices entered the lists with the theory of gravitation.

Many excellent dissertations on the same subject have appeared since; but they are all defective in this, that they suppose the waters of the ocean in a state of equilibrium, or to be brought, by the action of gravitation, toward the earth, and toward

ward the two other bodies just mentioned, into the figure of an aqueous spheroid, where the particles of the water, by the action of these different forces, were maintained at rest.

This, however, is by no means the case: the rotation of the earth does not allow time to this spheroid ever to be accurately formed; and, long before the three attractions are able to produce their full effect, they are changed relatively to one another, and disposed to produce a different effect. Instead, therefore, of the actual formation of an aqueous spheroid, the tendency to it produces a continual oscillation in the waters of the ocean, which are thus preserved in perpetual movement, and never can attain a state of equilibrium and of rest. To determine the nature of these oscillations, however, is a matter of extreme difficulty, and is a problem which neither Newton, nor any of the three geometers who pursued his tract, was able, in the state of mechanical and mathematical science which then existed, to resolve. The best thing which they could do, was that which they actually accomplished, by inquiring into the nature of the spheroid, which, though never actually attained, was an ideal mean to which the real state of the waters made a periodical and imperfect approach. Neither the state of mechanical or mathematical science was such as could yet enable any one to determine the motions of a fluid, acted on by the three gravitations above mentioned, and having, besides, a rotatory motion. The nature of fluids was not so well known as to admit of the differential equations containing the conditions of such motions to be exhibited; and mathematical science was not so improved as to be able to integrate such equations. The first man who felt himself in possession of all the principles required to this arduous investigation, and who was bold enough to undertake a work, which, with all these resources, could not fail to involve much difficulty, was La Place; who, in the years 1775, 1779 and 1790, communicated to the Academy of Sciences a series of memoirs on this subject, which he has united and extended in the Fourth book of the *Méchanique Céleste*.

Considering each particle of water as acted on by three forces, its gravitation to the earth, to the sun and to the moon, and also as impelled by the rotation of the earth, he inquires into the nature of the oscillations that will be excited in the fluid. He finds, that the oscillations thus arising may be divided into three classes. The first do not depend on the rotation of the earth, but only on the motion of the sun or moon in their respective orbits, and on the place of the moon's nodes. These oscillations vary periodically, but slowly; so that they do not return in the same order,

till after a very long interval of time. The oscillations of the second class, depend principally on the rotation of the earth, and return in the same order, after the interval of a day nearly. The oscillations of the third class, depend on an angle that is double the angular rotation of the earth; so that they return after the interval nearly of half a day. Each of these classes of oscillations, proceeds just as if the other two had no existence; a circumstance that tends very much to simplify the investigation into their combined effect.

The oscillations of the first kind are proved to be almost entirely destroyed by the resistance which any motion of the whole sea must necessarily meet with; and they amount nearly to the same as if the sea were reduced at every instant to an equilibrium under the attracting body.

The oscillations of the second class involve, in the expression of them, the rotation of the earth; and they are also affected by the depth of the sea. The difference of the two tides in the same day, depend chiefly on these oscillations; and it is from thence that La Place determines the mean depth of the sea to be about four leagues.

The oscillations of the third kind, are calculated in the same manner; and from the combination of all these circumstances, the height of the tides in different latitudes, in different situations of the sun and moon,—the difference between the consecutive tides,—the difference between the time of high water and the times when the sun and moon comes to the meridian,—all these circumstances, are better explained in this method than they have ever been by any other theory. La Place has instituted a very elaborate comparison between his theory and observations on the tides, made during a succession of years at Brest, a situation remarkably favourable for such observations.

1. Between the laws by which the tides diminish from their maximum at the full and change, to their minimum at the first and third quarters, and by which they increase again from the minimum to the maximum, as deduced from the observations at Brest, and as determined by the theory of gravitation, there is an exact coincidence.

2. According to theory, the height of the tides, at their maximum, near the equinoxes, is to their height in similar circumstances at the solstices, nearly as the square of the radius to the square of the cosine of the declination of the sun at the solstice; and this is found to agree nearly with observation.

3. The influence of the moon on the tides increases as the cube of her parallax; and this agrees so well with observation, that the law might have been deduced from observation alone.

4. The

4. The retardation of the tides from one day to another, is but half as great at the syzgies as at the quadratures. This is the conclusion from theory; and it agrees well with observation, which makes the daily retardation of the tide 27' in the one case, and 55' in the other.

Many more examples of this agreement are mentioned; and it is highly satisfactory to find the genuine results of the theory of gravitation, when deduced with an attention to all the circumstances, and without any hypothetical simplification whatsoever, so fully confirmed in the instance that is nearest to us, and the most obvious to our senses.

La Place has treated a subject connected with the tides, that, so far as we know, has not been touched on by any author before him. This is the stability of the equilibrium of the sea. A fluid surrounding a solid nucleus, may either be so attracted to that nucleus, that, when any motion is communicated to it, it will oscillate backwards and forwards till its motion is destroyed by the resistance it meets with, when it will again settle into rest; or it may be in such a state, that when any motion is communicated to it, its vibrations may increase, and become of enormous magnitude. Whether the sea may not, by such means, have risen above the tops of the highest mountains deserves to be considered; as that hypothesis, were it found to be consistent with the laws of nature, would serve to explain many of the phenomena of natural history. M. La Place, with this view, has inquired into the nature of the equilibrium of the sea, or into the possibility of such vast undulations being propagated through it. The result is, that the equilibrium of the sea must be stable, and its oscillations continually tending to diminish, if the density of its waters be less than the mean density of the earth; and that its equilibrium does not admit of subversion, unless the mean density of the earth was equal to that of water, or less. As we know, from the experiments made on the attraction of mountains, as well as from other facts, that the sea is more than four times less dense than the materials which compose the solid nucleus of the globe are at a medium, the possibility of these great undulations is entirely excluded; and therefore, says La Place, if, as cannot well be questioned, the sea has formerly covered continents that are now much elevated above its level, the cause must be sought for elsewhere than in the instability of its equilibrium.

With the questions of the figure of the earth, and of the flux and reflux of the sea, that of the precession of the equinoxes is closely connected; and La Place has devoted his Fifth book to the consideration of it. This motion, though slow, being always in the same direction, and therefore continually accumulating, had

early been remarked, and was the first of the celestial appearances that suggested the idea of an *annus magnus*, one of those great astronomical periods by which so many days and years are circumscribed. As it affects the whole heavens, and as the changes it produces are spread out over the vast extent of 25,000 years, it has proved a valuable guide amid the darkness of antiquity, and has enabled the astronomer to steer his course with tolerable certainty, and here and there to discover a truth in the midst of the traditions and fables of the heroic ages.

Newton was the first who turned his thoughts to the physical cause of this appearance; and it required all the sagacity and penetration of that great man to discover this cause in the principle of universal gravitation. The effect of the forces of the sun and moon on that excess of matter which surrounds the earth at the equator, must, as he has proved, produce a slow angular motion in the plane of the latter, and in a direction contrary to that of the earth's rotation. The accurate analysis of the complicated effect that was thus produced, was a work that surpassed the power, either of geometry or mechanics, at the time when Newton wrote; and his investigation, accordingly, was founded on assumptions that, though not destitute of probability, could not be shown to be perfectly conformable to truth; and it even involved a mechanical principle, which was taken up without due consideration. Nevertheless, the glory of having been first in the career, is not tarnished by a partial failure, and is a possession which the justice of posterity does not suffer Newton to share even with those who have since been more successful in their researches.

The first of these was D'Alembert. That excellent mathematician gave a solution of this problem that has never been surpassed for accuracy and depth of reasoning, though it may have been, for simplicity and shortness. He employed the principle already ascribed to him of the equilibrium among the forces destroyed when any change of motion is produced; and it was by means of the equations that this proposition furnished, that he was enabled to proceed without the introduction of hypothesis. Solutions of the same problem have since been given by several mathematicians, by Thomas Simpson, Frisi, Walmsley, &c. and many others; not, however, without some difference (such is the difficulty of the investigation) in the results they have obtained. La Place has gone over the same ground, more that he might give unity and completeness to his work, than that he could expect to add much to the solution of D'Alembert. As he has proceeded in a more general manner than the latter, he has obtained some conclusions not included in his solution. He has shown,

that



that the phenomena of the precession and nutation must be the same in the actual state of our terraqueous spheroid, as if the whole was a solid mass; and that this is true, whatever be the irregularity of the depth of the sea. He shows also, that currents in the sea, rivers, trade-winds, even earthquakes, can have no effect in altering the earth's rotation on its axis. The conclusions with regard to the constitution of the earth that are found to agree with the actual quantity of the precession of the equinoxes are, that the density of the earth increases from the circumference toward the centre; that it has the form of an ellipsoid of revolution, or, as we use to call it, of an elliptic spheroid, and that the compression of this spheroid at the poles is between the limits of  $\frac{1}{304}$  and  $\frac{1}{378}$  part of the radius of the equator.

The Second part of La Place's work, has, for its object, a fuller development of the disturbances of the planets, both primary and secondary, than was compatible with the limits of the First part. After the ample detail into which we have entered concerning two of these subjects, the theory of the moon, and the perturbations of the primary planets, we need not enlarge on them further, though they are prosecuted in the second part of this work, and form the subject of the Sixth and Seventh books. In the Second book, the inequalities had been explained, that depend on the simple power of the eccentricity: here we have those that depend on the second and higher powers of the same quantity; and such are the secular equations of Jupiter and Saturn, above-mentioned. The numeral computations are then performed, and every thing prepared for the complete construction of astronomical tables, as the final result of all these investigations. The calculations, of course, are of vast extent and difficulty, and incredibly laborious. In carrying them on, La Place had the assistance, as he informs us, of De Lambre, Bouvard, and other members of the institute. The labour is indeed quite beyond the power of any individual to execute.

The same may be said of the Seventh book, which is devoted to a similar development of the lunar theory. We can enter into no further detail on this subject. One fact we cannot help mentioning, which is to the credit of two British astronomers, Messrs Mason and Dixon, who gave a new edition of Mayer's tables, more diligently compared with observation, and therefore more accurate, than the original one. Among other improvements, was an *empirical* equation, amounting to a little more than 20" when a maximum, which was not founded on theory, but was employed because it made the tables agree better with observation. As this equation, however, was not derived from  
principle

principle (for the two astronomers, just named, though accurate observers and calculators, were not skilled enough in the mathematics to attempt deducing it from principle), it was generally rejected by other astronomers. La Place, however, found that it was not to be rejected; but, in reality, proceeded from the compression of the earth at the poles, which prevents the gravitation to the earth from decreasing, precisely as the squares of the distances increase, and by that means produces this small irregularity. The quantity of the polar compression that agrees best with this, and some other of the lunar irregularities, is nearly that which was stated above,  $\frac{1}{1084}$  of the mean radius of the earth. The ellipticity of the sun does, in like manner, affect the primary planets; but, as its influence diminishes fast as the distance increases, it extends no further (in any sensible degree) than the orbit of Mercury, where its only effect is to produce a very small direct movement of the line of the apsides, and an equal retrograde motion of the nodes, relatively to the sun's equator. We may judge from this, to what minuteness the researches of this author have extended: and, in general, when accuracy is the object to be obtained, the smaller the quantity to be determined, the more difficult the investigation.

The Eighth book has for its object, to calculate the disturbances produced by the action of the secondary planets on one another; and particularly refers to the satellites of Jupiter, the only system of secondary planets on which accurate observations have been, or, probably, can be made. Though these satellites have been known only since the invention of the telescope, yet the quickness of their revolutions has, in the space of two centuries, exhibited all the changes which time develops so slowly in the system of the primary planets; so that there are abundant materials for a comparison between fact and theory. The general principles of the theory are the same that were explained in the Second book; but there are some peculiarities, that arise from the constitution of Jupiter's system, that deserve to be considered. We have seen, above, what is the effect of commensurability, or an approach to it, in the mean motion of contiguous planets; and here we have another example of the same. The mean motions of the three first satellites of Jupiter, are nearly as the numbers 4, 2, and 1; and hence a periodical system of inequalities, which our astronomer Bradley was sharp-sighted enough to discover in the observation of the eclipses of these satellites, and to state as amounting to 437.6 days. This is now fully explained from the theory of the action of the satellites.

Another singularity in this secondary system, is, that the mean longitude of the first satellite *minus* three times that of the

the second; *plus* twice that of the third, never differs from two right angles but by a quantity almost insensible.

One can hardly suppose that the original motions were so adjusted as to answer exactly to this condition; it is more natural to suppose that they were only nearly so adjusted, and that the exact coincidence has been brought about by their mutual action. This conjecture is verified by the theory, where it is demonstrated that such a change might have been actually produced in the mean motion by the mutual action of those planetary bodies, after which the system would remain stable, and no further change in those motions would take place.

Not only are the mutual actions of the satellites taken into account in the estimate of their irregularities, but the effect of Jupiter's spheroidal figure is also introduced. Even the masses of the satellites are inferred from their effect in disturbing the motions of one another.

In the Ninth book La Place treats of Comets, of the methods of determining their orbits, and of the disturbances they suffer from the planets. We cannot follow him in this; and have only to add, that his profound and elaborate researches are such as we might expect from the author of the preceding investigations.

The Tenth book is more miscellaneous than any of the preceding; it treats of different points relative to the system of the world. One of the most important of these is astronomical refraction. The rays of light from the celestial bodies, on entering the earth's atmosphere, meet with strata that are more dense the nearer they approach to the earth's surface; they are therefore bent continually toward the denser medium, and describe curves that have their concavity turned toward the earth. The angle formed by the original direction of the ray, and its direction at the point where it enters the eye, is called the astronomical refraction. La Place seeks to determine this angle by tracing the path of the ray through the atmosphere; a research of no inconsiderable difficulty, and in which the author has occasion to display his skill both in mathematical and in inductive investigation. The method he pursues in the latter is deserving of attention, as it is particularly well adapted to cases that occur often in the more intricate kinds of physical discussion.

The path of the ray would be determined from the laws of refraction, did we know the law by which the density of the air decreases from the earth upwards. This last, however, is not known, except for a small extent near the surface of the earth, so that we appear here to be left without sufficient data for continuing the investigation. We must, therefore, either

ther abandon the problem altogether, or resolve it hypothetically, that is, by assuming some hypothesis as to the decrease of the density of the atmosphere. Little would be gained by this last, except as an exercise in mathematical investigation, if it were not that the total quantity of the refraction for a given altitude can be accurately determined by observation. La Place, availing himself of this consideration, begins with making a supposition concerning the law of the density, that is not very remote from the truth, (as we are assured of from the relation between the density of air and the force with which it is compressed); and he compares the horizontal refraction calculated on this assumption with that which is known to be its true quantity. The first hypothesis which he assumes, is that of the density being the same throughout; this gives the total refraction too small, and falls on that account to be rejected, even if it were liable to no other objection. The second hypothesis supposes a uniform temperature through the whole extent of the atmosphere, or it supposes that the density decreases in geometrical proportion, while the distance from the earth increases in arithmetical. The refraction which results is too great; so that this supposition must also be rejected.

If we now suppose the density of the air to decrease in arithmetical progression, while the height does the same, and integrate the differential equation to the curve described by the ray, on this hypothesis, the horizontal refraction is too small, but nearer the truth than on the first hypothesis. A supposition intermediate between that which gave the refraction too great, and this which gives it too small, is therefore to be assumed as that which approaches the nearest to the truth. It is this way of limiting his conjectures by repeated trials, and of extracting from each, by means of the calculus, all the consequences involved in it, that we would recommend to experimenters, as affording one of the most valuable and legitimate uses of hypothetical reasoning. He then employs an intermediate hypothesis for the diminution of the density of the air; which it is not easy to express in words, but from which he obtains a result that agrees with the horizontal refraction, and from which, of course, he proceeds to deduce the refraction for all other altitudes. The table, so constructed, we have no doubt, will be found to contribute materially to the accuracy of astronomical observation.

The researches which immediately follow this, relate to the terrestrial refraction, and the measurement of heights by the barometer. The formula given for the latter, is more complicated than that which is usually employed with us in Britain, where this

this subject has been studied with great care. In one respect, it is more general than any of our formulas; it contains an allowance for the difference of latitude. We are not sure whether this correction is of much importance, nor have we had leisure to compare the results with those of General Roy and Sir George Schuckborough. We hardly believe, that in point of accuracy, the two last can easily be exceeded.

The book concludes with a determination of the masses of the planets, more accurate than had been before given; and even of the satellites of Jupiter. 'Of all the attempts of the Newtonian philosophy,' says the late Adam Smith in his History of Astronomy, 'that which would appear to be the most above the reach of human reason and experience, is the attempt to compute the weights and densities of the sun, and of the several planets.' What would this philosopher have said, if he had lived to see the same balance in which the vast body of the sun had been weighed, applied to examine such minute atoms as the satellites of Jupiter?

Such is the work of La Place, affording an example, which is yet solitary in the history of human knowledge, of a theory entirely complete; one that has not only accounted for all the phenomena that were known, but that has discovered many before unknown, which observation has since recognized. In this theory, not only the elliptic motion of the planets, relatively to the sun, but the irregularities produced by their mutual action, whether of the primary on the primary, of the primary on the secondary, or of the secondary on one another, are all deduced from the principle of gravitation, that mysterious power, which unites the most distant regions of space, and the most remote periods of duration. To this we must add the great truths brought in view and fully demonstrated, by tracing the action of the same power through all its mazes: That all the inequalities in our system are periodical; that, by a fixt appointment in nature, they are each destined to revolve in the same order, and between the same limits; that the mean distances of the planets from the sun, and the time of their revolutions round that body, are susceptible of no change whatsoever; that our system is thus secured against natural decay; order and regularity preserved in the midst of so many disturbing causes;—and anarchy and misrule eternally proscribed.

The work where this sublime picture is delineated, does honour, not to the author only, but to the human race; and marks, undoubtedly, the highest point to which man has yet ascended in the scale of intellectual attainment. The glory, therefore, of having produced this work, belongs not to the author alone,

alone, but must be shared, in various proportions, among the philosophers and mathematicians of all ages. Their efforts, from the age of Euclid and Archimedes, to the time of Newton and La Place, have all been required to the accomplishment of this great object; they have been all necessary to form one man for the author, and a few for the readers, of the work before us. Every mathematician who has extended the bounds of his science; every astronomer who has added to the number of facts, and the accuracy of observation; every artist who has improved the construction of the instruments of astronomy—all have cooperated in preparing a state of knowledge in which such a book could exist, and in which its merit could be appreciated. They have collected the materials, sharpened the tools, or constructed the engines employed in the great edifice, founded by Newton, and completed by La Place.

In this estimate we detract nothing from the merit of the author himself; his originality, his invention, and comprehensive views, are above all praise; nor can any man boast of a higher honour than that the Genius of the human race is the only rival of his fame.

This review naturally gives rise to a great variety of reflections. We shall state only one or two of those that most obviously occur.

When we consider the provision made by nature for the stability and permanence of the planetary system, a question arises, which was before hinted at,—whether is this stability necessary or contingent, the effect of an unavoidable or an arbitrary arrangement? If it is the necessary consequence of conditions which are themselves necessary, we cannot infer from them the existence of design, but must content ourselves with admiring them as simple and beautiful truths, having a necessary and independent existence. If, on the other hand, the conditions from which this stability arises necessarily, are not necessary themselves, but the consequences of an arrangement that might have been different, we are then entitled to conclude, that it is the effect of wise design exercised in the construction of the universe.

Now, the investigations of La Place enable us to give a very satisfactory reply to these questions; *viz.* that the conditions essential to the stability of a system of bodies gravitating mutually to one another, are by no means necessary, insomuch that systems can easily be supposed in which no such stability exists. The conditions essential to it, are the movement of the bodies all in one direction, their having orbits of small eccentricity, or not far different from circles, and having periods of revolution not commensurable with one another. Now, these conditions are not necessary; they may easily be supposed different; any of them

them might be changed, while the others remained the same. The appointment of such conditions therefore as would necessarily give a stable and permanent character to the system, is not the work of necessity; and no one will be so absurd as to argue, that it is the work of chance: It is therefore the work of design, or of intention, conducted by wisdom and foresight of the most perfect kind. Thus the discoveries of La Grange and La Place lead to a very beautiful extension of the doctrine of *final causes*, the more interesting the greater the objects are to which they relate. This is not taken notice of by La Place; and that it is not, is the only blemish we have to remark in his admirable work. He may have thought that it was going out of his proper province, for a geometer or a mechanician to occupy himself in such speculations: Perhaps, in strictness, it is so; but the digression is natural: and when, in any system, we find certain conditions established that are not necessary in themselves, we may be indulged so far as to inquire, whether any explanation of them can be given, and whether, if not referable to a mechanical cause, they may not be ascribed to intelligence.

When we mention that the small eccentricity of the planetary orbits, and the motion of the planets in the same direction, are essential to the stability of the system, it may naturally occur, that the comets which obey neither of these laws in their motion may be supposed to affect that stability, and to occasion irregularities which will not compensate one another. This would, no doubt, be the effect of the comets that pass through our system, were they bodies of great mass, or of great quantity of matter. There are many reasons, however, for supposing them to have very little density; so that their effect in producing any disturbance of the planets is wholly inconsiderable.

An observation somewhat of the same kind is applicable to the planets lately discovered. They are very small; and therefore the effect they can have in disturbing the motions of the larger planets is so inconsiderable, that, had they been known to La Place (Ceres only was known), they could have given rise to no change in his conclusions. The circumstance of two of these planets having nearly, if not accurately, the same periodic time, and the same mean distance, may give rise to some curious applications of his theorems. Both these planets may be considerably disturbed by Jupiter, and perhaps by Mars.

Another reflection, of a very different kind from the preceding, must present itself, when we consider the historical details concerning the progress of physical astronomy that have occurred in the foregoing pages. In the list of the mathematicians and philosophers, to whom that science, for the last sixty or seventy years,

has

has been indebted for its improvements, hardly a name from Great Britain falls to be mentioned. What is the reason of this? and how comes it, when such objects were in view, and when so much reputation was to be gained, that the country of Bacon and Newton looked silently on, without taking any share in so noble a contest? In the short view given above, we have hardly mentioned any but the five principal performers; but we might have quoted several others, Fontaine, Lambert, Frisi, Condorcet, Bailly, &c. who contributed their share to bring about the conclusion of the piece. In the list, even so extended, there is no British name. It is true, indeed, that before the period to which we now refer, Maclaurin had pointed out an improvement in the method of treating central forces, that has been of great use in all the investigations that have a reference to that subject. This was the resolution of the forces into others parallel to two or to three axes given in position and at right angles to one another: In the controversy that arose about the motion of the apsides in consequence of Clairaut's deducing from theory only half the quantity that observation had established, as already stated, Simpson and Walmesley took a part; and their essays are allowed to have great merit. The late Dr Mathew Stewart also treated the same subject with singular skill and success, in his *Essay on the Sun's distance*. The same excellent geometer, in his *Physical Tracts*, has laid down several propositions that had for their object the determination of the moon's irregularities. His demonstrations, however, are all geometrical; and leave us to regret, that a mathematician of so much originality preferred the elegant methods of the ancient geometry, to the more powerful analysis of modern algebra. Beside these, we recollect no other names of our countrymen distinguished in the researches of physical astronomy during this period; and of these none made any attempt toward the solution of the great problems that then occupied the philosophers and mathematicians of the continent. This is the more remarkable, that the interests of navigation were deeply involved in the question of the lunar theory; so that no motive, which a regard to reputation or to interest could create, was wanting to engage the mathematicians of England in the inquiry. Nothing, therefore, certainly prevented them from engaging in it, but consciousness that, in the knowledge of the higher geometry, they were not on a footing with their brethren on the Continent. This is the conclusion which unavoidably forces itself upon us, and which will be but too well confirmed by looking back to the particulars which we stated in the beginning of this review, as either essential or highly conducive to the improvements in physical astronomy.

The



The calculus of the sines was not known in England till within these few years. Of the method of partial differences, no mention, we believe, is yet to be found in any English author, much less the application of it to any investigation. The general methods of integrating differential or fluxionary equations, the criterion of integrability, the properties of homogeneous equations, &c. were all of them unknown; and it could hardly be said, that, in the more difficult parts of the doctrine of Fluxions, any improvement had been made beyond those of the inventor. At the moment when we now write, the treatises of Maclaurin and Simpson, are the best which we have on the fluxionary calculus, though such a vast multitude of improvements have been made by the foreign mathematicians, since the time of their first publication. These are facts, which it is impossible to disguise; and they are of such extent, that a man may be perfectly acquainted with every thing on mathematical learning that has been written in this country, and may yet find himself stopped at the first page of the works of Euler or D'Alembert. He will be stopped, not from the difference of the fluxionary notation, (a difficulty easily overcome), nor from the obscurity of these authors, who are both very clear writers, especially the first of them, but from want of knowing the principles and the methods which they take for granted as known to every mathematical reader. If we come to works of still greater difficulty, such as the *Méchanique Céleste*, we will venture to say, that the number of those in this island, who can read that work with any tolerable facility, is small indeed. If we reckon two or three in London and the military schools in its vicinity, the same number at each of the two English Universities, and perhaps four in Scotland, we shall not hardly exceed a dozen; and yet we are fully persuaded that our reckoning is beyond the truth.

If any further proof of our inattention to the highest mathematics, and our unconcern about the discoveries of our neighbours were required, we would find it in the commentary on the works of Newton, that so lately appeared. Though that commentary was the work of a man of talents, and one who, in this country, was accounted a geometer, it contains no information about the recent discoveries to which the Newtonian system has given rise; not a word of the problem of the Three Bodies, of the disturbances of the planetary motions, or of the great contrivance by which these disturbances are rendered periodical, and the regularity of the system preserved. The same silence is observed as to all the improvements in the integral calculus, which it was the duty of a commentator on Newton to have traced to their origin, and to have connected with the discoveries of his master. If Dr

Horseley has not done so, it could only be because he was unacquainted with these improvements, and had never studied the methods by which they have been investigated, or the language in which they are explained.

At the same time that we state these facts as incontrovertible proofs of the inferiority of the English mathematicians to those of the Continent, in the higher departments; it is but fair to acknowledge, that a certain degree of mathematical science, and indeed no inconsiderable degree, is perhaps more widely diffused in England, than in any other country of the world. The Ladies' Diary, with several other periodical and popular publications of the same kind, are the best proofs of this assertion. In these, many curious problems, not of the highest order indeed, but still having a considerable degree of difficulty, and far beyond the mere elements of science, are often to be met with; and the great number of ingenious men who take a share in proposing and answering these questions, whom one has never heard of any where else, is not a little surprising. Nothing of the same kind, we believe, is to be found in any other country. The Ladies' Diary has now been continued for more than a century; the poetry, enigmas, &c. which it contains, are in the worst taste possible; and the scraps of literature and philosophy are so childish or so old-fashioned, that one is very much at a loss to form a notion of the class of readers to whom they are addressed. The geometrical part, however, has always been conducted in a superior style; the problems proposed have tended to awaken curiosity, and the solutions to convey instruction in a much better manner than is always to be found in more splendid publications. If there is a decline, therefore, or a deficiency in mathematical knowledge in this country, it is not to the genius of the people, but to some other cause that it must be attributed.

An attachment to the synthetical methods of the old geometers, in preference to those that are purely analytical, has often been assigned as the cause of this inferiority of the English mathematicians since the time of Newton. This cause is hinted at by several foreign writers, and we must say that we think it has had no inconsiderable effect. The example of Newton himself may have been hurtful in this respect. That great man, influenced by the prejudices of the times, seems to have thought that algebra and fluxions might be very properly used in the investigation of truth, but that they were to be laid aside when truth was to be communicated, and synthetical demonstrations, if possible, substituted in their room. This was to embarrass scientific method with a clumsy and ponderous apparatus, and to render its progress indirect and slow in an incalculable degree. The controversy that

that took place, concerning the invention of the fluxionary and the differential calculus, tended to confirm those prejudices, and to alienate the minds of the British from the foreign mathematicians, and the analytical methods which they pursued. That this reached beyond the minds of ordinary men, is clear from the way in which Robins censures Euler and Bernoulli, chiefly for their love of algebra, while he ought to have seen that in the very works which he criticizes with so much asperity, things are performed which neither he nor any of his countrymen, at that time, could have ventured to undertake.

We believe, however, that it is chiefly in the public institutions of England that we are to seek for the cause of the deficiency here referred to, and particularly in the two great centres from which knowledge is supposed to radiate over all the rest of the island. In one of these, where the dictates of Aristotle are still listened to as infallible decrees, and where the infancy of science is mistaken for its maturity, the mathematical sciences have never flourished; and the scholar has no means of advancing beyond the mere elements of geometry. In the other seminary, the dominion of prejudice is not equally strong; and the works of Locke and Newton are the text from which the prelections are read. Mathematical learning is there the great object of study; but still we must disapprove of the method in which this object is pursued. A certain portion of the works of Newton, or of some other of the writers who treat of pure or mixt mathematics in the synthetic method, is prescribed to the pupil, which the candidate for academical honours must study day and night. He must study it, not to learn the spirit of geometry, or to acquire the *δυναμὴς εὐρητικῆς* by which the theorems were discovered, but to know them as a child does his chatechism, by heart, so as to answer readily to certain interrogations. In all this, the invention finds no exercise; the student is confined within narrow limits; his curiosity is not roused; the spirit of discovery is not awakened. Suppose that a young man studying mechanics, is compelled to get by heart the whole of the heavy and verbose demonstrations contained in Keil's introduction (which we believe is an exercise sometimes prescribed); what is likely to be the consequence? The exercise afforded to the understanding by those demonstrations, may no doubt be improving to the mind: but as soon as they are well understood, the natural impulse is to go on; to seek for something higher; or to think of the application of the theorems demonstrated. If this natural expansion of the mind is restrained; if the student is forced to fall back; and to go again and again over the same ground, disgust is likely to ensue; the more likely, indeed, the more he is fitted for a better employment

of his talents; and the least evil that can be produced, is the loss of the time, and the extinction of the ardour that might have enabled him to attempt investigation himself, and to acquire both the power and the taste of discovery. Confinement to a regular routine, and moving round and round in the same circle, must, of all things, be the most pernicious to the inventive faculty. The laws of periodical revolution, and of returning continually in the same tract, may, as we have seen, be excellently adapted to a planetary system, but are ill calculated to promote the ends of an academical institution. We would wish to see, then, some of those secular accelerations by which improvements go on increasing from one age to another. But this has been rarely the case; and it is melancholy to reflect, how many of the Universities of Europe have been the strongholds where prejudice and error made their last stand—the fastnesses from which they were latest of being dislodged. We do not mean to hint that this is true of the university of which we now speak, where the credit of teaching the doctrines of Locke and Newton is sufficient to cover a multitude of sins. Still, however, we must take the liberty to say, that Newton is taught there in the way least conducive to solid mathematical improvement.

Perhaps, too, we might allege, that another public institution, intended for the advancement of science, the Royal Society, has not held out, in the course of the greater part of the last century, sufficient encouragement for mathematical learning. But this would lead to a long disquisition; and we shall put an end to the present digression, with remarking, that though the mathematicians of England have taken no share in the deeper researches of physical astronomy, the observers of that country have discharged their duty better. The observations of Bradley and Maskelyne have been of the utmost importance in this theory; their accuracy, their number, and their uninterrupted series, have rendered them a fund of immense astronomical riches. Taken in conjunction with the observations made at Paris, they have furnished La Place with the *data* for fixing the numerical values of the constant quantities in his different series; without which, his investigations could have had no practical application. We may add, that no man has so materially contributed to render the formulas of the mathematician useful to the art of the navigator, as the present Astronomer-Royal. He has been the main instrument of bringing down this philosophy from the heavens to the earth; of adapting it to the uses of the unlearned; and of making the problem of the Three Bodies the surest guide of the mariner in his journey across the ocean.

ART. II. *Hours of Idleness: A Series of Poems, Original and Translated.* By George Gordon, Lord Byron, a Minor. 8vo. pp. 200. Newark. 1807.

THE poetry of this young lord belongs to the class which neither gods nor men are said to permit. Indeed, we do not recollect to have seen a quantity of verse with so few deviations in either direction from that exact standard. His effusions are spread over a dead flat, and can no more get above or below the level, than if they were so much stagnant water. As an extenuation of this offence, the noble author is peculiarly forward in pleading minority. We have it in the title-page, and on the very back of the volume; it follows his name like a favourite part of his *style*. Much stress is laid upon it in the preface, and the poems are connected with this general statement of his case, by particular dates, substantiating the age at which each was written. Now, the law upon the point of minority, we hold to be perfectly clear. It is a plea available only to the defendant; no plaintiff can offer it as a supplementary ground of action. Thus, if any suit could be brought against Lord Byron, for the purpose of compelling him to put into court a certain quantity of poetry; and if judgement were given against him; it is highly probable that an exception would be taken, were he to deliver *for poetry*, the contents of this volume. To this he might plead *minority*; but as he now makes voluntary tender of the article, he hath no right to sue, on that ground, for the price in good current praise, should the goods be unmarketable. This is our view of the law on the point, and we dare to say, so will it be ruled. Perhaps however, in reality, all that he tells us about his youth, is rather with a view to increase our wonder, than to soften our censures. He possibly means to say, 'See how a minor can write! This poem was actually composed by a young man of eighteen, and this by one of only sixteen!'—But, alas, we all remember the poetry of Cowley at ten, and Pope at twelve; and so far from hearing, with any degree of surprise, that very poor verses were written by a youth from his leaving school to his leaving college, inclusive, we really believe this to be the most common of all occurrences; that it happens in the life of nine men in ten who are educated in England; and that the tenth man writes better verse than Lord Byron.

His other plea of privilege, our author rather brings forward in order to waive it. He certainly, however, does allude frequently to his family and ancestors—sometimes in poetry, sometimes in notes; and while giving up his claim on the score of rank, he takes care to remember us of Dr Johnson's saying, that when a

nobleman appears as an author, his merit should be handsomely acknowledged. In truth, it is this consideration only, that induces us to give Lord Byron's poems a place in our review, beside our desire to counsel him, that he do forthwith abandon poetry, and turn his talents, which are considerable, and his opportunities, which are great, to better account.

With this view, we must beg leave seriously to assure him, that the mere rhyming of the final syllable, even when accompanied by the presence of a certain number of feet; nay, although (which does not always happen) those feet should scan regularly, and have been all counted accurately upon the fingers,—is not the whole art of poetry. We would entreat him to believe, that a certain portion of liveliness, somewhat of fancy, is necessary to constitute a poem; and that a poem in the present day, to be read, must contain at least one thought, either in a little degree different from the ideas of former writers, or differently expressed. We put it to his candour, whether there is any thing so deserving the name of poetry in verses like the following, written in 1806, and whether, if a youth of eighteen could say any thing so uninteresting to his ancestors, a youth of nineteen should publish it.

‘ Shades of heroes, farewell! your descendant, departing  
From the seat of his ancestors, bids you, adieu!  
Abroad, or at home, your remembrance imparting  
New courage, he'll think upon glory, and you.

Though a tear dim his eye, at this sad separation,  
'Tis nature, not fear, that excites his regret:  
Far distant he goes, with the same emulation;  
The fame of his fathers he ne'er can forget.

That fame, and that memory, still will he cherish,  
He vows, that he ne'er will disgrace your renown;  
Like you will he live, or like you will he perish;

When decay'd, may he mingle his dust with your own.' p. 3.

Now we positively do assert, that there is nothing better than these stanzas in the whole compass of the noble minor's volume.

Lord Byron should also have a care of attempting what the greatest poets have done before him, for comparisons (as he must have had occasion to see at his writing master's) are odious.—Gray's Ode on Eton College, should really have kept out the ten hobbling stanzas 'on a distant view of the village and school of Harrow.'

‘ Where fancy, yet, joys to retrace the resemblance,  
Of comrades, in friendship and mischief allied;  
How welcome to me, your ne'er fading remembrance,  
Which rests in the bosom, though hope is deny'd.'—p. 4.

In

In like manner, the exquisite lines of Mr Rogers, ' *On a Tear,*' might have warned the noble author off those premises, and spared us a whole dozen such stanzas as the following.

' Mild Charity's glow,  
To us mortals below,  
Shows the soul from barbarity clear ;  
Compassion will melt,  
Where this virtue is felt,  
And its dew is diffus'd in a Tear.

The man doom'd to fail,  
With the blast of the gale,  
Through billows Atlantic to steer,  
As he bends o'er the wave,  
Which may soon be his grave,

The green sparkles bright with a Tear.'—p. 11.

And so of instances in which former poets had failed. Thus, we do not think Lord Byron was made for translating, during his non-age, Adrian's Address to his Soul, when Pope succeeded so indifferently in the attempt. If our readers, however, are of another opinion, they may look at it.

' Ah! gentle, fleeting, wav'ring sprite,  
Friend and associate of this clay !  
To what unknown region borne,  
Wilt thou, now, wing thy distant flight ?  
No more, with wonted humour gay,

But pallid, cheerless, and forlorn.'—page 72.

However, be this as it may, we fear his translations and imitations are great favourites with Lord Byron. We have them of all kinds, from Anacreon to Ossian ; and, viewing them as school exercises, they may pass. Only, why print them after they have had their day and served their turn ? And why call the thing in p. 79. a translation, where *two* words (*θελω λεγειν*) of the original are expanded into four lines, and the other thing in p. 81, where *μεσονυκτιαις ποθ' ο εραις*, is rendered by means of six hobbling verses ?—As to his Ossianic poesy, we are not very good judges, being, in truth, so moderately skilled in that species of composition, that we should, in all probability, be criticizing some bit of the genuine Macpherson itself, were we to express our opinion of Lord Byron's rhapsodies. If, then, the following beginning of a ' *Song of bards,*' is by his Lordship, we venture to object to it, as far as we can comprehend it. ' What form rises on the roar of clouds, whose dark ghost gleams on the red stream of tempests ? His voice rolls on the thunder ; 'tis Orla, the brown chief of Othiona. He was,' &c. After detaining this ' brown chief' some time, the bards conclude by giving him their advice to

'raise his fair locks;' then to 'spread them on the arch of the rainbow;' and 'to smile through the tears of the storm.' Of this kind of thing there are no less than *nine* pages; and we can so far venture an opinion in their favour, that they look very like Macpherson; and we are positive they are pretty nearly as stupid and tiresome.

It is a sort of privilege of poets to be egotists; but they should use it as not abusing it; and particularly one who piques himself (though indeed at the ripe age of nineteen), of being 'an infant bard,'—('The artless Helicon I boast is youth;')—should either not know, or should seem not to know, so much about his own ancestry. Besides a poem above cited on the family seat of the Byrons, we have another of eleven pages, on the self-same subject, introduced with an apology, 'he certainly had no intention of inserting it;' but really, 'the particular request of some friends,' &c. &c. It concludes with five stanzas on himself, 'the last and youngest of a noble line.' There is a good deal also about his maternal ancestors, in a poem on Lachin-y-gair, a mountain where he spent part of his youth, and might have learnt that *pibroch* is not a bagpipe, any more than duet means a fiddle.

As the author has dedicated so large a part of his volume to immortalize his employments at school and college, we cannot possibly dismiss it without presenting the reader with a specimen of these ingenious effusions. In an ode with a Greek motto, called *Granta*, we have the following magnificent stanzas,

There, in apartments small and damp,  
 The candidate for college prizes,  
 Sits poring by the midnight lamp,  
 Goes late to bed, yet early rises.  
 Who reads false quantities in Sele,  
 Or puzzles o'er the deep triangle;  
 Depriv'd of many a wholesome meal,  
 In barbarous Latin, doom'd to wrangle,  
 Renouncing every pleasing page,  
 From authors of historic use;  
 Preferring to the lettered sage,  
 The square of the hypothenuse.  
 Still harmless are these occupations,  
 That hurt none but the hapless student,  
 Compar'd with other recreations,  
 Which bring together the imprudent.

P. 123, 124, 125.

We are sorry to hear so bad an account of the college psalmody as is contained in the following Attic stanzas.

Our



‘ Our choir would scarcely be excus’d,  
 Even as a band of raw beginners ;  
 All mercy, now, must be refus’d  
 To such a set of croaking sinners.

If David, when his toils were ended,  
 Had heard these blockheads sing before him,  
 To us, his psalms had ne’er descended ;

In furious mood, he would have tore ’em. ’—p. 126, 127.

But whatever judgment may be passed on the poems of this noble minor, it seems we must take them as we find them, and be content ; for they are the last we shall ever have from him. He is at best, he says, but an intruder into the groves of Parnassus ; he never lived in a garret, like thorough-bred poets ; and ‘ though he once roved a careless mountaineer in the Highlands of Scotland,’ he has not of late enjoyed this advantage. Moreover, he expects no profit from his publication ; and whether it succeeds or not, ‘ it is highly improbable, from his situation and pursuits hereafter,’ that he should again condescend to become an author. ‘ Therefore, let us take what we get and be thankful. What right have we poor devils to be nice ? We are well off to have got so much from a man of this Lord’s station, who does not live in a garret, but ‘ has the sway ’ of Newstead Abbey. Again, we say, let us be thankful ; and, with honest Sancho, bid God bless the giver, nor look the gift horse in the mouth.

ART. III. *Some Account of the public Life, and a Selection from the unpublished Writings of the Earl of Macartney ; the latter, consisting of Extracts from an Account of the Russian Empire, a Sketch of the Political History of Ireland, and a Journal of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China ; with an Appendix to each Volume.* By John Barrow, F. R. S. Author of *Travels in China, &c. &c.* 2 vol. 4to. pp. 1150. Cadell & Davies. London. 1807.

WE have frequently had occasion to commend the abilities and industry of Mr Barrow ; and the last time he came before us, we gave him a hint about writing fewer quartos. This advice, however, seems very little to his liking ; and, indeed, he could not easily have taken a better way of showing how determined he was to reject it, than by coming down upon the public with a huge life of Lord Macartney. The private character of this nobleman was no doubt highly respectable ; and his conduct, in several situations of no great consequence, as well as in the

the important government of Madras, entitled him to the praise of a zealous and faithful servant of the public. He was by no means deficient in the ordinary talents which fit men for such employments; and by these, together with his diligent pursuit of place under all administrations, he raised himself, by regular steps, from the station of a private gentleman, to the proud eminence of the Peerage, the Bath and the Privy Council, where he shines upon Mr Barrow with a splendour that almost dazzles his eyes out. But, notwithstanding all this overpowering greatness, we really do think that his biography might have been comprised within less than four hundred quarto pages, and that a more rigorous selection might have been used in making the world acquainted with his state papers and literary compositions. Even if a certain mass of pages were wanting, why could not our author have published some of his Lordship's private correspondence with the many eminent men of his time, whom he seems to have known very intimately? The mere public life of this lord, is not a great deal more important than that of almost any other hero of the Court Calendar. Yet we must have a detail of every particular connected with it, considerably more minute than the narrative of Charles V.'s reign. There is really something so preposterous in this, that we wonder how it could have failed to strike even Mr Barrow, with all his profound veneration for his deceased patron, and his disposition to magnify his book as well as his subject.

The first of these ample volumes consists entirely of this history, by Mr Barrow, and an appendix of numerous despatches and other such documents illustrating the narrative. It is to be observed, however, that if any person shall so far interest himself in Lord Macartney, as to examine scrupulously the merits of his different disputes with his colleagues in the Madras government, and with the Calcutta presidency (to which the appendix chiefly refers), he will find very little here to assist his inquiries. Mr Barrow's statements are altogether *ex parte*; and while he loads us with his own panegyrics of Lord Macartney's every word and action, and produces all the noble governor's long defences of his conduct on disputed points, he scarcely mentions the reasonings of his opponents, and suppresses almost every document in which they were explained by themselves. In truth, like most biographers of persons recently deceased, Mr Barrow is not the historian, but the eulogist of his patron. Take his account of the matter, and Lord Macartney was a faultless mortal. Not a word escapes him, through the whole narrative, that can lead to a suspicion of his having had one frailty or imperfection, except in an instance which we shall afterwards notice; and there the trait is

is given with the avowed intention of doing him great honour. Although, however, we are pretty sure that no such perfect character ever existed, we admit that much of Lord Macartney's public conduct was highly praiseworthy; and as he is allowed, on all hands, to have been an uncorrupted British governor in the East Indies, we shall bestow upon his history a degree of attention, proportioned rather to the singularity of such a character, than to the importance of any other quality in which he could be said to excel.

George Macartney was the son of an Irish gentleman of respectable fortune, and was born at Lissanoure in the year 1737. As Dr Johnson pronounces it a kind of fraud, not to mention who the tutor was of a man of 'distinguished talents,' Mr Barrow commemorates, as the preceptor of his hero, a certain Dennis, an Irish parson, in whose house he lived for some years, and had access (of which he freely availed himself) to a library of books upon heraldry and genealogy. The prevailing bias of great minds may frequently be traced to some accidental circumstance in early life; and we presume, that Mr Barrow will thank us for suggesting, as a speculation worthy of his attention, whether Lord Macartney may not have derived from his early acquaintance with Clarendieux and Rouge Dragon, that propensity to titles, and unshaken love of the court and every thing about it, which constantly formed so conspicuous a part of his character through life. After taking a degree of Master of Arts at Trinity College, Dublin, he came over to London, and entered at the Temple, where he formed an intimate acquaintance with Burke, Dodwell and other eminent men. Having no intention, however, of studying the law, he soon went abroad, 'to collect,' says Mr Barrow, 'whatever information was to be procured as to the physical strength and the resources of the several states of the Continent, and the character and politics of their respective courts;' in short, he made the grand tour; was much charmed with Switzerland, being himself of a poetical and musical turn; and saw Voltaire at Ferney, with whose society he was 'greatly delighted.' He also made the acquaintance of the late Lord Holland, through whose interest he was, soon after his return, appointed envoy to the court of St Petersburg (which Mr Barrow will always call *Petersbourg*), and instructed to bring about, if possible, a renewal of the commercial treaty. This was certainly a creditable mission for so young a man (he was then only 27); and the more so, that he was appointed at a moment when, from the recent change in the government, and the elevation of Catherine to the throne, the councils of Russia were observed by other nations with peculiar anxiety. The manner in which he acquitted himself, is just one of the disputed points that Mr Barrow takes all his own way, and, with the candour

candour of modern biographers, leaves us to decide upon a statement of his patron's defence, without any detail of the accusation. At first, no doubt, every thing went on well. Sir George (for he was knighted upon his appointment) made a speech to the Empress on his presentation, which was greatly admired by the court, and which Mr Fox and Mr Burke were good-natured enough to praise for its uncommon neatness; purporting, that she had all sorts of perfection, and reigned over half the world. He then ingratiated himself, very sedulously, with Mr Panin, the prime minister, and began to propose the treaty. Panin expounded his own views for the extension and improvement of the Russian Empire; the principal of which were a confederacy in the North, founded upon the ruin of the French interest in Sweden, and a war with Turkey. He proposed, that England should accede to both these objects; and especially, that she should furnish money to bribe the Swedish Diet; in return for which, a strict alliance with Russia, and a treaty of commerce, were very much at her service. Upon both of these points, the Russian cabinet was firmly resolved that England should accede to their views; that she should both pay for the intrigues at Stockholm, and allow a Turkish war to be a *casus fœderis*. Sir George saw many objections to the first: but the expence of the thing, evidently the only consideration worth noticing, in an economical view, never struck him. He details in a despatch, quoted by Mr Barrow we presume for its political acumen, how, by spending money in Sweden, we should raise the price of her commodities, and thus perpetually injure our own commerce. Nevertheless, so great was his abhorrence of French influence, fortified, says his biographer, by the dislike of Frenchmen which he had acquired on his travels, and which never left him through life, that he prevailed on his employers to send money from time to time for the purpose of bribing the Diet; and, though no precise statement is given of his negotiations upon the other point, it is abundantly obvious, that Russia did not yield it, because a despatch is printed in the appendix, written just before his departure, and repeatedly alluding to the Turkish clause as a difficulty remaining for his successors. By such means, a commercial treaty was, after much discussion, agreed upon; and Sir George, who speaks of it in terms of extravagant praise, and, indeed, lauds his whole conduct almost as profusely as if he were writing the life of a friend, overjoyed at having brought about so great an affair, proceeded instantly, and without any instructions, to sign it. Partly on this account, and partly because an article was inserted, reserving to Russia the power of making regulations for the encouragement of her trade and navigation, *en reciprocité de l'acte de Navigation de la Grande Bretagne,*

*Bretagne*, the English ministry highly disapproved of Sir George's conduct, and refused to ratify the treaty. With some difficulty an alteration of the exceptionable clause was obtained. Our cabinet required, that the Russian commissioners should receive new full powers: but Sir George said, that he found this 'as impossible, as it would be to heave Pelion upon Ossa;' and he once more risked 'his own safety for the public service,' by signing the amended treaty without instructions. Whether it was, however, that a change had happened in the Foreign office, or that our ministers did not like to have so *signing* an envoy, the ratification was sent, and at the same time another gentleman was appointed ambassador at Petersburg. Some despatches, complaining of this, and of the other treatment he had received, are printed by Mr Barrow. They are very long, very plaintive, and very full of his own importance and praise. He is 'conscious of having acted in all things intrusted to his care, with the utmost integrity, vigilance, and activity, having exerted every talent which nature and education have given him, for the service of his sovereign and the interest of the public;' he is also 'convinced of being able to prove, that no man in his situation could have obtained what he has done.' He intimates, that it is generally believed at Petersburg, that he will not be permitted to depart, so great is his credit there! but this he prays God earnestly to forbid; and, notwithstanding all this, and a great deal more, he is very angry at any one thinking him dissatisfied. Quite the contrary: he is, like Sir Fretful Plagiary, rather extremely well pleased. (L. 422.) It is amusing enough, to see Mr Barrow eagerly publishing these and other compositions, which he seems to consider as highly creditable to Sir George's powers of composition. It is no doubt most wretched taste to talk in official despatches of Pelion and Ossa; to compare the Navigation-act to the bow of Ulysses; or to say, that something is as difficult, as 'counting the billows of the Baltic, or numbering the trees in the forest of Onega.' But surely it is somewhat more absurd to admire these passages, when written by another, and force them into a narrative as proofs of his eloquence and fancy.

Upon leaving Russia, Sir George returned to England; and, as the gentleman who had been appointed to succeed him declined the employment, Sir George was named as ambassador; but, for some reasons which do not appear, he resigned the appointment almost immediately, and very properly gave up at the same time the warrants for plate, equipage, money, &c. which he had got, 'receiving' (says his biographer) 'no advantage of any kind from his appointment, except their Majesties' picture, which he particularly desired he might be allowed to keep,—setting

ting thus an example of disinterestedness, perhaps the only one of the kind in the diplomatic history of this country.' So judicious a personage could not fail of pleasing the courtly; and accordingly he was soon after made happy by the hand of Lord Bute's daughter, a seat both in the English and Irish parliament, and the office of chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. His official conduct in this situation, forms the second era of Mr Barrow's narrative, and is, as usual, altogether perfect. The administration of Lord Townsend, in which he bore so active a share, was distinguished by the very beneficial change then effected in the Irish government, of obliging the Lord Lieutenant to reside, and freeing the country from the dominion of Lords Justices. It is needless to add, that the period was a turbulent and factious one; and the ministers seem to have been fully satisfied with Sir George Macartney's management of the House of Commons. Of his oratory in that assembly, Mr Barrow gives several specimens, which certainly do not prove him to have excelled. We are told, indeed, that he was one of the few who could keep Mr Flood in order 'by his manly and spirited retorts;' and of these a sample is given, which Mr Barrow is wonderfully delighted with. Mr Flood had made some allusion to the order of the White Eagle, and its *blueish* ribband, which Sir George had received from the king of Poland, and used of course to wear; and the 'spirited reply' consisted merely in saying, at great length, that the 'extraordinary proofs of distinction which adorn his person,' are 'badges of honour, not of shame and disgrace.' He, perhaps, showed only his usual prudence, in confining his speeches, much as his biographer admires them, to the Irish senate. In both the Houses of this country, he observed a constant silence; and seems to have discovered here, that 'if more attention were paid to business, and less to speaking, the country would be no sufferer though we should have fewer fine speeches.'

Upon his return from Ireland, he was made a Knight of the Bath, and Governor of Toome Castle, worth 1300*l.* a year; but well merited by his disinterested conduct in giving up a larger sinecure to accommodate the Lord Lieutenant during his administration. Mr Barrow, indeed, is never satisfied, and complains of this as a scanty reward for such services as Sir George's. But he was soon after made Governor of Grenada, and an Irish Peer. When he reached the island, he found it distracted with religious animosities; and we heartily wish that certain governors would attend to the example which he set in checking and composing these pernicious differences wherever they are to be found. The two parties were Scotch protestants and French papists; and to such

such a height had their feuds proceeded, though the enemy was at the gates, that the former being the most rancorous, had actually resolved to demolish all the Catholic churches. Lord Macartney, far from taking part with these wretched bigots, these slave-drivers, who presumed to persecute men for points of doctrine, immediately set about restoring harmony, by his firm and just, yet conciliatory behaviour to all parties; and in a short time succeeded so well, that no distinction of sect, or faction, or even nation, remained, to interrupt the gallant efforts which the island made against the French invasion in 1779. Let the rulers of a certain larger island, menaced with attack from the same quarter, and torn in pieces by religious differences, deign to take example by this Governor of Grenada. *He* was no patriot; he heartily despised every thing romantic and speculative; he cared nothing for rights, except perhaps the privileges of the peerage, and valued the people according to their various ranks and quarterings: he was as complete a courtier as any of the ministers to whom we allude: bred up in office, and running the regular course of promotion like themselves; he was, in fact, made of the very same stuff, with only a little more sense and discretion: he is, therefore, a fair example to hold up for their regard; and they may follow it without any fear of deviating into enlarged, or liberal, or uncommonly enlightened views.

Notwithstanding the greatest efforts of spirit and loyalty on the part of the inhabitants as well as the military, and a disposition of the force, apparently very judicious, they were compelled to yield to immense superiority of numbers, and could not even obtain a capitulation. Count d'Estaing behaved with great harshness, and allowed his men to plunder freely. Lord Macartney lost his plate and other property, with all his papers, and was carried a prisoner to France. He was soon released; and, on his return to England, was employed on a confidential and secret service in Ireland; after which he went into Parliament, as was his constant practice, during the short intervals of his official employments. He was thus always in sight, and in the way, and was able occasionally to render little services to the party he belonged to; that is to say, the ministry for the time being. This, indeed, was his golden rule—the corner-stone of his political system. We should have discovered it merely from the dates of his various appointments and promotions; from seeing that one ministry knighted and sent him to Russia, that another gave him the red riband and a sinecure, and employed him in Ireland; that from their successors he got an Irish peerage and two governments; while a subsequent cabinet, lasting a most auspicious length of time, showered down upon this happy courtling, two embassies,

as many governments, two pensions, two Irish titles, and a British peerage. But his judicious biographer, afraid lest we should fail to note what he reckons one of the brightest points in his character, has called our attention to it in some passages like the following, expressive of his own, as well as his patron's just abhorrence of every thing that can be construed into opposition or independence. It is occasioned by the narrative of Lord Macartney having met with the only refusal which he ever experienced in his career of ministerial favour.

‘ Notwithstanding the treatment which Lord Macartney had experienced from administration was not exactly such as he conceived he had a right to expect, notwithstanding the number of respectable friends which he had among the leaders of opposition, he never suffered any circumstance of disappointment to betray the smallest degree of dissatisfaction, much less to incline him towards any sort of hostility to, or public disapprobation of, the measures of his Majesty's government. He was indeed of the most conciliating disposition; and however he might at times feel himself hurt by ill treatment, this made no difference in his conduct towards those who he had reason to believe were the cause of it. Through the whole course of his life, he felt the most loyal and dutiful attachment to the King, and omitted no opportunity of expressing his grateful sense of obligation to his Majesty, both in public and in private; and this attachment to the person of his Sovereign, added to the impression of the propriety of supporting the existing government, induced him to give to administration his constant and invariable suffrage, except indeed in one instance, where the public opinion was decidedly against the government; to a systematic opposition, he never gave a single vote in the whole course of his political life.’

I. 336-7.

In consequence of such prudent and truly courtman-like principles, he was but a very short time unemployed after his return from the West Indies. A vacancy occurred in the government of Madras; and, through the influence of ministry, (though Mr Barrow must needs question this, at the time that he has clearly proved it by his narrative, (see p. 69. to 79.), he was appointed by the Court of Directors to succeed Sir Thomas Rumbold. He found the affairs of the Carnatic in a situation almost desperate; the country overrun by Hyder's troops; a scarcity, approaching to, and threatening famine, pressing upon the English settlement; disunion in the council; and, above all, a long continued system of the grossest and most complicated abuse in every department of the Company's service. The history of his government at Madras, is the best piece which we owe to Mr Barrow in this work, though, besides the tiresome repetition of panegyric, we wish he had also omitted the lame description of Hyder's invasion. It seems really to be the fate of bad writers to attempt the



the subjects which the finest pens have consecrated. As soon as they resolve to be eloquent, it is odds that they hit upon the Queen of France, the age of chivalry, or the devastation of the Carnatic. It is not our intention to follow Mr Barrow through this part of his narrative, occupied as it is with transactions which are sufficiently known in the history of the times. The administration of Lord Macartney was certainly a very useful one to the country, and highly honourable to himself from its unsullied integrity. We shall extract a passage illustrative of this, and presenting, at the same time, a lively picture of the abuses prevalent among our countrymen in those remote settlements.

‘ His rigid adherence to covenants, and his positive refusal of all presents from the first moment of his arrival in India, were matters so new to them, that they were totally at a loss to what motive they ought to be ascribed. At one time such conduct was imputed to his ignorance of the mode of governing the black people of India; at another it was suggested that his avarice might aim at something more than had yet been offered; and under the idea that, by encreasing the bribe, the temptation to accept it would be strengthened in proportion, the usual lack of pagodas presented to a new governor was increased to two, with an apology from the nabob for having, in the first instance, offered to a man of his rank in life the sum only which was due to a commoner. The embarrassment into which the refusal of 80,000l. threw the whole Durbar was extremely amusing to Lord Macartney. Another lure had been held out to him at a very early period of his government. According to a custom, which it seems is very common among those powers of India, who are said to be under the Company’s protection, every governor, admiral, or commander in chief who may happen to wear the insignia of any order of distinction or merit, is almost certain of being presented with a diamond star—he is given to understand that a plain silver badge in India would be considered as incompatible with his rank and station, and that he must therefore allow them to supply him with one more becoming his dignity—it is said to be “only a little *betel* among friends.” Of this ceremony some idea may be collected from Lord Macartney’s account of it in a letter to a gentleman, whom he had considered for some time as his friend.\* “Before I conclude,” says he, “I must tell you that yesterday his highness Wallau Jah, attended with all the royal family, gave a grand breakfast to Sir Edward Hughes, Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Hector Munro, &c. and all the principal officers of the squadron. The latter were invited to be witnesses of his Highness’s munificence to their admiral on account of his eminent services. The admiral arrived in his uniform, but soon retired into another apartment, where he was un-

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“truffed,

\* ‘ Extract of a letter from Lord Macartney to Mr Macpherson, dated Fort St George, July 26, 1782.’

“truffed, and then returned in a fine brocade coat with a diamond star upon it that that far outshone

“The wealth of Ormus or of Ind.”

“Charles Binney read aloud the nabob's compliment upon the occasion, which was recchoed by Arthur Cuthbert, who, in his turn, read the admiral's reply. The captains were sprinkled with rose-water, bedewed with ottar, and had rings of flowers put round their necks, but no other sort of rings or even shawls made their appearance, which I hear the sea fish expected to have had a bite at, and were not a little ruffled at the disappointment. *Entre nous*, had I known it in time, I should have contrived to put the admiral on his guard against such a ceremony, because some persons may possibly make an ill use of it, and I really have a very great regard for him. I must add a particular which Sir Hector Munro told me. The admiral, it seems, had desired that the governor might be invited to this breakfast, and both he and Sir Hector were assured it should be so. To their great surprize he was not there, and upon inquiry it was found that Paul's \* preaching had prevailed against theirs, and the governor was not invited;

*Sic me servavit Apollo.*

“For it would have embarrassed me confoundedly to have been asked, as the act of Parliament speaks very strong language against this same star; and there is not a raggamuffin here but may recover in the mayor's court double the value of it. It was once thought that no Knight of the Bath could resist the dazzle of one of these gewgaws; yet out of half a dozen brethren there is one, at least, who has not been blinded by them. That lure, among others, was thrown out, when still stronger was rejected, and was called *eniy betel among friends*; but it was a kind of *betel* I was determined neither to chew nor swallow; and I wish some of our friends had been of the same way of thinking.” I. 245-6-7.

Of his virtue, as well as his various other good qualities, Lord Macartney appears on every occasion to be abundantly sensible. He, indeed, makes a parade of it, which is somewhat awkward, and would lead a captious person to suspect that he felt the full strength of the temptations thrown in his way. Nay, whether he is opposed or supported by his colleagues, and even when he is receiving the commendations of his employers, he must write long minutes and letters in his own favour. Mr Barrow has inserted part of a dissertation which he wrote in answer to the unanimous thanks of the Court of Directors. This extract fills above three quarto pages; and the ungracious purport of it is to blame other people, and to prove that he is himself still more worthy of praise than has been imagined; and that as to his ‘zeal and activity’ in the service, for which he has been thanked,

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\* ‘Paul Benfield, it is presumed, is the person here alluded to.’

ed, and ' to which he will add, his unexampled disinterestedness,' he has the testimony of his own heart, without which their applause would avail him little. Whatever we may think of the taste of all this, and much as the sacrifices may have cost him, the fact is undeniable, that Lord Macartney was a most virtuous and disinterested governor; and after four years spent in a station so lucrative to other men, retired with a clear saving of only 28,000/.

Mr Barrow enters at great length into the several disputes between the Madras and Calcutta Boards, respecting the appointments of General Coote and Mr Sullivan, the Northern Circars, and the assignment of the Carnatic. On these subjects his statements and documents are so partial, that no steady light whatever is thrown upon the several questions. But we wish particularly to point out for disapprobation his invectives against all who adventure the defence of any Indian prince. Mr Barrow is pleased to abuse in the mass all the native sovereigns who stand between the British Government and the people of India; to blame exceedingly the policy of *keeping up such puppets*; to trace from this as a necessary consequence, the impeachment of every governor who dares *to do his duty*, and displease the aforesaid puppets and their united supporters in England. He is therefore quite clear, that the Company should at once put an end to this inconvenient establishment, for the benefit of their own servants as well as of the natives, and more especially for the comfort of all governors and presidents. Suppose France were convulsed by the contending parties of different generals, and its provinces seized, some by officers claiming in right of Buonaparte, some by the lieutenants of the exiled prince. If, in this state of things, Austria were to interfere, and support one claimant of a province, and England were then to set up another with a better title, and to succeed in establishing him by her arms, Mr Barrow's view of the case is just this, that it is foolish to support such a puppet; and that Brittany or Normandy, or whatever the province is, should forthwith be occupied and treated as our own, and the puppet sent elsewhere, to make way for some red or blue riband from London. Indeed the illustration which he draws of his just and enlightened views, from the history of the Carnatic, is peculiarly unfortunate. Whether Mahomet Ali (better known as Wallah Jah) had a reversionary grant of the nabobship from the Soubahdar of the Deccan, or not, we found it for our interest to espouse his cause, when the French set up Chunda Saheb. We said not a word of this defect, or any other, in his title, at that time; nor did a whisper escape us respecting the constitutional authority of the court of Delhi. Indeed, says Mr Barrow, the Mogul's was ' a vacated dominion, which converted

occupancy into right.' Well; for our candidate Wallah Jah, we exerted our intrigues and our arms; we beat his, not our antagonist, supported as he was by our enemies; we then obtained a formal commission for him as nabob; we united to this the Rewamy: an assignment of the revenue, including of course the restoration of this last office, was obtained by Lord Macartney during Hyder's war, evidently meant to revert to the nabob at the peace. Of the fulfilling of this implied condition Mr Barrow bitterly complains; and he then is for us all, at once discovering that our old candidate had no right at all; that he never had any title to the Misnud; that he was a mere puppet; and that the power which raised him should immediately, on finding him inconvenient, pull him down. He commits the constant error of such Indian politicians; and conceives that it is sufficient to vest a full right in England, if it be proved that some other conflicting title is defective. The Mogul's commission of nabob (if it is not mockery to speak of the tyrant's deeds) may not have made Wallah Jah also Dewan; but did this therefore make the 'English East India Company Behauder' the Dewan? The nabob may have had an indifferent title to the Carnatic originally; but does this give us, who made it effectual at least, though we may not have thought it good, a right to pick holes in it now, and, by belying our former assertions, to get into his place,—us, about whose utter want of title there can be no doubt? We are told, indeed, that former governors-general and presidents acted wrong, espoused the worst side, or blundered in other ways. It matters not; the deed is done, and the Company and England are bound by it, unless indeed, by rescinding the act, justice shall be rendered to those whom we injured, not gain secured to ourselves. 'The governors and sirdars (said Hyder Ali) who enter into treaties, after one or two years return to Europe, and their acts and deeds become of no effect; and fresh governors and sirdars introduce new conversations;' and it was for this reason that he refused to make peace with us. That Wallah Jah was desirous of disinheriting his eldest son Omdut in favour of Amur, proves exactly nothing. The British governors might have refused to concur; but their disapprobation of his conduct in this, or indeed in any other particular, gave them no right to make themselves his heirs.

We have noticed these matters from the obvious tendency, and indeed plain intention of Mr Barrow's statements, to reconcile the public to the treatment which Wallah Jah's successors have received, and to the whole conduct of our government in the East. Mr Barrow acts unworthily of Lord Macartney's pupil and eulogist, when he attempts to force the authority of that upright and prudent governor into the service

of those other men who have filled his place. It is evident that there is nothing done, either at Oude, Madras, Bassein, or elsewhere, which may not be vindicated on Mr Barrow's principle of nabobs and rajahs (of course he must include the peishwas) being either puppets or usurpers. It is equally evident, on the other hand, that, except in the single instance of his unwillingness to give up the assignment (for which many reasons may be urged), Lord Macartney's principles of Indian government were at complete variance with the practice of all the British satraps whose maladministration has brought our empire in the East to the brink of ruin, and injured our national character almost irreparably.

We pass over the accounts of Lord Macartney's various differences, chiefly with Mr Hastings and his council, and with the commanding officers at his own presidency. He had open quarrels with Generals Steuart and Burgoyne, and was considerably at variance with Sir Edward Hughes and Sir Eyre Coote. With his own council he kept on the best terms, excepting only Mr Sadlier, to whom he rather incautiously gave the lie one day at a Board. This led to a duel afterwards: and he likewise fought with General Steuart, on his return home. In both meetings he behaved like a man of high spirit, and was wounded. Mr Barrow's account of all these necessarily disputed and now very unimportant points, is of course partial; but we think we can clearly see through his statements, that Lord Macartney was generally in the right, and that his conduct was uniformly calculated to lead and gain by conciliatory means. That he should have incurred the bitter enmity of Paul Benfield, and the other swarms of his *caste*, was only natural; this fact has been indeed anticipated by our statement of his strenuous public virtue, and his hatred of all manner of abuses.

When the newly appointed Board of Controul sent out instructions to give up the Carnatic assignment, they also named a successor to Lord Macartney, who was resolved not to witness the execution of what he believed to be disastrous orders, and retired immediately to Calcutta. Here he almost lost his life in an attempt unworthy of his good sense, to introduce certain savings into the Asiatic mode of living.

His Lordship's continuance at Calcutta was protracted by an illness that threatened his life. It was occasioned by a wish of setting an example in his own person, which he conceived might be attended with some degree of benefit to the inhabitants of the presidency. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the establishment of palankeens in Calcutta is not only attended with serious expense to many families who can but ill afford to bear it, but that every young stripling, from the moment he

sets his foot on shore, must have his palankeen and his eight bearers to dance attendance upon his person; and it often happens that the greater part of these poor creatures, if age and infirmity could plead for consideration, ought with more propriety to be carried by himself. Lord Macartney was sufficiently aware that the climate of Madras, from the regular sea breezes, admitted of the exercise of walking with less danger than that of the inland city of Calcutta. Still however he determined to make the experiment in the latter; but the consequences of much exposure to the sun and the fatigue of walking had nearly proved fatal.' I. 297—299.

One night as he was sitting with a friend in Calcutta, an officer from one of the Company's ships brought him a despatch, addressed to him as governor-general of Bengal. He tore off the cover and cast it to his friend, who warmly congratulated him on an event so wholly unexpected; but Lord Macartney very calmly observed, before he had read the despatch, that he did not mean to accept the intended honour. He did not however immediately communicate this intention to the provisional governor-general who is said to have felt himself in a very awkward situation: and all the legal authorities in Calcutta are supposed to have been consulted, whether Lord Macartney, appointed by the Court of Directors to succeed Mr Hastings, could legally step into the chair occupied by Mr Macpherson. The anxiety of the supreme council to keep their appointments could not fail greatly to amuse Lord Macartney, who had no desire to deprive any of them of their situations.'—I. 300, 301.

The history of this unexpected appointment is then given by Mr Barrow. It seems poor Lord Macartney had had the misfortune to be greatly praised in the debate on the India bill, by Mr Fox and his friends, for his upright and obedient conduct; and this begat a very natural prejudice against him in the minds of Mr Dundas and other such enlightened statesmen. Certain representations sent home against him from India, (probably from Mr Paul Benfield,) strengthened this prepossession; but it was effaced, says Mr Barrow, as soon as Mr Dundas had carefully and attentively gone through all the papers connected with these affairs. We presume he was during this study pretty *carefully* informed of his mistake in supposing Lord Macartney to be politically attached to Mr Fox, or indeed to any extra-official character, and that Mr Fox had no intention of sending him to India, should his plan be adopted. Indeed, we are entitled to infer this from our author's attentive insertion of the circumstance, as part of Lord Macartney's defence against the prejudice created by Mr Fox's praise of his hero. This appointment, however, he declined accepting, partly on account of his health, and partly because, without reform in various parts of the Bengal system, and changes in the Calcutta Board, he could not hope to execute  
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the office comfortably or usefully. He accordingly returned to England, and arrived early in 1786. He laid before the Chiers (as the phrase is) his propositions,—the conditions on which he was willing to undertake the Government. These were, an increased power to the first in council; the subordination of the Commander-in-chief; a change in the members of the Board, and particularly General Hope's and Mr Macpherson's removal. The Ministry having consulted on these points, fixed a day to confer with him.

In the mean time, a debate took place, in which Mr Fox once more loaded his Madras administration with ample praises; but as the other party now knew their man, and as indeed he was on the spot, to counteract the bad effects of such encomiums, by such positive assurances and explanations as might be required, they seem to have passed over his head this time without doing him any material injury. Accordingly, the ministers informed him at their meeting, that they agreed to his first proposition, of allowing the Governor-General to act upon his single responsibility, on great occasions; but as to the other points, they either wholly declined touching them, or waved the discussion for the present. They, however, expressed great goodwill towards Lord Macartney, and repeated their offer of the place. Upon this his Lordship seems to have been fully satisfied with the fate of his former propositions; but he had in the mean time discovered a new one. He had found that he should have many enemies, and all active against his power; that it 'would be necessary for his own reputation, and for the public service, that he should *receive such a distinguished mark of favour*, as would *unequivocally* show to the world,' how high he stood with 'the *Crown*, the Ministry, and the Company.' He disclaimed all idea of starting difficulties, or 'making what is called terms or bargains;' he was not 'that sort of man;' but he had hoped they would have anticipated his ideas on this point. He added, 'that the distinguished mark to which he alluded, he had long looked to as an object of honest ambition, and had therefore preferred distant, laborious, and troublesome employments abroad, as more likely, from the opportunities they might afford for distinguished exertions, to lead him to it, than the usual routine of the boards and parliamentary offices at home; he observed, that he had passed twenty-two years of his life in public business of that kind, and hoped it was not unreasonable to aspire to the king's favour, as a reward for past service, and an encouragement to future.' (I. 325, 326.) He proceeded, of course, to disavow all eagerness after the office,—talked much of his health and the difficulties of the station,—and descanted after an edifying manner on his indifference to wealth,

and his love of tranquillity, and taste for domestic pursuits,—and the other established topics upon such occasions. When he had made an ending, he perceived, by the usual symptoms, that the minister had every desire to oblige him, ‘but laboured under some difficulty in assenting to his views.’ He accordingly began his retreat, and accomplished it like a skilful tactician, in very good order, under a fire of compliments to whomsoever they might appoint instead of him, and of protestations that he had not ‘the slightest disinclination to the ministry as it then stood;’ but would support them at all times, ‘consistent and agreeable with those principles which, through the whole course of his life, had uniformly guided him.’ Nay, so perfectly regular and courtier-like were his whole proceedings, that, three days after this interview, when he heard of Lord Cornwallis being appointed, he went to a large evening party where Lady Macartney was; and, being unable to get near her, ‘took out a card and wrote with his pencil upon the back of it as follows. “*I am the happiest man in England at this hour. Lord Cornwallis, I hear, is Governor-General of India.*”’—‘The card,’ says Mr Barrow, ‘is still in her Ladyship’s possession, with the pencil-writing upon it;’—‘and what better proof can any man have of his Lordship having exulted in losing at once the government and the *extra* mark of favour which he had demanded?’—As such our author views it; and he adds, that this ‘mark of favour to which Lord Macartney conceived himself entitled, even independent of public considerations, was a British Peerage; but he would not have asked it on any other grounds than the fullest conviction in his own mind,’ and so forth.—We have thus minutely given the details of this curious negotiation, because it affords a very pattern of the manner in which all such matters are carried on. It is indeed perfect in all its parts; and from beginning to end, we will venture to say, it does not contain one step which is not gone through every day, in some of the ministerial closets of all well regulated governments. The narrative and remarks of Mr Barrow, furnish also a correct view of the manner in which such affairs are afterwards represented by the losing party and his friends. Upon the whole, the piece is highly instructive and amusing, and cannot fail to recall various parallel instances to almost every reader, whether in great or in little life.

Unhappily the glories of this eminent courtier, were now doomed to undergo an eclipse. As soon as he awoke from that delirium of joy into which his own failure and Lord Cornwallis’s appointment had thrown him, he found himself, for the first time, neglected by ‘his Majesty’s person and government.’ He was no longer ‘the happiest man alive.’ It is painful to read the



the faithful Mr Barrow's wailings on this sad interruption to his official career. Notwithstanding this favourable opinion expressed by ministers; notwithstanding his long and meritorious services; nay, adds he, with some *naïveté*, (and it is far more wonderful) 'notwithstanding a steady and uniform attachment to his Majesty's person and government, Lord Macartney had the mortification of experiencing the neglect and inattention of government.' We learn, after a long description of what he merited, that the cause of this neglect was '*Dis aliter visum est.*' The gods, however, we find immediately after, allowed him a pension of 1500*l.* a year, through the East India Company, of which 'very scanty recompense' and 'parsimony,' says Mr Barrow, he did not complain. There was also some other cause than the gods, if we may believe the anecdote told immediately after, viz. that Mr Pitt sent him a message, 'desiring to know if he found himself inclined to accept of office;' to which he answered, that certainly he did, but not a seat at the India board; and he heard no more about the matter, but was suffered to cultivate his estate in the north of Ireland for five long years.

At length, in the fulness of time, it was resolved to send an ambassador to the Emperor of China, in order to establish a closer connexion with that monarch, and obtain a more extensive traffic with his subjects; or, at all events, give them a high idea of our national character and magnificence. Whatever the partial biographer may say to the contrary, this was a post of little more than mere *faste*, and its duties were confined almost solely to representation. It was indeed a sad falling off from the government of the East; but whether it be that seclusion from the sunshine of court favour had rendered him tractable, or, as Mr Barrow asserts, 'that he had laid down a rule never to refuse any public employment wherein he might be useful,' certain it is, that he accepted the appointment of ambassador to Pekin 'without the least hesitation;' and, wise from experience, made no other condition this time, than that he should chuse his own suite. The ministry, on their parts, were abundantly liberal, and besides servants, guards, secretaries, &c. allowed him 1500*l.* a year of salary, 'on the ground, that his Lordship should not be permitted to double the Cape at an inferior salary to what he had formerly enjoyed in those regions.' Before he set sail, they also gratified him with a privy councillor's place, and raised him to the dignity of an Irish Viscount.

In this embassy he was engaged about two years, of which only a few weeks, as is well known, were spent in China. In almost all its main objects, the undertaking failed entirely; but certain indirect and subordinate advantages were no doubt gained by it.

it. Of these, the knowledge which we have procured of the Chinese empire cannot strictly be reckoned as one;—as it certainly was not in Mr Dundas's contemplation to spend money in the promotion of science and literature; but happily, though the more statesman-like point of an augmented traffic in hysons and boheas was not accomplished, a multitude of valuable lights were obtained, for which the philosopher is accidentally indebted to a *quarter*, of all others the least likely to assist his views. Upon Lord Macartney's return in 1794, he was highly delighted to find that he had grown an Irish earl in his absence:—and the year after, he was sent to Italy on 'an important mission, of a delicate and confidential nature,' which Mr Barrow will by no means tell us any thing more about. If common report may be credited, this service formed a whimsical contrast to the last on which he had been employed. It is generally believed, that after being sent ambassador to the sovereign of by far the greatest resources in this globe, who rules over nearly half its inhabitants, his Lordship was despatched upon an errand to a prince possessed of neither territory, subjects, nor revenue. Having found out the court to which he had been sent, and delivered his message to 'the entire satisfaction of his Majesty's ministers,' he returned to England; and, joyful to relate, was at length made a British Peer.

In 1797, he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope as governor; and, as he was not to double that promontory, his salary, on this occasion, was only 10,000*l.*, with 2000*l.* additional, as a pension for life. He acquitted himself to the admiration of all, particularly Mr Barrow; gave up his salary as soon as he resigned his office; and, upon leaving the colony, made oath before the Fiscal Mynheer Van Rynevelt, that he never had received any presents, except a little fruit, wine, venison, and other trifles, which may possibly excite the pity of some few of his Lordship's patrons, as we dare say it did of the Dutchman; but which offers to our view an example above all praise, of a regular place-hunter, by no means wealthy, remaining in the last act of a life devoted to his profession, altogether uncorrupted by half a century spent amidst the bribery of senates, the tricks of embassies, and the plunder of the East.

He returned to England early in 1799, resolved to give up all further concern with the bustle and fatigues of public life. To this resolution he even adhered, when Mr Pitt, 'finding it expedient to place Mr Addington at the head of a new administration,' judged that Lord Macartney was made of the very materials which he wanted; and 'strongly urged him to take the Presidency of the Board of Controul, with a seat in the Cabinet.' Mr Barrow further insinuates, that he had a dislike to the new  
 ministry;

ministry; but, that any such feeling should operate with him, no man who has heard of the construction of that cabinet, and attended to the foregoing account of Lord Macartney's political life, can for one moment believe. However, the rest of his days were spent in elegant retirement, and in the society of his friends. His infirmities increased upon him; he was deeply affected by the misfortunes on the Continent in 1805, and by Mr Pitt's death: after which, his friends despaired of his recovery. It is to be presumed also, though Mr Barrow has omitted this cause of illness, that the fate of another minister, some months before, must have sensibly distressed a man of Lord Macartney's high feelings and pure conduct in money matters—the more especially as with that personage he had been peculiarly connected for several years. In March 1806, he died full of years and titles,—covered with honours and badges; and, what few statesmen, and still fewer courtiers can boast of, equally beloved by his friends, and respected by his official connexions; having given offence to none, but such as were put to shame by the contrast of his integrity, or resented the measures of his justice.

It is not for the purpose of qualifying this praise, that we must now pick out a portion of Mr Barrow's general summary of his character; but in order to vindicate his memory against the attacks of this most injudicious eulogist. 'He held the slave trade and slavery,' says our author, 'in utter abhorrence; but did not entertain those enthusiastic notions respecting the abolition of the latter, which have prevailed in this country for some few years past:' and then come some reasonings put into Lord Macartney's mouth against the emancipation of slaves; for this is the meaning of the passage, though Mr Barrow chuses to term it 'a hasty abolition.' He proceeds to say, that his Lordship 'was most decidedly against the continuance of the trade;' and resolved not to allow a single slave ship to enter the Cape colony during his government. We are told, therefore, in his praise, that he was a decided friend of the abolition; and then comes a case of exception, wherein he was induced, by the urgent entreaties of the colonists, to license one slave ship. This, to be sure, was wrong, whatever arguments of necessity might have been pretended. But what shall we say of an abolitionist writing, upon this occasion, a letter, and to *Mr Dundas* too, containing the following passage?

"The question was, whether in a state of actual necessity we were to listen most to the dictates of good sense and public duty, or to the whims and ravings of ignorance and fanaticism? It appeared to me an indispensable obligation rather to provide for the sustenance of the people committed to my care, and of his Majesty's fleet and army *in esse*, than to argue with myself what might be the possible felicity of freedom

to unknown blackamoors. I paid however such respect to the prejudices of the day, as to confine my license to a single ship, and shall be cautious in extending it till the proper authority shall have decided this point, which seems to have been at issue for some years past between rashness and experience, thoughtlessness and reflection, ancient wisdom and modern philosophy." I. 389, 390.

Mr Barrow has thus brought on Lord Macartney the heavy charge of holding certain serious opinions on a most important subject, and yet concealing them; nay, adopting the very worst language of the opposite party, in a letter to the leader of that party. No man who understands the question, however, can read the passage to which we have referred, without perceiving that Mr Barrow, in his zeal to praise, and in his utter ignorance of the subject, (a hackneyed one surely), has mistated Lord Macartney's opinions. We will not believe him guilty of such mean duplicity. We are satisfied that he was not an abolitionist with regard to *the trade*;—that he was what is called a gradual abolitionist;—and that Mr Barrow has confounded this with his being a friend to gradual abolition of *slavery*, and to the immediate abolition of the trade. If his volumes ever see another edition, he should correct this, in justice to his patron's memory, which he has unwittingly aspersed.

The Second of these volumes is composed of several tracts from the pen of Lord Macartney; and the whole publication should, in our humble opinion, have been limited to the most interesting of them, with a short biographical sketch by the editor. The tracts are four in number, extracts from an account of the Russian empire; a sketch of the History of Ireland; his journal of the Chinese Embassy; and an appendix upon the state of China.

The account of Russia, though distinctly, and we presume very correctly, drawn up, has now lost the greater part of the interest which it may have had when it was written. That great empire is indeed so much changed since the accession of Catherine, that we can scarcely recognize in an old sketch of it, the features by which it is known at present. Some of the traits, however, still remain; and among others, the character of the Russian nobles is much less improved than might have been expected, since the period of Lord Macartney's mission. The following passage is not without merit as a piece of composition; and from its coming pretty near the mark even at present, we guess that it was a most accurate delineation when it was taken.

‘The Russian gentlemen are certainly the least informed of all others in Europe; the chief point of their instruction is a knowledge of modern languages, particularly the French and German; both which they usually speak with very great facility, though incapable of writing either with precision or propriety. Those who can afford the expense, and indeed many who cannot afford it, complete their education by a  
tour

tour to France: where, ignorant and unprincipled, as they are, they catch at every thing that feeds the fancy or inflames the passions; there they find ample fuel for both; they greedily devour all that is set before them without selection; and lose their delicacy of taste in enormity of appetite: to Frenchmen they become despicable Russians, to Russians despicable Frenchmen, to others equal objects of pity and contempt. So seldom do they derive advantage from those circumstances which form and accomplish the gentleman of other countries, that, instead of instruction or real improvement, they rarely acquire more than personal affectation and mental distortion, and, after all their travels, return home far inferior, in the virtues of a good citizen, to those who have never travelled at all.

‘ Their natural parts are tolerably good, but they universally want the discriminating faculty; whence they fall into the most absurd imitations of foreign life and manners, and, abandoning the common sense of nature, adopt fashions and customs totally contrary to their climate and troublesome to themselves. Though freezing under the 60th degree of northern latitude, they build their houses like the airy palaces of Florence and Sienna. In France it is the etiquette of fashion to begin the spring season at Easter, and to mark it by dress; the imitative Russian does the same, and flings off his winter garments whilst the earth is covered with snow, and himself shivering with cold. It is the peculiar privilege of the noblesse at Paris to have Swiss porters at the gates of their hotels; at Petersburg a Russian gentleman of any fashion must have a Swiss also, or some tall fellow with a laced belt and hanger, which it seems are the indispensable accoutrements of a Parisian janitor. It would be an endless task to recite the follies and absurdities of this kind, which they every day fall into; but these few examples will, I presume, appear sufficient.’ II. 35, 36, 37,

There is much good sense, too, in the author's criticism on Peter the Great; though, in defining the *discriminating faculty*, as he calls it, he falls into his worst taste. We presume he means by that expression, common sense, or sound practical understanding, as opposed to genius and fancy.

‘ This reign forms the grand era of that reformation which, though much more extensive than the preceding, is falsely believed to have totally changed and civilized the whole Russian nation. Peter, though endowed with strong natural abilities, and with wonderful talents, yet, like most Russians I have met with, he possessed not the discriminating faculty, that divine sagacity which explores the diamond in the mine, seizes its value, and at once decides, amidst various degrees of excellence, which is most excellent.

‘ To the want of this power are to be attributed all the imperfections which his plans were attended with: for, in the ardour of alteration and improvement, he indiscriminately adopted a thousand foreign customs and institutions, without regarding time, place, propriety, or circumstance: instead of forming his people upon originality, he moulded them

them into imitators, and injudiciously deprived them of their ancient character, without ascertaining the practicability of giving them a better.' II. 53.

The historical sketch of Ireland is general indeed, and for the most part void of details; but the subject is in itself far from interesting or important, until we come to the later periods; and these are very well handled by Lord Macartney, consistently with his object of only exhibiting an outline. We meet, no doubt, with frequent marks of his courtly and official prejudices; his respectful adherence to Poyning's law; his invariable and unqualified contempt for '*the Patriots*;' and his horror of all measures which, by exhausting the fixed, hereditary revenue, tended to secure the existence of Parliaments. He seems, too, strangely inattentive to the very progress of the country and its constitution, which he is himself relating, when he forgets how impossible it was for any established revenue to have placed the crown above the necessity of calling parliaments. The measures which he ascribes to the factious views of the opposition, were exact counterparts of the struggles between the Commons and the Crown in England, a century and a half before: and the political independence of Ireland, which was gradually growing up under his eyes with the growth of her resources, though he does not seem ever to have dreamt of it, was destined to attain maturity a few years afterwards, much more surely than the liberties of this country in 1688 flowed from the reigns of James I. and his successor. For one part of this tract, however, the noble author is entitled to almost unmingled praise. He describes in its true colours, the abominable system of persecution, embodied into law, in the various statutes against popery; and he delivers his sentiments at such length, and with such honest indignation against those odious acts, that though the greater part of them are now repealed, yet we should be afraid to follow him, or quote all his invectives, lest, peradventure, in this most protestant æra, we should expose to risk, or at least be accused of disrespect to the '*wisdom of our ancestors*.' Indeed, with the exception of a single qualifying clause in p. 118, the whole of Lord Macartney's dissertation on this topic classes him among the warmest antagonists of the present courtly doctrines. He wrote, it is true, before the royal conscience had been disturbed by the jesuitical arts of intriguing hypocrites; yet do we marvel how his discreet biographer could venture, under the existing administration, to edit such passages as the following, with the debate on the Maynooth grant before his eyes. '*The laws of Ireland against papists are the harsh dictates of persecution, not the calm suggestions of reason and policy. They threaten the papists with penalties, in case of foreign education; and yet allow*

low them no education at home. They shut the doors of their own university against them; and forbid them to enter any other. No man shall go to lecture, who will not go to church,' &c. The whole of the bitter invective against these wretched and wicked prejudices, from p. 115 to p. 123, is well worthy of attention, though, for the reason above given, we must decline extracting any more of it.

The journal of the Chinese embassy is however, in every point of view, the most interesting part of the present publication; and we lament exceedingly that the length which this article has already reached, must prevent us from giving our readers either a full account of its contents, or a sufficient specimen of it by copious extracts. It contains an ample but not tedious or over-minute narrative of each day's transactions and observations, in the course of a journey and residence, every hour of which presented something interesting and novel. We here get rid of Lord Macartney's heavy and artificial style of writing; and as he was taking notes for himself, not preparing despatches for an office, he is natural and easy, as well as perspicuous. Many additional lights are thrown upon the character of the Chinese, which, indeed, sink in our estimation every step we approach to it. A variety of the most curious and authentic particulars are recorded of the state of the empire, its resources and institutions. The history of the embassy, and the progress of the negotiation, are detailed in a way calculated to give us still more accurate notions of the Chinese policy and manners. And what renders the general inference from the whole facts the more conclusive against this boasted people, we plainly perceive that the noble author went among them with the ordinary prejudices in favour of their virtue, wisdom, and happiness; and came away without experiencing in himself that complete cure of such notions which the labours of his mission have done so much to effect in the literary world at large.

The following passage contains a specimen of the kind of trifles on which the Chinese exhaust their ingenuity as negotiators.

'They then introduced the subject of the court ceremonies, with a degree of art, address and insinuation, that I could not avoid admiring. They began by turning the conversation upon the different modes of dress that prevailed among different nations, and, after pretending to examine ours particularly, seemed to prefer their own on account of its being loose and free from ligatures, and of its not impeding or obstructing the genuflexions and prostrations which were (they said) customary to be made by all persons, whenever the emperor appeared in public. They therefore apprehended much inconvenience to us from our knee-buckles and garters, and hinted to us that it would be better to disencumber

number ourselves of them, before we should go to court. I told them, that they need not be uneasy about that circumstance, as I supposed whatever ceremonies were usual for the Chinese to perform, the emperor would prefer my paying him the same obeisance which I did to my own sovereign. They said they supposed the ceremonies in both countries must be nearly alike; that in China the form was to kneel down upon both knees, and make nine prostrations or inclinations of the head to the ground; and that it never had been and never could be dispensed with. I told them that ours was somewhat different, and that though I had the most earnest desire to do every thing that might be agreeable to the emperor, my first duty must be to do what might be agreeable to my own king; but that if they were really in earnest in objecting to my following the etiquette of the English court, I should deliver to them my reply in writing, as soon as I arrived at Peking. They then talked of the length and dangers of our voyage, and said that as we had come to such a distance from home, our king would naturally be anxious for our return, and that the emperor did not mean to hunt this autumn as usual, but to remove with his court very early to Peking, on purpose that we might not be delayed. I told them that his Imperial Majesty would judge from the King's letter, and from my representations, what was expected from me at my return to England, and what time would be sufficient to enable me to transact the business I was charged with, and to describe to my sovereign the glory and virtues of the emperor, the power and splendour of his empire, the wisdom of his laws and moral institutes, the fame of all which had already reached to the most distant regions. II. 199-201.

Our ambassador, it appears, could enter *cum amore* into similar discussions of etiquette. About half of his diplomatic labour seems to have been employed in adjusting the ceremonial, and obtaining, by his dexterity, good terms for his sovereign in this important affair.

Thursday, August 29th. This day I put up the state canopy and their Majesties' pictures in the presence chamber, and delivered my paper relative to the ceremonial, to be transmitted to Gehol. I had experienced a good deal of difficulty in persuading Father Raux to get it translated into Chinese, and to put it into the proper diplomatic form, so much is every person here afraid of intermeddling in any state matter without the special authority of government; and he only consented, on condition, that neither his writing nor that of his secretary should appear, but that I should get it copied by some other hand. Little Staunton was able to supply my wants on this occasion; for, having very early in the voyage begun to study the Chinese under my two interpreters, he had not only made considerable progress in it, but had learned to write the characters with great neatness and celerity, so that he was of material use to me on this occasion, as he had been already before in transcribing the catalogue of the presents. In the paper, I expressed the strongest



strongest desire to do whatever I thought would be most agreeable to the emperor; but that, being the representative of the first monarch of the western world, his dignity must be the measure of my conduct; and that in order to reconcile it to the customs of the court of China, I was willing to conform to their etiquette, provided a person of equal rank with mine were appointed to perform the same ceremony before my sovereign's picture, that I should perform before the emperor himself. The legate shook his head; but *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* said it was a good expedient, and offered immediately to go through the ceremony themselves on the spot; but as they had no authority for the purpose, I civilly declined their proposal.' II. 224, 225.

'Tuesday, September 10th. This day the legate *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* renewed the conversation of yesterday; relative to the ceremony; in the course of which I told them it was not natural to expect that an ambassador should pay greater homage to a foreign prince than to his own liege sovereign, unless a return were made to him that might warrant him to do more. Upon which they asked me, what was the ceremony of presentation to the king of England? I told them it was performed by kneeling upon one knee, and kissing his Majesty's hand. Why then, cried they, can't you do so to the emperor? Most readily, said I; the same ceremony I perform to my own king, I am willing to go through for your emperor, and I think it a greater compliment than any other I can pay him. I showed them the manner of it, and they retired seemingly well satisfied. In the afternoon *Chou-ta-gin* came to me alone, and said that he had just seen the minister, and had a long conference with him upon this business; the result of which was, that either the English mode of presentation (which I had shown them in the morning), or the picture ceremony should be adopted; but he had not yet decided which. I said nothing.—Soon after the legate arrived, and declared that it was finally determined to adopt the English ceremony; only, that as it was not the custom of China to kiss the emperor's hand, he proposed I should kneel upon both knees instead of it. I told him I had already given my answer, which was to kneel upon one knee only, on those occasions when it is usual for the Chinese to prostrate themselves. Well then, said they, the ceremony of kissing the emperor's hand must be omitted. To this I assented, saying, as you please; but remember it is your doing, and, according to your proposal, is but half the ceremony: and you see I am willing to perform the whole one. And thus ended this curious negotiation, which has given me a tolerable insight into the character of this court, and that political address upon which they so much value themselves.' II. 253, 254.

We pass over the other preparations, and the grand procession into Gehol, which seems greatly to have delighted the worthy ambassador, and to have received the emperor's approbation; and hasten to the ceremony itself of presentation, which may indeed be reckoned the whole sum and substance of the embassy.

‘ Saturday, September 14th. This morning at four o’clock A. M. we set out for the court under the convoy of *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, and reached it in little more than an hour, the distance being about three miles from our hotel. I proceeded in great state with all my train of music, guards, &c. Sir George Staunton and I went in palankeens, and the officers and gentlemen of the embassy on horseback. Over a rich embroidered velvet, I wore the mantle of the Order of the Bath with the collar, a diamond badge and a diamond star. Sir George Staunton was dressed in a rich embroidered velvet also, and, being a doctor of laws in the university of Oxford, wore the habit of his degree, which is of scarlet silk, full and flowing. I mention these little particulars to show the attention I always paid, where a proper opportunity offered, to oriental customs and ideas. We alighted at the park gate, from whence we walked to the imperial encampment, and were conducted to a large handsome tent prepared for us on one side of the emperor’s. After waiting there about an hour, his approach was announced by drums and music, on which we quitted our tent, and came forward upon the green carpet. He was seated in an open palankeen, carried by sixteen bearers, attended by numbers of officers bearing flags, standards, and umbrellas; and, as he passed, we paid him our compliments, by kneeling on one knee, whilst all the Chinese made their usual prostrations. As soon as he had ascended his throne, I came to the entrance of the tent, and, holding in both my hands a large gold box enriched with diamonds, in which was enclosed the king’s letter, I walked deliberately up, and, ascending the side steps of the throne, delivered it into the emperor’s own hands, who, having received it, passed it to the minister, by whom it was placed on the cushion. He then gave me, as the first present from him to his majesty, the *ju-eu-jou* or *giou-giou*, as the symbol of peace and prosperity, and expressed his hopes that my sovereign and he should always live in good correspondence and amity. It is a whitish agate-looking stone, about a foot and a half long, curiously carved, and highly prized by the Chinese; but to me it does not appear in itself to be of any great value.

‘ The emperor then presented me with a *ju-eu-jou*, of a greenish coloured stone, and of the same emblematic character; at the same time he very graciously received from me a pair of beautiful enamelled watches set with diamonds, which I had prepared in consequence of the information given me, and which having looked at, he passed to the minister.

‘ Sir George Staunton, whom, as he had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to act in case of my death or departure, I introduced to him as such, now came forward, and after kneeling on one knee, in the same manner which I had done, presented to him two elegant air guns, and received from him a *ju-eu-jou*, of greenish stone, nearly similar to mine; other presents were sent at the same time to all the gentlemen of my train. We then descended from the steps of the throne, and sat down upon cushions at one of the tables on the emperor’s left hand; and at other tables, according to their different ranks, the chief Tartar princes; and the Mandarines of the court at the same time took their places, all dress-

ed in the proper robes of their respective ranks. These tables were then uncovered, and exhibited a sumptuous banquet. The emperor sent us several dishes from his own table, together with some liquors, which the Chinese call wine, not however expressed from the grape, but distilled or extracted from rice, herbs, and honey. In about half an hour he sent for Sir George Staunton and me to come to him, and gave to each of us, with his own hands, a cup of warm wine, which we immediately drank in his presence, and found it very pleasant and comfortable, the morning being cold and raw. Among other things, he asked me the age of my king, and, being informed of it, said he hoped he might live as many years as himself, which are eighty-three. His manner is dignified, but affable and condescending, and his reception of us has been very gracious and satisfactory. He is a very fine old gentleman, still healthy and vigorous, not having the appearance of a man of more than sixty. The order and regularity in serving and removing the dinner was wonderfully exact, and every function of the ceremony performed with such silence and solemnity, as in some measure to resemble the celebration of a religious mystery. The emperor's tent or pavilion, which is circular, I should calculate to be about twenty-four or twenty-five yards in diameter, and is supported by a number of pillars either gilded, painted, or varnished, according to their distance and position. In the front was an opening of six yards, and from this opening a yellow fly-tent projected, so as to lengthen considerably the space between the entrance and the throne. The materials and distribution of the furniture within at once displayed grandeur and elegance. The tapestry, the curtains, the carpets, the lanterns, the fringes, the tassels, were disposed with such harmony, the colours so artfully varied, and the light and shade so judiciously managed, that the whole assemblage filled the eye with delight, and diffused over the mind a pleasing serenity and repose undisturbed by glitter or affected embellishments.

‘ The commanding feature of the ceremony was that calm dignity, that sober pomp of Asiatic greatness, which European refinements have not yet attained.

‘ I forgot to mention, that there were present on this occasion three ambassadors from Tatzu or Pegu, and six Mahomedan ambassadors from the Kalmucks of the south-west: but their appearance was not very splendid. Neither must I omit that, during the ceremony, which lasted five hours, various entertainments of wrestling, tumbling, wire-dancing, together with dramatic representations, were exhibited opposite the tent, but at a considerable distance from it.

‘ Thus then have I seen *King Solomon in all his glory*. I use this expression, as the scene recalled perfectly to my memory a puppet-show of that name, which I recollect to have seen in my childhood, and which made so strong an impression on my mind, that I then thought it a true representation of the highest pitch of human greatness and felicity.’—  
II. 258—261.

The descriptions of the superb imperial gardens at Gehol, are  
X 2 highly

highly animated and interesting : but they are a great deal too long for either quotation or abstract. Soon after their presentation, attempts were made to enter upon business ; but in vain ; they were told to wait till the court went to Peking, whither, indeed, they were themselves speedily ordered to proceed. They had not been long there, when the court followed them ; and in a few days, the shortness of their subsequent stay in China, which had repeatedly been hinted at, was more formally unfolded to them. Lord Macartney had made another attempt at proceeding to business, when

‘ The minister, with his usual address, avoided entering into any discussion of these points, which I had taken so much pains to lay before him, and turned the discourse upon the state of my health, assuring me that the emperor’s proposal for my departure arose chiefly from his anxiety about it ; for that otherwise my stay could not but be agreeable to him.

‘ Although from the course of the conversation, and from the deportment of the minister and his two assessors, I was led to draw rather an unfavourable inference relative to my business, yet when I rose to take leave, nothing could be more gracious, or more flattering, than the expressions which he made use of to me upon the occasion, in so much that my interpreter congratulated me on the fair prospect of my negotiation, and said that he expected the happiest issue from it. Nevertheless, since my return home, I have received two different communications, by which I am informed, that the emperor’s answer to the king’s letter is already prepared, and sent to be translated into Latin from the Chinese. This, I find, is an infallible indication of the court’s intentions, and as a signal for us to take our leave. I am afraid that there is good ground for my apprehension, as *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, who have just been here, tell me that I shall have a message from the minister to meet him to-morrow at the palace. They say, that the emperor’s letter for the king will *probably* be then delivered to me (for they pretend not to know *certainly* that it will), in which case, they advise me to ask permission to depart without delay. I suppose they have been directed to hold this discourse to me.’—II. 299.

A few more suggestions were given next day ; and, in short, they were so pressed from different quarters, that it was absolutely necessary they should demand leave to set out, in order to prevent some still ‘ broader and coarser hints.’ It was immediately granted, and they began their journey on the 7th October. The account of this journey is very interesting.

The following passage does not certainly confirm the high notions which fanciful writers have conceived of the Chinese administration.

‘ In the course of conversation, they said that, including all the yachts, baggage-boats, and those of the attending Mandarines, there were

were forty vessels employed on our present expedition, and upwards of a thousand persons attached to this service. That the emperor allows five thousand taels per day (each tael equal to 6s. 8d.) for defraying the expense of it; and that, if that sum should fall short, it must be levied on the provinces we pass through. That one thousand five hundred taels per day were allotted for the expense of our residence at Peking, and that they were scarcely sufficient. Although the maintenance of the embassy must have undoubtedly been very considerable, I can by no means conceive it in any degree adequate to so large an amount. That it has been fully charged to the emperor is highly probable; but between the money charged, and the money actually expended, I understand there is usually a very material difference; for, though the emperor's warrant may be signed for a great sum, yet the checks of office, as they are called, are so numerous and so burdensome, that before it arrives at its last stage, it is almost sweated to nothing. I remember *Chou-ta-gin* telling me one day, as an instance of this, that an inundation in the course of last year had swept away a village in the province of *Chan-tong* so suddenly, that the inhabitants could save nothing but their lives. The emperor (who, from having formerly hunted there, was well acquainted with the place) immediately ordered one hundred thousand taels for their relief, out of which the first *Li-poo* took twenty thousand; the second, ten thousand; the third, five thousand; and so on till at last there remained no more than twenty thousand for the poor sufferers. So we find, that the boasted moral institutes of China are not much better observed than those of some other countries; and that the disciples of Confucius are composed of the same fragile materials as the children of Mammon in the western world.' II. 317-318.

We recommend the following answer to a charge of proselytizing, to the attention of certain well-disposed persons in this island, who have conceived so earnest a desire for the conversion of our Eastern subjects.

'To this I replied, that whatever might be the practice of some Europeans, the English never attempted to dispute or disturb the worship or tenets of others, being persuaded that the Supreme Governor of the universe was equally pleased with the homage of all his creatures, when proceeding from sincere devotion, whether according to one mode or another of the various religions which he permitted to be published; that the English came to China with no such views, as was evident from their merchants at Canton and Macao having no priests or chaplains belonging to them, as the other Europeans had; and that so far from an idea of that kind entering into my mind, or my commission, I had not in my whole train any person of the clerical character, and that it was such persons only, who were employed as the instruments of conversion; that it was true, as stated in the letter, the English had been anciently of the same religion as the Portuguese and the other missionaries, and had adopted another; but that one of the principal differences between us and them was our not having the same zeal for making proselytes which they had.' II. p. 327.

We must now make an end of our extracts with giving the following anecdotes illustrative of the skill and proficiency of the Chinese in the useful arts. We omit a most execrable piece of fine writing, which is dashed into the passage, about the 'soaring nature' of the mind; adamants, fibres, spectres, ores and other figures.

Having often observed numbers of blind persons, but never having met a wooden leg, or a deformed limb here, I concluded that good oculists were very rare, and that death was the usual consequence of a fracture. The viceroy told me I was right in my conjecture; but when I told him of many things in England, and which I had brought people with me to instruct the Chinese in, if it had been allowed, such as the reanimating drowned persons by a mechanical operation, restoring sight to the blind by the extraction or depression of the glaucoma, and repairing and amputating limbs by manual dexterity, both he and his companions seemed as if awakened out of a dream, and could not conceal their regret for the court's coldness and indifference to our discoveries. From the manner of these gentlemen's inquiries, the remarks which they made, and the impressions they seemed to feel, I have conceived a much higher opinion of their liberality and understanding. Whether in these two respects the minister be really inferior to them, or whether he acts upon a certain public system, which often supercedes private conviction, I know not; but certain it is, that in a conversation with him at Gehol, when I mentioned to him some recent inventions of European ingenuity, particularly that of the air-balloon, and that I had taken care to provide one at Peking, with a person to go up in it, he not only discouraged that experiment, but most of the others which, from a perusal of all the printed accounts of this country, we had calculated and prepared for the meridian of China. Whatever taste the emperor *Cam-bi* might have shown for the sciences, as related by the Jesuits in his day, his successors have not inherited it with his other great qualities and possessions; for it would now seem that the policy and vanity of the court equally concurred in endeavouring to keep out of sight whatever can manifest our pre-eminence, which they undoubtedly feel, but have not as yet learned to make the proper use of. It is, however, in vain to attempt arresting the progress of human knowledge.—I am indeed very much mistaken, if all the authority and all the address of the Tartar government will be able much longer to stifle the energies of their Chinese subjects. Scarcely a year now passes without an insurrection in some of the provinces. It is true, they are usually soon suppressed; but their frequency is a strong symptom of the fever within. The paroxysm is repelled; but the disease is not cured.' II. 363—365.

From Canton, the embassy proceeded to Macao; where Lord Macartney falls into that breach of the tenth commandment, so usually committed by Englishmen. Because the possession of that settlement is held by the Portuguese, 'on terms equally useless and degrading to them' (which we should fancy is rather their

their own affair than our's), he is for our getting it from them by all means. 'If,' says he, 'they made a difficulty of parting with it to us on fair terms, it might easily be taken from them by a small force from Madras, and the compensation and irregularity be settled afterwards.'—II. p. 396. This monstrous sentiment is so unlike the rest of Lord Macartney's conduct, that we wish his biographer had omitted it, although he found it in his private journal. To publish is rather worse than to write such a thing. Lord Macartney was not bred under a late government at Calcutta; nor had England, in his day, bowed her lofty head to the example of France, in the profligate policy of later times.

ART. IV. *Nouvelles Observations sur les Abeilles, adressées à M. Charles Bonnet, par François Huber.*

*New Observations on the Natural History of Bees.* By Francis Huber. Translated from the original. 12mo. pp. 300. J. Anderson, Edinburgh. Longman & Co. London. 1806.

THE natural history of the common bee has been more carefully examined, and more amply treated of than that of any other of the insect tribe. Yet so complicated and extraordinary are some of the processes of nature, that the most diligent observers were long utterly unable to account for some circumstances in the history of this insect, and published to the world the most opposite explanations. Several of the most important and intricate problems, however, seem now to be finally resolved by the Genevese observer M. Huber, of whose valuable little work we purpose to lay before our readers a pretty full analysis. We regard the facts contained in this volume as extremely important to the naturalist; for they not only greatly elucidate the history of this wonderful insect, but present some singular facts in physiology hitherto unknown, and even unsuspected.

For the sake of those who may never have made bees the particular object of their study, it may not be unacceptable, previously to sketch, in a very few words, the striking outlines of their history; and to explain some terms generally employed in treating of them.

A hive contains three kinds of bees. 1. A single *queen-bee*, distinguishable by the great length of her body, and the proportional shortness of her wings. 2. *Working-bees*, *female non-breeders*, or, as they were formerly called, *neuters*, to the amount of *many thousands*: these are the smallest sized bees in the hive, and

are armed with a sting. 3. *Drones* or *males*, to the number perhaps of 1500 or 2000: these are larger than the workers, and of a darker colour; they make a greater noise in flying, and have no sting. The whole labour of the community is performed by the workers: they elaborate the wax, and construct the cells; they collect the honey, and feed the brood. The drones, numerous as they are, serve no other purpose than to insure the impregnation of the few young queens that may be produced in the course of the season; and they are regularly massacred by the workers in the beginning of autumn.

It is the office of the queen-bee to lay the eggs. These remain about three days in the cells before they are hatched. A small white *worm* then makes its appearance, (called indifferently *worm*, *larva*, *maggot* or *grub*): this larva is fed with honey for some days, and then changes into a *nymph* or *pupa*. \* After passing a certain period in this state, it comes forth a perfect winged insect.

M. Huber sets out with describing the kind of improved glass hive which he employed in his experiments, and which he himself invented. He styles it the *leaf-hive* or *book-hive*, (*ruche en feuillets*, or *ruche en livre*), from its opening and shutting somewhat in the manner of the leaves of a book. It consists of several frames or boxes a foot square, and in width fifteen French lines, or sixteen English, that is, an inch and one third: the boxes are placed parallel to each other, and connected together by hinges. Availing himself of a known instinct in the bees leading them to complete any piece of a comb in the direction in which they find it begun, unless they meet with some insurmountable obstacle; he placed pieces of comb in each box, in such a position as to induce them to build perpendicular to the horizon. The lateral surfaces of the combs were thus only three or four lines distant from the glass panes; and, by opening the different divisions of the hive successively, both surfaces of every comb were, at pleasure, brought fully into view. M. Huber did not experience any difficulty in introducing swarms into these leaf-hives; and he found, that after the lapse of about three days, when the colony was fairly established, the bees submitted patiently to his daily inspections. Their tranquillity he ascribes, with some probability, to the surprize, and perhaps fear, produced by the sudden admission of

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\* Some authors employ the terms *chrysalis* and *aurelia* in speaking of bees, as if they were synonymous with *nympha*: but a *nymph* is distinguished by being always rather soft, of a pale or dull colour, and exhibiting the traces of the extremities; while a *chrysalis* or *aurelia* is crustaceous, and generally, as implied in the name, of a golden yellow colour.



of the light; for he observed that they were always less tractable after sunset. An engraved plan of the leaf-hive accompanies the work; and from it, along with the explanation given by the author, we have no doubt that any person, fond of observing the wonderful economy of the busy tribe, might easily construct such a hive; and we believe that he would also find it most excellently adapted to the purpose in view. Both the queen-bee and the drones being considerably larger than the working bees, by adapting glass-tubes exactly to the size of the workers, both queens and drones may be effectually excluded or effectually kept prisoners, as the nature of the experiments may require.

The work appears in the form of letters, written, or supposed to be written, by M. Huber to the late M. Bonnet, the celebrated author of the *Contemplation de la Nature*. Nine of the letters are occupied with the natural history of the queen bee; three treat of the formation of swarms; and the last, or thirteenth letter, contains some economical considerations on bees. The experiments are detailed with great perspicuity; pretty much in the familiar style in which they had been entered in M. Huber's journal: by this means, the reader is in some measure led to consider himself as looking on, or assisting the author to perform them. Subjoined to the first letter, there is an epistle from M. Bonnet to Huber, in which that philosopher suggests a number of experiments, the prosecution and results of several of which, are related in the subsequent part of the work.

In the first two letters, he treats of the impregnation of the queen bee, a subject hitherto involved in the most profound obscurity. The drones are evidently males; but the most careful observation had never been able to detect any thing like sexual intercourse between them and the queen bees. Schirach (a German naturalist, well known for his discoveries concerning bees) boldly denied that such intercourse was necessary to her impregnation; and in this he is stoutly supported by our countryman Bonner. Swammerdam, again, remarking that the drones, at certain seasons, when collected in clusters, exhaled a strong odour, broached an opinion that this odour, proceeding from whole clusters of drones, was a kind of *aura seminalis*, which produced fecundation by penetrating the body of the female. There are generally from 1500 to 2000 males in a hive, while there are only two or three queens to be impregnated in a season; and Swammerdam seemed to have found, in his hypothesis, an easy explanation of this enormous disproportion in the numbers of the sexes. Réaumur, however, combated this fanciful doctrine; and our author has confuted it by direct experiment. He confined all the drones of a hive in a tin case, perforated with minute holes, sufficient to allow any emanation to escape: This tin case  
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was placed in a well inhabited hive, where there was a young queen, who could not fail to be subjected to the odour; but she remained barren.

Maraldi was the first to suggest another hypothesis, which apparently possessed a greater degree of probability; he imagined that the eggs were fecundified by the drones, after being deposited in the cells, in a way analogous to the fecundation of the spawn of fishes by the milsters. Mr Debraw of Cambridge, (in *Phil. Trans.* 1777), strenuously supported this doctrine, and gave it a certain degree of plausibility, by referring to numerous experiments: he even affirmed, that the milt-like fluid of the drones might be seen in the cells. The supposition that the drones performed this important office, satisfactorily accounted for the prodigious numbers of them found in a hive. But Mr Debraw does not seem to have attended to this circumstance,—that great numbers of eggs are laid by the queen between the months of September and April, which prove fertile, although in that season there exist no males to supply the milt-like liquor. M. Huber is of opinion, that the appearance of a fluid had been merely an optical illusion, arising from the reflexion of the light at the bottom of the cell. He made the direct experiment of rigidly excluding every male from a hive, and yet found that eggs laid by the queen in this interval were as fertile as when the males were admitted. Mr Debraw's opinion, therefore, must be erroneous; for the fertility of these eggs must have depended on the previous impregnation of the queen herself, and not on any thing that could happen after they were deposited.

M. Hattorf, in a memoir published in Schirach's work, \* endeavoured to show that the queen is impregnated by herself. This was also M. Schirach's opinion; and it seems to be that of Mr Bonner. It is an opinion, however, that requires no refutation. The cautious Huber, remarking how much confusion had arisen from making experiments with queens taken indiscriminately from the hive, (the source of the error just mentioned), thenceforward selected those which were decidedly in a virgin state, and with whose history he was acquainted from the moment they had left the cell.

The illustrious Linnæus was of opinion that the queen-bees formed an actual union with the drones; and he seems even to have suspected that this union proved fatal to the latter. His opinion on both points has now been verified. For, from many experiments made in the course of the years 1787 and 1788, M. Huber found, that the young queens are never impregnated as long as they remain in the interior of the hive: if confined within its walls, they

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\* *Histoire Naturelle de la Reine des Abeilles*, 1772.

they continue barren, though amidst a seraglio of males. To receive the approaches of the male, the queen soars high in the air, choosing that time of day when the heat has induced the drones to issue from the hive; and love is now ascertained to be the motive of the only distant journey which a young queen ever makes. From this excursion she returns in the space of about half an hour, with the most evident marks of fecundation; for, far from being satisfied with the prolific *aura* of Swammerdam, she actually carries away with her the *ipsa verenda* of the poor drone, who never lives to see his offspring, but falls a sacrifice to the momentary bliss of his aerial amour. The most complete proof of these facts is afforded by the detail of a number of concurring experiments. It is curious that our countryman Bonner should have remarked those aerial excursions of the young queens, without ever suspecting their real object, or observing the marks of fecundation upon their return to the hive. The worthy bee-master thought they were merely taking an airing. 'I have often (says he) seen young queens take an airing on the second or third day of their age.'\* M. Huber also assigns a satisfactory cause for the existence of such a great number of males. 'As the queen is obliged to traverse the expanse of the atmosphere (he observes) it is requisite the males should be numerous, that she may have the chance of meeting some one of them.' But the reason why impregnation cannot be accomplished within the hive, has not yet been ascertained.

In Letter third, M. Huber states the accidental discovery of the very singular and unexpected consequences which follow from retarding the impregnation of the queen bee beyond the twentieth or twenty-first day of her life. In the natural order of things, or when impregnation is not retarded, the queen begins to lay the eggs of workers forty-six hours after her intercourse with the male, 'and she continues for the subsequent eleven months to lay these alone (only); and it is only after this period, that a considerable and uninterrupted laying of the eggs of drones commences. When, on the contrary, impregnation is retarded after the twentieth day, the queen begins, from the forty-sixth hour, to lay the eggs of drones; and she lays no other kind during her whole life.' It would be tedious to detail the experiments; they were numerous, and the results uniform. 'I occupied myself,' (says M. Huber), 'the remainder of 1787, and the two subsequent years, with experiments on retarded fecundation, and had constantly the same results. It is undoubted, therefore, that when the copulation of queens is retarded beyond the twentieth day, only an imperfect  
impregnation

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\* Bonner on Bees, 8vo edit. p. 165.

impregnation is operated; instead of laying the eggs of workers and of males equally, she will lay those of males only.' (p. 52.)

This discovery is entirely M. Huber's own; and so difficult is it to offer any plausible explanation of the fact, that he himself has scarcely attempted it. The difficulty is much increased when we consider, that a single interview with the male is sufficient for fecundifying the whole eggs that a queen will lay in the course of at least two years, (p. 54.); and that therefore it would be in vain to say, that an early impregnation may be necessary for the eggs of workers, and a later for those of drones. It will be recollected, that, in the natural state, the queen lays the eggs of workers for the first eleven months, to the amount of many thousands, before she lays a single drone egg; but that when her impregnation has been for a few days retarded, she begins at once to lay the eggs of drones. The generally admitted principle of the successive expansion of eggs, renders this very puzzling; for how comes it that the eggs of drones, which naturally require eleven months to come to perfection in the ovaria of the queen, are, in this case, perfected in forty-eight hours? What has become of the vast multitude of workers' eggs that the queen ought first to have deposited? It is certain that, during the first twenty days of her life, the eggs of workers ought to be laid; but it would seem that, intercourse with the male being denied, the first set of eggs become effete; they waste away, and perhaps drop from the animal. A fact mentioned by M. Huber, in a subsequent page, (p. 65.), seems to support this notion. 'The body of those queens whose impregnation has been retarded, is shorter than common: the extremity remains slender, while the first two rings next the thorax are uncommonly swoln.' On dissecting the double ovary, both branches were found to be equally expanded and equally sound; but the eggs were apparently not placed so closely together as in common queens. A queen, in ordinary circumstances, lays about 3000 eggs in the space of two months, which is at the rate of 50 a day. It was not correctly ascertained, whether the queens whose impregnation was retarded laid a number of drone eggs corresponding to the whole number of eggs both of workers and drones which they ought to have deposited; but it is certain that they laid a greater number of drone eggs than they ought naturally to have done. The hives in which only drones were produced, always failed, and, indeed, generally broke up before the queens had done laying; for, after the lapse of some time, the workers finding themselves overwhelmed with drones, *fruges consumere nati*, and receiving no increase of their own number, abandoned the hive, and at the same time despatched their unfortunate sovereign.

reign.—In order to throw some light on this curious subject, M. Huber suggests the propriety of instituting analogous experiments on other insects; by retarding, for example, the impregnation of the females of other species of bees, of wasps, and of butterflies.

In the course of a number of experiments made on this subject, some other curious points in the natural history of the bee were accidentally illustrated. Thus, a queen, twenty-seven days old, having been impregnated on the 31st of October, did not begin to lay at the expiration of forty-six hours, apparently on account of the weather having, in the mean time, become extremely cold. She was confined in a hive all winter; and on the 4th of April ensuing, prodigious numbers both of larvæ and pupæ were found; and all of them produced drones.

‘Here, as in the other experiments, retardation had rendered the queen incapable of laying the eggs of workers: but this result is the more remarkable, as she did not commence laying until four months and a half after fecundation. It is not rigorously true, therefore, that the term of forty-six hours elapses between the copulation of the female and her laying; the interval may be much longer if the weather grows cold. Lastly, it follows, that although cold will retard the laying of a queen impregnated in autumn, she will begin to lay in spring without requiring new copulation.’—p. 63.

Again, M. Huber had an opportunity of correcting those naturalists who maintain, that the working bees are charged with the task of conveying into proper cells such eggs as may be misplaced by the queen. He put a queen, who was ready to lay workers' eggs, into a prepared hive which contained only the cells of drones, but which communicated, by a narrow tube (sufficient to permit workers to pass, but too small for the queen), with another hive which contained plenty of the cells of workers. The queen, taught by nature the kind of eggs she was about to lay, searched about for suitable cells; but finding none, she chose rather to drop her eggs at random, than place those of workers in the cells of drones. The eggs thus dropped, soon disappeared; and careless observers might have concluded that they were carried off by the workers to the proper cells; but none were to be seen there; and the author soon ascertained that they were really eaten up by the workers. Thus it was proved that the care of depositing properly the respective kinds of eggs, is left entirely to the instinct of the queen, and that the workers running off with misplaced eggs in order to devour them, has been mistaken for their tenderly conveying them to the right cells.—When the impregnation of the queen-bee is retarded, her instinct seems to suffer; for she then lays her eggs indiscriminately in large and in small cells; those laid in large cells producing large drones; those in small

small cells, small drones; and she has been known to lay the eggs of drones even in royal cells, some of which kind of cells the bees always take care to construct whenever the queen begins to lay male eggs. It is remarkable that the workers were, on those last occasions deceived, and treated the embryo drones as if they had been truly of the royal brood.

The working-bees had for ages been considered as entirely destitute of sex; and hence, in the writings of many authors they are denominated *neuters*. From the experiments of Schirach and of Huber, it seems now to be clearly ascertained that the workers are really of the female sex; but that the organs of generation are small and imperfect, being capable, however, of development, if the larvæ be fed with royal jelly.

Letter fourth accordingly treats of Schirach's curious discovery, which is amply confirmed by Huber. The discovery was this; That when bees are by any accident deprived of their queen, they have the power of selecting one or two grubs of workers, and of converting them into queens; and that they accomplish this, by greatly enlarging the cells of those selected larvæ, by supplying them more copiously with food, and with food of a more pungent sort than is given to the common larvæ. 'All my researches (says our author, p. 77.) establish the reality of the discovery. During ten years that I have studied bees, I have repeated M. Schirach's experiment so often, and with such uniform success, that I can no longer have the least doubt on the subject.' The same testimony is given by Mr Bonner, who declares, that 'having repeated the experiment again and again, he can affirm it with the utmost confidence and certainty.'\* M. Schirach's discovery may now therefore be considered as established beyond controversy; and the late Mr John Hunter's sarcastic strictures, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1792, must consequently fall to the ground. Mr Key's violent scepticism must at length also be overruled. That gentleman has declared that he made experiments for eight years on the subject, without obtaining a single favourable result; † but this ill luck can now, we think, be ascribed only to some unaccountable awkwardness, or some unhappy blunder in performing the experiments.

M. Huber gives the following curious account of the manner in which bees proceed in forming capacious cells for the workers' grubs destined to royalty.

'Bees soon become sensible of having lost their queen, and in a few hours commence the labour necessary to repair their loss. First, they select

\* Bonner on bees, p. 60.

† Bath Society's Papers, vol. V.

select the young common worms, which the requisite treatment is to convert into queens, and immediately begin with enlarging the cells where they are deposited. Their mode of proceeding is curious; and the better to illustrate it, I shall describe the labour bestowed on a single cell, which will apply to all the rest containing worms destined for queens. Having chosen a worm, they sacrifice three of the contiguous cells; next they supply it with food, and raise a cylindrical enclosure around, by which the cell becomes a perfect tube, with a rhomboidal bottom; for the parts forming the bottom are left untouched. If the bees damaged it, they would lay open three corresponding cells on the opposite surface of the comb, and consequently destroy their worms, which would be an unnecessary sacrifice, and nature has opposed it. Therefore, leaving the bottom rhomboidal, they are satisfied with raising a cylindrical tube around the worm, which, like the other cells in the comb, is horizontal. But this habitation remains suitable to the worm called to the royal state, only during the first three days of its existence: another situation is requisite for the other two days it is a worm. Then, which is so small a portion of its life, it must inhabit a cell nearly of a pyramidal figure, and hanging perpendicularly. The workers therefore gnaw away the cells surrounding the cylindrical tube, mercilessly sacrifice their worms, and use the wax in constructing a new pyramidal tube, which they solder at right angles to the first, and work it downwards. The diameter of this pyramid decreases insensibly from the base, which is very wide, to the point. In proportion as the worm grows, the bees labour in extending the cell, and bring food, which they place before its mouth, and around its body, forming a kind of cord around it. The worm, which can move only in a spiral direction, turns incessantly to take the food before its head: it insensibly descends, and at length arrives at the orifice of the cell. Now is the time of transformation to a nymph. As any further care is unnecessary, the bees close the cell with a peculiar substance appropriated for it, and there the worm undergoes both its metamorphoses.' p. 78.—80.

Our author states several points, however, in which his experience leads him to differ from M. Schirach. The latter observer having remarked, that larvæ three days old were generally selected for the royal treatment, concluded that this age of three days was an essential requisite; but M. Huber found, that those two days old, or only a few hours old, were sometimes chosen to the throne, and became perfect queens. We shall extract one experiment at length, as it both demonstrates the reality of common larvæ being converted into queens, and shows the little influence which their age has on the effects of the operation.

'I put some pieces of comb, with some workers' eggs, in the cells, and of the same kind as those already hatched, into a hive deprived of the queen. The same day several cells were enlarged by the bees, and converted into royal cells, and the worms supplied with a thick bed of jelly. Five were then removed from those cells, and five common worms,

worms, which, forty-eight hours before, we had seen come from the egg, substituted for them. The bees did not seem aware of the change; they watched over the new worms the same as over those chosen by themselves; they continued enlarging the cells, and closed them at the usual time. When they had brooded on them (for such seems to be M. Huber's opinion) for seven days, we removed the cells, to see the queens that were to be produced. Two were excluded, almost at the same moment, of the largest size, and well formed in every respect. The term of the other cells having elapsed, and no queen appearing, we opened them. In one was a dead queen, but still a nymph: the other two were empty. The worms had spun their silk cocoons, but died before passing into their nymphine state, and presented only a dry skin. I can conceive nothing more conclusive than this experiment. It demonstrates that bees have the power of converting worms of workers into queens, since they succeeded in procuring queens by operating on the worms which we ourselves had selected. It is equally demonstrated, that the success of the operation does not depend on the worms being three days old, as those entrusted to the bees were only two.' p. 81, 82.

He mentions another experiment, by which it appears, that larvæ only a few hours old (as already hinted), are sometimes destined to replace a lost queen.

In his fifth letter M. Huber relates some experiments which confirm the singular discovery of M. Riems, concerning the existence, occasionally, of common working bees that are capable of laying eggs,—which, we may remark, is certainly a most convincing proof of their being of the female sex. Eggs were observed to increase in number daily in a hive in which there were no queens of the usual appearance; but small queens considerably resemble workers, and to discriminate them required minute inspection.

'My assistant' (says M. Huber) 'then offered to perform an operation that required both courage and patience, and which I could not resolve to suggest, though the same expedient had occurred to myself. He proposed to examine each bee in the hive separately, to discover whether some small queen had not insinuated herself among them, and escaped our first researches.—It was necessary, therefore, to seize the whole bees, notwithstanding their irritation, and to examine their specific character with the utmost care. This my assistant undertook, and executed with great address. Eleven days were employed in it; and, during all that time, he scarcely allowed himself any relaxation, but what the relief of his eyes required. He took every bee in his hand; he attentively examined the trunk, the hind limbs, and the sting; and he found that there was not one without the characteristics of the common bee, that is, the little basket on the hind legs, the long trunk, and the straight sting.' p. 91, 92.

They afterwards seized a fertile worker in the very act of laying; and they thus describe her appearance, (p. 94.) 'She presented



sented all the external characteristics of common bees; the only difference we could recognize, and that was a very slight one, consisted in the belly seeming less, and more slender than that of workers. On dissection, her ovaries were found more fragile, smaller, and composed of fewer oviducts than the ovaries of queens. We counted eleven eggs of sensible size, some of which appeared ripe for laying. This ovary was double, like that of queens.' How or when these fertile workers are impregnated is quite unknown.

Fertile workers resemble queens whose impregnation has been retarded, in this, that they lay the eggs of drones only, never those of workers; and also in this, that they sometimes place their eggs in royal cells. It is remarkable, however, that in the case of queens, whose impregnation has been retarded, laying their eggs in royal cells, the bees build them up, and brood over them until the last metamorphosis of the included drones; but that when eggs are deposited in royal cells by fertile workers, the bees, although at first they pay due attention to the larvæ, never fail to destroy them in the course of a few days.

Schirach's discoveries certainly proved, that common working-bees are radically of the female sex. Huber, we have seen, detected and described their ovaries; and the notion, long entertained, of their being of the *neuter* gender, is now justly exploded as a solecism in animated nature. Here, we cannot help observing, that the doctrine of workers being of the female sex, has accidentally, and most unintentionally, received a very striking collateral confirmation from one of its most eminent opposers. Linnæus had asserted \* that there are ten joints in the antennæ of queens; eleven in those of drones; and fifteen in those of workers: and his assertion on this point naturally passed current as authentic fact. Taking it for granted, therefore, that there existed such a discrepancy in the structure of the antennæ of queens and of workers, naturalists were startled at the new doctrine, that both were females, and that the larvæ of workers could be converted into queens. Mr Kirby (the acute and laborious author of the *Monographia Apum Angliæ*, in which he has described above 220 species, natives of England,) has corrected the Swedish knight, and informs us, that there are positively the same number of articulations in the antennæ of queens, as in those of workers. This testimony is not the less deserving of credit, that it militates against Mr Kirby's own notions, who continues to argue for workers being proper neuters.

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\* *Systema Naturæ*, art. *Apis mellifica*. 'Regina (fœmina), antennæ articulis 10, &c. Fuci (mares), antennæ 11-articulatis, &c. Operariæ (spadones), antennæ 15-articulatis, &c.'

M. Huber imagines he has discovered the cause of the partial expansion of the sexual organs in those workers that prove fertile. He observes, that fertile workers appear in those hives only that have lost the queen, and where of course a quantity of royal jelly is prepared for feeding the larvæ intended to replace her. He suspects that the bees, either by accident, or by a particular instinct, the principle of which is unknown, drop some particles of royal jelly into cells, contiguous to those containing the worms destined for queens. The larvæ of workers that thus casually receive portions of this active aliment, are affected by it, and their ovaries acquire a certain degree of expansion: from the want of full feeding, and owing to the smallness of their cells, this expansion is only partial, and such fertile workers remain of the ordinary size of working-bees, and lay only a few eggs. The royal jelly, when pure, may be known by its pungent taste \*; but when mixed with other substances, it is not easily distinguished. M. Huber repeatedly tried to feed some of the larvæ of workers in other parts of the hive, with the royal jelly, in order to observe the consequences; but he found this to be a vain attempt, the bees immediately destroying such worms, and themselves devouring the food. It has not therefore been directly ascertained, that all fertile workers proceed from larvæ that have received portions of the royal food; but M. Huber observed, that they were uniformly such as had passed the vermicular state, in cells contiguous to the royal ones. 'The bees, (he remarks), in their course thither, will pass in numbers over them, stop, and drop some portion of the jelly destined for the royal larvæ.' This reasoning, though not conclusive, is plausible. The result is so uniform, that M. Huber says he can, whenever he pleases, produce fertile workers in his hives. They are probably, he adds, always produced, in greater or less numbers, whenever the bees have to create to themselves a new queen; and the reason that they are so seldom seen, probably is, that the queen bees attack and destroy them without mercy whenever they perceive them.

Letters sixth and seventh, treat of the combats of queens; the massacre of the males; and of the reception a stranger queen meets with in a hive. When a supernumerary queen is produced in a hive, or is introduced into it in the course of experiment, either

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\* Mr Bonner puzzles much about this royal jelly, whether it be of a *generative* or a *nutritive* nature: he inclines to the former opinion, while he at the same time admits, that in this case we must take it for granted that the working-bees are males! But this difficulty he pleasantly enough considers as counterbalanced by one on the other side; for if the jelly be merely of a nutritive nature, then, says he, the queen is self-prolific, or a hermaphrodite!

either she or the rightful owner soon perishes. The German naturalists, Schirach and Riems, imagined that the working-bees assailed the stranger, and stung her to death. Réaumeur considered it as more probable, that the sceptre was made to depend on the issue of a single combat between the claimants; and this conjecture is verified by the observations of Huber. The same hostility towards rivals, and destructive vengeance against royal cells, animates all queens, whether they be virgins, or in a state of impregnation, or the mothers of numerous broods. The working-bees, it may here be remarked, remain quiet spectators of the destruction, by the first-hatched queen, of the remaining royal cells; they approach only to share in the plunder presented by their havock-making mistress, greedily devouring any food found at the bottom of the cells, and even sucking the fluid from the abdomen of the nymphs before they toss out the carcasses.

The following fact, connected with this subject, is one of the most curious perhaps in the whole history of this wonderful insect. Whenever the workers perceive that there are two rival queens in the hive, numbers of them crowd around each: they seem to be perfectly aware of the approaching deadly conflict, and willing to prompt their amazonian chieftains to the battle; for, as often as the queens show a disinclination to fight, or seem inclined to recede from each other, or to fly off, the bees immediately surround and detain them; but when either combatant shows a disposition to approach her antagonist, all the bees forming the clusters instantly give way to allow her full liberty for the attack. (p. 117.) It seems strange that those bees who in general show so much anxiety about the safety of their queen, should, in particular circumstances, oppose her preparations to avoid impending danger,—should seem to promote the battle, and to excite the fury of the combatants.

When a queen is removed from a hive, the bees do not immediately perceive it; they continue their labours; ‘watch over the young, and perform all their ordinary occupations. But, in a few hours, agitation ensues; all appears a scene of tumult in the hive. A singular humming is heard; the bees desert their young; and rush over the surface of the combs with a delirious impetuosity.’ They have now evidently discovered that their sovereign is gone; and the rapidity with which the bad news now spreads through the hive, to the opposite side of the combs, is very remarkable. On replacing the queen in the hive, tranquillity is almost instantly restored. The bees, it is worthy of notice, recognize the individual person of their own queen. If another be palmed upon them, they seize and surround her, so that she is either suffocated or perishes by hunger; for it is very remarkable, that the workers

are never known to attack a queen bee with their stings. If, however, more than eighteen hours have elapsed before the stranger queen be introduced, she has some chance to escape: the bees do at first seize and confine her; but less rigidly; and they soon begin to disperse, and at length leave her to reign over a hive in which she was at first treated as a prisoner. If twenty-four hours have elapsed, the stranger will be well received from the first, and at once admitted to the sovereignty of the hive. In short, it appears that the bees when deprived of their queen, are thrown into great agitation; that they wait about twenty hours, apparently in hopes of her return; but that after this interregnum, the agitation ceases; and they set about supplying their loss by beginning to construct royal cells. It is when they are in this temper, and not sooner, that a stranger queen will be graciously received: and upon her being presented to them, the royal cells, in whatever state of forwardness they may happen to be, are instantly abandoned, and the larvæ destroyed. Réaumeur must therefore have mistaken the result of his own experiments, when he asserts, that a stranger queen is instantly well received, though presented at the moment when the other is withdrawn. He had seen the bees crowding around her at the entrance of the hive, and laying their antennæ over her; and this he seems to have taken for caressing. The structure of the hives he employed, prevented him from seeing further: had he used the leaf-hive, or one of similar construction, he would have perceived that the apparent caresses of the guards were only the prelude of actual imprisonment.

It is well known, that after the season of swarming, a general massacre of the drones is commenced. Several authors assert in their writings, that the workers do not sting the drones to death, but merely harass them till they be banished from the hive and perish. M. Huber contrived a glass table, on which he placed several hives, and he was thus able to see distinctly what passed in the bottom of the hive, which is generally dark and concealed: he witnessed a real and furious massacre of the males, the workers thrusting their stings so deep into the bodies of the defenceless drones, that they were obliged to turn on themselves as on a pivot, before they could extricate them. The work of death commenced in all the hives much about the same time. It is not, however, by a blind or indiscriminating instinct that the workers are impelled thus to sacrifice the males; for if a hive be deprived of its queen, no massacre of the males takes place in it, while the hottest persecution rages in all the surrounding hives. In this case, the males are allowed to survive over winter. Mr Bonner had observed this fact; he supposed, however, that the workers thus tolerated the drones for the sake of the additional heat they generated in the hive; but we

now see the true reason to be, that their aid is needed to impregnate a new queen. The drones are also suffered to exist in hives that possess fertile workers, but no proper queen; and, what is remarkable, they are likewise spared in hives governed by a queen whose impregnation has been retarded. Here, then, we perceive a counter instinct opposed to that which would have impelled them to the usual massacre.

Letter eighth is occupied with miscellaneous topics. The author first investigates whether the queen be really oviparous; and this point he clearly ascertains in the affirmative.

He next states the different periods at which the transformations occur, in the case of the different orders of queen, worker, and drone; and his information being minute, and no doubt correctly accurate, we shall extract it.

The worm of workers passes three days in the egg, five in the vermicular state, and then the bees close up its cell with a wax covering. The worm now begins spinning its cocoon, in which operation thirty-six hours are consumed. In three days it changes to a nymph, and it passes six days in this form. It is only on the twentieth day of its existence, counting from the moment the egg is laid, that it attains the fly state.—The royal worm also passes three days in the egg, and is five a worm; the bees then close its cell, and it immediately begins spinning the cocoon, which occupies twenty-four hours. The tenth and eleventh day it remains in complete repose, and even sixteen hours of the twelfth. Then the transformation to a nymph takes place, in which state four and one-third days are passed. Thus, it is not before the sixteenth day that the perfect state of queen is attained.—The male worm passes three days in the egg, six and a half as a worm, and metamorphoses into a fly on the twenty-fourth day after the egg is laid.”—*p.* 151, 152.

The author then examines the effects of position on the growth of the larvæ. The bodies of the larvæ, in the cells of workers and drones, are placed perpendicular to the horizon; those in royal cells lie horizontally. It was suspected that the horizontal posture somehow promoted the increment of the royal grub; but M. Huber found, that a complete reversal of the position was followed by no perceptible consequence to the larvæ.

We have, in the next place, some remarks on the cocoons spun by the different larvæ. Workers and drones both spin complete cocoons, or enclose themselves on every side. Royal larvæ, however, construct only imperfect cocoons, open behind, and enveloping only the head, thorax, and first ring of the abdomen. M. Huber concludes, without any hesitation, that the final cause of the royal larvæ forming only incomplete cocoons, is, that they may thus be exposed to the mortal sting of the first-hatched queen, whose instinct leads her instantly to seek the destruction

of those that would soon become her rivals ; and he calls upon us to admire the providence of Nature, in thus exposing the royal larvæ to fatal danger. (p. 159.)

In the close of the letter, we have an account of an experiment instituted to determine the influence which the size of the cells might have on the size of the bees produced in them. All the larvæ were removed from a comb of drones' cells, and the larvæ of workers substituted in their place. The bees, it may be remarked, immediately showed that they were aware of the change which had been effected ; for they did not close the cells with the convex covering always placed over the males, but gave them quite a flat top. The result proved that the size of the cells does not materially influence the size of the bees ; or, at least, that although a small cell may cramp the size of a worker, yet, that workers bred in large cells do not exceed the ordinary bulk.

In letters ninth, tenth, and eleventh, the author treats of the formation of swarms. But in the first place, he gives an interesting account of the hatching of the queen-bee. When the pupa is about to change into the perfect insect, the bees render the cover of the cell thinner by gnawing away part of the wax ; and with so much nicety do they perform this operation, that the cover at last becomes pellucid, owing to its extreme thinness. This must not only facilitate the exit of the fly, but, M. Huber remarks, it may possibly be useful in permitting the evaporation of the superabundant fluids of the nymph. After the transformation is complete, the young queens would, in common course, immediately emerge from their cells as workers and drones do ; but the bees always keep them prisoners for some days in their cells, supplying them in the mean time with honey for food ; a small hole being made in the door of each cell, through which the confined bee extends its proboscis to receive it. The royal prisoners continually utter a kind of song, the modulations of which are said to vary. The final cause of this temporary imprisonment, it is suggested, may possibly be, that they may be able to take flight, at the instant they are liberated. When a young queen does at last get out, she meets with rather an awkward reception ; she is pulled, bit, and chased, as often as she happens to approach the other royal cells in the hive. The purpose of nature here seems to be, that she should be impelled to go off with a swarm as soon as possible. A curious fact was observed on these occasions ; when the queen found herself much harassed, she had only to utter a peculiar noise, (the commanding voice, we may presume, of sovereignty), and all the bees were instantaneously constrained to submission and obedience. This is indeed, one of the most marked instances in which the queen exerts her sove-  
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reign power. It seems entirely to have escaped the notice of Mr Bonner, who declares that he never could observe in the queen any thing like an exertion of sovereignty. \*

The conclusions at which M. Huber arrives on the subject of swarms, are the following.

1st, 'A swarm is always led off by a single queen, either the sovereign of the parent hive, or one recently brought into existence. If, at the return of spring, we examine a hive well peopled, and governed by a fertile queen, we shall see her lay a prodigious number of male eggs in the course of May, and the workers will choose that moment for constructing several royal cells.' (p. 202.) This laying of male eggs in May, M. Huber calls the *great laying*; and he remarks, that no queen ever has a great laying till she be eleven months old. It is only after finishing this laying, that she is able to undertake the journey implied in leading a swarm; for, previously to this, '*latum trahit alvum,*' which unfits her for flying. There appears to be a secret relation between the production of male eggs and the construction of royal cells. The great laying commonly lasts thirty days: and regularly on the twentieth or twenty-first, several royal cells are founded.

2dly, 'When the larvæ hatched from the eggs laid by the queen in the royal cells are ready to transform to nymphs, this queen leaves the hive, conducting a swarm along with her; and the first swarm that proceeds from the hive is uniformly conducted by the old queen.' (p. 205.) M. Huber remarks, that it was necessary that instinct should impel the old queen to lead forth the first swarm; for that she being the strongest, would never have failed to have overthrown the younger competitors for the throne. An old queen, as has been already said, never quits a hive at the head of a swarm, till she have finished her laying of male eggs; but this is of importance, not merely that she may be lighter and fitter for flight, but that she may be ready to begin with the laying of workers' eggs in her new habitation, workers being the bees first needed in order to secure the continuance and prosperity of the newly founded commonwealth.

3dly, 'After the old queen has conducted the first swarm from the hive, the remaining bees take particular care of the royal cells, and prevent the young queens successively hatched, from leaving them, unless at an interval of several days between each.' (p. 207.) Under this head, he introduces a number of general remarks, some of which may prove useful. 'A swarm (he observes) is never seen, unless in a fine day, or, to speak more correctly, at a time of the day when the sun shines, and the air is calm. Some-

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\* Bonner on Bees, p. 52.

times we have observed all the precursors of swarming, disorder and agitation; but a cloud passed before the sun, and tranquillity was restored; the bees thought no more of swarming. An hour afterwards, the sun having again appeared, the tumult was renewed; it rapidly augmented; and the swarm departed.' (p. 211.) A certain degree of tumult commences as soon as the young queens are hatched, and begin to traverse the hive: the agitation soon pervades the whole bees; and such a ferment then rages, that M. Huber has often observed the thermometer in the hive rise suddenly from about  $92^{\circ}$  to above  $104^{\circ}$ : this suffocating heat he considers as one of the means employed by nature for urging the bees to go off in swarms. In warm weather, one strong hive has been known to send off four swarms in eighteen days.

*4thly*, 'The young queens conducting swarms from their native hive, are still in a virgin state.' (p. 221.) The day after being settled in their new abode, they generally set out in quest of the males, and this is usually the fifth day of their existence as queens. Old queens conducting the first swarms require no renewal of their intercourse with the male, a single interview being sufficient to fecundate all the eggs that a queen will lay for at least two years. This is considered by Mr Bonner as quite an incredible circumstance; inasmuch that he remarks, either in a sarcastic, or in a very innocent style, that if a queen-bee 'should continue for seven or eight months with about 12,000 impregnated eggs in her ovarium, it certainly would make her appear very large!' \* The worthy bee-master seems to have fancied that an egg could not be fecundated till it were of the full size, and ready for exclusion. It is a fact, however, ascertained beyond controversy by M. Huber, that 'a single copulation is sufficient to impregnate the whole eggs that a queen will lay in the course of at least two years. I have even reason to think (he adds) that a single copulation will impregnate all the eggs that she will lay during her whole life; but I want absolute proof for more than two years.' p. 54.

Towards the close of the eleventh letter, we have some remarks on the wonderful instincts of bees; and in hazarding these, M. Huber is duly cautious. He resolves all into what Shakespeare calls a 'ruling nature;' and disapproves both of Réaumeur for ascribing wisdom and foresight to them, and of Buffon for considering them as mere automata. We do not imagine he would be at all more indulgent to our learned countryman Mr Knight, who, in a late paper on the economy of bees, † has intimated his belief that they can hold consultations, and communicate different kinds of intelligence to each other. 'If their language (he goes

\* Bonner on bees, p. 69.

† Phil. Trans. 1807, part ii.



goes the length of saying) be not in some degree a language of ideas, it appears to be something very similar.'

In the twelfth letter, we find additional observations on queens that lay only the eggs of drones, or whose fecundation has been retarded. The instinct of such queens seems to be impaired: they show no antipathy to royal cells, but pass quietly over them without indicating any emotion, while other queens exhibit the greatest enmity against those of their own sex that are in the nymphine state. Some observations are added on the effects produced by mutilating the bodies of queens. Swammerdam had asserted, that if the wings of queens be cut, they are rendered sterile. This appeared rather strange and improbable. M. Hubert accordingly found, that the cutting of the wings of impregnated queens produced no effect on them; and he concludes, certainly with great probability, that Swammerdam had cut the wings of virgin queens, who had not therefore been able to seek the males in the air, and so remained barren. The amputation of one antenna, M. Huber found, had no bad effect on a queen; but when deprived of both, she was much deranged: she dropped her eggs at random; and when the bees fed her, she often missed her aim in attempting to catch hold of the morsel they presented to her. M. Huber placed two queens deprived of the antennæ in the same hive: the loss of their feelers seemed to have put an end to their natural animosity; they passed and repassed each other, without taking the least notice. Both of them constantly endeavoured to leave the hive. M. Huber declares, that he cannot say whether the antennæ be the organs of touch or of smell; but he suggests that they may possibly fulfil both functions at once. It seems fully as probable that they are the instruments of a peculiar sense, of the nature of which we have no conception, and for which, consequently, we have no name.

In the thirteenth and last letter, we have several useful observations on the economical treatment of bees. It has already been hinted, that M. Huber's leaf-hive might be employed with advantage by practical men. It is well calculated, for example, for producing artificial swarms, on the principle of Schirach's discovery. 'In the leaf-hive we can see whether the population is sufficient to admit of division,—if the brood is of proper age,—if males exist or are ready to be produced for impregnating the young queen.' By means of it, also, bees may be induced to work much more in wax than they would naturally do. 'Here' (says M. Huber) 'I am led to what I believe is a new observation. While naturalists have directed our admiration to the parallel position of the combs, they have overlooked another trait in the industry of bees, namely, the equal distance uniformly  
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between them. On measuring the interval separating the combs, it will generally be found about four lines. Were they too distant, it is very evident the bees would be much dispersed, and unable to communicate their heat reciprocally; whence the brood would not be exposed to sufficient warmth. Were the combs too close, on the contrary, the bees could not freely traverse the intervals, and the work of the hive would suffer.' (p. 263.) This instinct being admitted, it is evident that bees may be induced to construct new combs, by merely separating those already built, so far asunder, that they may have room to build others in the interval.

The cause of the bees, which has been so eloquently and pathetically pleaded by the Poet of the seasons, is supported by M. Huber on a principle more intelligible perhaps, and more persuasive, to most country bee-masters,—*viz.* interest. He deprecates the destruction of bees, and recommends to the cultivator to be content with a reasonable share of the wealth of the hive; arguing, very justly we believe, that a little taken from each of a number of hives, is ultimately much more profitable, than a greater quantity obtained by the total destruction of a few.

M. Huber, in the conclusion, promises to give to the public a separate work on the economical management of bees. This has not yet been published; but the experience and sagacity of the author lead us to anticipate in it, the most useful practical book that has ever appeared on the subject. We may observe, however, that to the edition printed at Paris in 1796 is subjoined a 'Manuel-pratique de la Culture des Abeilles,' by a Frenchman. This little tract contains, in our opinion, a good deal of useful information, exhibiting the most recent and improved plans adopted in France. A translation of it, we conceive, would have been a valuable addition to the work now before us.

Upon the whole, M. Huber's treatise is both an entertaining and an instructive little volume. Throughout the performance, however, a want of arrangement is conspicuous; and in this respect the original is still more faulty than the translation; for the translator has with propriety removed to an appendix some minute anatomical details, which interrupt and darken the narrative; and has, on the other hand, engrossed in the text some important and closely connected passages which are improperly thrown into foot-notes in the original.

The author mentions in his preface, that he had long been deprived of sight, and was obliged to depend on an assistant in making his experiments. We should not wonder if the reader should agree with us in being at first somewhat mortified at this intelligence, and should wish that the author had seen every thing  
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with his own eyes :—we should really be surprised if he did not smile with us at finding this untoward-looking circumstance actually considered as an advantage by the translator ; for, after mentioning the circumstance, the translator, in his preface, immediately adds, ‘ Thus these discoveries may be said to acquire double authority ! ’ Now, it seems pretty evident, that though a naturalist’s assistant may possess a pair of very good eyes, he may yet be quite inadequate to the task of intelligibly describing what he sees. M. Huber, however, fortunately enjoyed, in *Francis Burnens*, a philosophic assistant, who himself appears to have entered with enthusiasm into the pursuit, and to have conducted the experiments, not only with the most patient assiduity, watching every occurrence *oculis emissitiis*, but with great address, and no small share of steadiness and courage—qualities indispensable in those who attempt to work among the stinging nations.

In respect to the translation, it is anonymous ; but bears intrinsic marks of Scottish extraction. In his preface, the translator observes, ‘ It is vain to attempt a translation of any work without being to a certain degree skilled in the subject of which it treats. Some parts of the original of the following treatise ; it must be acknowledged, are confused, and some so minute, that it is extremely difficult to give an exact interpretation. But the general tenor, though not elegant, is plain and perspicuous ; and such has it been here retained. ’ We should be sorry to detract from this modest claim. The translation is certainly always plain, and it is generally perspicuous. The extracts we have given may be considered as affording a fair specimen of the whole. We must not conceal, however, that in some few instances it is careless and faulty. The sense is entirely mistaken at p. 112 ; and at p. 23 inextricable confusion is produced by his chusing to render ‘ reigning queens ’ by the extraordinary phrase of ‘ virgin females. ’ Upon the whole, however, the translation is better than that of most French books.

As Mr Bonner’s treatise is pretty well known, and his opinions generally circulated, especially in Scotland, we have thought it not amiss, in the course of the preceding analysis, to state the chief points in which M. Huber differs from him ; and we confess that it has appeared to us that in these cases our countryman generally stands corrected by the Genevese observer. They appear both to have been engaged in making their experiments and observations about the same time, from 1788 to 1791. M. Huber, however, possessed several eminent advantages. He was directed in his researches by one of the first philosophers of the day, M. Bonnet ; he was not restrained in his experiments by any considerations of time or expense ; and he was aided by an assistant pecu-

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liarily expert in working among bees. Our Bonner, on the other hand, was much restricted, both as to expense and time, having a family to support by his daily earnings at the loom; and he long laboured under a very peculiar and almost incredible disadvantage, —that of residing in the midst of a populous city; for we understand it to be a fact, that his apiary was for some years kept in a *garret* in Glasgow.

The practical directions contained in Mr Bonner's book,\* are, we have no doubt, in general excellent; but many of them are of partial application only, being peculiarly adapted to the climate of North Britain; and it must not be concealed, that this climate is unfavourable to the cultivation of bees. In this respect, it is inferior not only to the climate of France or Italy, but even to that of Denmark or Russia: for in these last countries, the bees remain, during the whole winter, in a state approaching to torpor, and never leave their hives till the frost have fairly broken up, when, as is well known, the genial season immediately commences, and continues steady for several months. With us, on the contrary, the great changeableness of the weather in the months of March, April and May, opposes almost an insurmountable obstacle to that extensive culture of those insects, so enthusiastically projected by the worthy bee-master; and if we be not misinformed, the issue of some pretty extensive trials made by the author himself, under the patronage of the indefatigable President of the Board of Agriculture (Sir John Sinclair), has not much tended to encourage those high expectations.

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\* His work is entitled, 'A New Plan for speedily increasing the Number of Bee-hives in Scotland; and which may be extended with equal success to England, Ireland, or America, &c. By James Bonner, Bee-master.' One volume 8vo. Edinburgh, 1795.—The book seems to be little known in England: for, in Mr Knight's paper on the Economy of Bees, in the 2d part of the Philosophical Transactions for 1807, the circumstances of bees sending out a squadron of scouts to fix on a habitation, before the day of swarming, and of the swarm then flying in a direct line to the selected spot, &c. &c. are announced as if they were new discoveries; while it so happens, that these very facts are minutely and distinctly stated in the Scottish bee-master's work, pp. 156, 157. Another of Mr Knight's remarks will be found anticipated at p. 137.

ART. V. *Causes of the Increase of Methodism, and Diffension.* By Robert Acklem Ingram, B. D. Hatchard.

THIS is the production of an honest man, possessed of a fair share of understanding. He cries out lustily (and not before it is time), upon the increase of Methodism; proposes various remedies for the diminution of this evil; and speaks his opinions with a freedom which does him great credit, and convinces us that he is a respectable man. The clergy are accused of not exerting themselves. What temporal motive, Mr Ingram asks, have they for exertion? Would a curate, who had served thirty years upon a living in the most exemplary manner, secure to himself, by such a conduct, the slightest right or title to promotion in the church? What can you expect of a whole profession, in which there is no more connexion between merit and reward, than between merit and beauty, or merit and strength? This is the substance of what Mr Ingram says upon this subject; and he speaks the truth. We regret, however, that this gentleman has thought fit to use against the dissenters, the exploded clamour of Jacobinism; or that he deems it necessary to call in to the aid of the Church, the power of intolerant laws, in spite of the odious and impolitic tests to which the dissenters are still subjected. We believe them to be very good subjects; and we have no doubt but that any further attempt upon their religious liberties, without reconciling them to the Church, would have a direct tendency to render them disaffected to the State.

Mr Ingram (whose book, by the by, is very dull and tedious) has fallen into the common mistake of supposing his readers to be as well acquainted with his subject as he is himself; and has talked a great deal about dissenters, without giving us any distinct notions of the spirit which pervades these people—the objects they have in view—or the degree of talent which is to be found among them. To remedy this very capital defect, we shall endeavour to set before the eyes of the reader, a complete section of the tabernacle; and to present him with a near view of those sectaries, who are at present at work upon the destruction of the orthodox churches, and are destined hereafter, perhaps, to act as conspicuous a part in public affairs, as the children of Sion did in the time of Cromwell.

The sources from which we shall derive our extracts, are the Evangelical and Methodistical Magazines for the year 1807;—works which are said to be circulated to the amount of 18 or 20,000 each, every month; and which contain the sentiments of Arminian and Calvinistic methodists, and of the *evangelical* clergymen of the church of England. We shall use the general term

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of Methodism, to designate these three classes of fanatics, not troubling ourselves to point out the finer shades, and nicer discriminations of lunacy, but treating them all as in one general conspiracy against common sense, and rational orthodox christianity.

In reading these very curious productions, we seemed to be in a new world, and to have got among a set of beings, of whose existence we had hardly before entertained the slightest conception. It has been our good fortune to be acquainted with many truly religious persons, both in the Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches; and from their manly, rational, and serious characters, our conceptions of true practical piety have been formed. To these confined habits, and to our want of proper introductions among the children of light and grace, any degree of surprise is to be attributed, which may be excited by the publications before us; which, under opposite circumstances, would (we doubt not) have proved as great a source of instruction and delight to the Edinburgh reviewers, as they are to the most melodious votaries of the tabernacle.

It is not wantonly, or with the most distant intention of trifling upon serious subjects, that we call the attention of the public to these sort of publications. Their circulation is so enormous, and so increasing,—they contain the opinions, and display the habits of so many human beings,—that they cannot but be objects of curiosity and importance. The common and the middling classes of people are the purchasers; and the subject is religion,—though not that religion certainly which is established by law, and encouraged by national provision. This may lead to unpleasant consequences, or it may not; but it carries with it a sort of aspect, which ought to insure to it serious attention and reflection.

It is impossible to arrive at any knowledge of a religious sect, by merely detailing the settled articles of their belief: it may be the fashion of such a sect, to insist upon some articles very slightly; to bring forward others prominently; and to consider some portion of their formal creed as obsolete. As the knowledge of the jurisprudence of any country can never be obtained, by the perusal of volumes which contain some statutes that are daily enforced, and others that have been silently antiquated: in the same manner, the practice, the preaching, and the writing of sects, are comments absolutely necessary to render the perusal of their creed of any degree of utility.

It is the practice, we believe, with the orthodox, both in the Scotch and the English churches, to insist very rarely, and very discreetly, upon the particular instances of the interference of Divine Providence. They do not contend that the world is governed only by general laws,—that a Superintending Mind never inter-  
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feres for particular purposes; but such purposes are represented to be of a nature very awful and sublime,—when a guilty people are to be destroyed,—when an oppressed nation is to be lifted up, and some remarkable change introduced into the order and arrangement of the world. With this kind of theology we can have no quarrel; we bow to its truth; we are satisfied with the moderation which it exhibits; and we have no doubt of the salutary effect which it produces upon the human heart. Let us now come to those special cases of the interference of Providence as they are exhibited in the publications before us.

*An interference with respect to the Rev. James Moody.*

‘ Mr James Moody was descended from pious ancestors, who resided at Paisley;—his heart was devoted to music, dancing, and theatrical amusements; of the latter he was so fond, that he used to meet with some men of a similar cast, to rehearse plays, and used to entertain an hope that he should make a figure upon the stage. To improve himself in music, he would rise very early, even in severely cold weather, and practise on the German flute: by his skill in music and singing, with his general powers of entertaining, he became a desirable companion: he would sometimes venture to profane the day of God, by turning it into a season of carnal pleasure; and would join in excursions on the water, to various parts of the vicinity of London. But the time was approaching, *when the Lord, who had designs of mercy for him, and for many others by his means, was about to stop him in his vain career of sin and folly.* There were two professing servants in the house where he lived; one of these was a porter, who, in brushing his clothes, would say, “ Master James, this will never do—you must be otherwise employed—you must be a minister of the gospel.” This worthy man, earnestly wishing his conversion, put into his hands that excellent book which God hath so much owned, *Allein’s alarm to the unconverted.*

‘ About this time, it pleased God to visit him with a disorder in his eyes, occasioned, as it was thought, by his sitting up in the night to improve himself in drawing. The apprehension of losing his sight occasioned many serious reflections; his mind was impressed with the importance and necessity of seeking the salvation of his soul, and he was induced to attend the preaching of the gospel. The first sermon that he heard with a desire to profit, was at Spa-fields Chapel: a place which he had formerly frequented, when it was a temple of vanity and dissipation. Strong convictions of sin fixed on his mind; and he continued to attend the preached word, particularly at Tottenham-Court Chapel. Every sermon increased his sorrow and grief that he had not earlier sought the Lord. It was a considerable time before he found comfort from the gospel. He has stood in the free part of the chapel, hearing with such emotion, that the tears have flowed from his eyes, in torrents; and, when he has returned home, he has continued a great part of the night on his knees, praying over what he had heard.

‘ The change effected by the power of the Holy Spirit on his heart,

now became visible to all. Nor did he halt between two opinions, as some persons do; he became at once a decided character, and gave up for ever all his vain pursuits and amusements; devoting himself with as much resolution and diligence to the service of God, as he had formerly done to folly.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 194.

*An Interference respecting Cards.*

'A clergyman not far distant from the spot on which these lines were written, was spending an evening,—not in his closet wrestling with his Divine Master for the communication of that grace which is so peculiarly necessary for the faithful discharge of the ministerial function,—not in his study searching the sacred oracles of divine truth for materials wherewith to prepare for his public exercises and feed the flock under his care,—not in pastoral visits to that flock, to inquire into the state of their souls, and endeavour, by his pious and affectionate conversation, to conciliate their esteem, and promote their edification, but at the *card table*.'—After stating that when it was his turn to deal, he dropt down dead, 'It is worthy of remark (says the writer) that within a very few years this was the third character in the neighbourhood which had been summoned from the card table to the bar of God.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 262.

*Interference respecting Swearing,—a bee the instrument.*

'A young man is stung by a bee, upon which he buffets the bees with his hat, uttering at the same time the most dreadful oaths and imprecations. In the midst of his fury, one of these little combatants stung him upon the tip of that unruly member (his tongue), which was then employed in blaspheming his Maker. Thus can the Lord engage one of the meanest of his creatures in reproving the bold transgressor who dares to take his name in vain.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 363.

*Interference with respect to David Wright, who was cured of Atheism and Scrofula by one sermon of Mr Coles.*

This case is too long to quote in the language and with the evidences of the writers. The substance of it is what our title implies.—David Wright was a man with scrophulous legs, and atheistical principles;—being with difficulty persuaded to hear one sermon from Mr Coles, he limped to the church in extreme pain, and arrived there after great exertions;—during church time he was entirely converted, walked home with the greatest ease, and never after experienced the slightest return of scrofula or infidelity.—*Ev. Mag.* p. 444.

*The displeasure of Providence is expressed at Captain Scott's going to preach in Mr Romaine's Chapel.*

The sign of this displeasure is a violent storm of thunder and lightning just as he came in to town.—*Ev. Mag.* p. 537.

*Interference with respect to an innkeeper who was destroyed for having appointed a cock-fight at the very time that the service was beginning at the Methodist Chapel.*

"Never mind," says the innkeeper, "I'll get a greater congregation than the Methodist parson;—we'll have a cock-fight." But what is man!



man! how insignificant his designs, how impotent his strength, how ill-fated his plans, when opposed to that Being who is infinite in wisdom, boundless in power, terrible in judgment, and who frequently reverses, and suddenly renders abortive, the projects of the wicked! A few days after the avowal of his intention, the innkeeper sickened.' &c. &c. And then the narrator goes on to state, that his corpse was carried by the meeting-house, 'on the day, and exactly at the time, the deceased had fixed for the cock-fight.'—*Meth. Mag.* p. 126.

In page 167. *Meth. Mag.* a father, mother, three sons, and a sister, are destroyed by particular interposition.

In page 222. *Meth. Mag.* a dancing-master is destroyed for irreligion,—another person for swearing at a cock-fight,—and a third for pretending to be deaf and dumb. These are called *recent and authentic accounts* of God's avenging providence.

So much for the miraculous interposition of Providence in cases where the Methodists are concerned: we shall now proceed to a few specimens of the energy of their religious feelings.

*Mrs Roberts's feelings in the month of May 1793.*

'But; all this time, my soul was stayed upon God; my desires increased, and my mind was kept in a sweet praying frame, a going out of myself, as it were, and taking shelter in Him. Every breath I drew, ended in a prayer. I felt myself helpless as an infant, dependent upon God for all things. I was in a constant, daily expectation of receiving all I wanted; and, on Friday May 31st, under Mr Rutherford's sermon, though entirely independent of it, (for I could not give any account of what he had been preaching about), I was given to feel that God was waiting to be very gracious to me; the spirit of prayer and supplication was given me, and such an assurance that I was accepted in the Beloved, as I cannot describe, but which I shall never forget.' *Meth. Mag.* p. 35.

*Mrs Elizabeth Price and her attendants hear sacred music on a sudden.*

'A few nights before her death, while some neighbours and her husband were sitting up with her, a sudden and joyful sound of music was heard by all present, *although some of them were carnal people*: at which time she thought she saw her crucified Saviour before her, speaking these words with power to her soul, "Thy sins are forgiven thee, and I love thee freely." After this she never doubted of her acceptance with God; and on Christmas-day following, was taken to celebrate the Redeemer's birth in the Paradise of God. MICHAEL COUSIN.'—*Meth. Mag.* 137.

*T. L. a Sailor on board the Stag frigate, has a special revelation from our Saviour.*

'October 26th, being the Lord's day, he had a remarkable manifestation of God's love to his soul. That blessed morning, he was much grieved by hearing the wicked use profane language, when Jesus revealed himself to him, and impressed on his mind those words, "Follow Me." This was a precious day to him.'—*Meth. Mag.* p. 140.

*The manner in which Mr Thomas Cook was accustomed to accost S. B.*

‘Whenever he met me in the street, his salutations used to be, “Have you free and lively intercourse with God to-day? Are you giving your whole heart to God?” I have known him on such occasions speak in so pertinent a manner, that I have been astonished at his knowledge of my state. Meeting me one morning, he said, “I have been praying for you, you have had a sore conflict, though all is well now.” At another time he asked, “Have you been much exercised these few days, for I have been led to pray that you might especially have suffering grace.”—*Metb. Mag.* p. 247.

*Mr John Kestin on his deathbed.*

“Oh, my dear, I am now going to glory, happy, happy, happy. I am going to sing praises to God and the Lamb; I am going to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. I think I can see my Jesus without a glass between. I can, I feel I can, discern ‘my title clear to mansions in the skies.’ Come, Lord Jesus, come! why are thy chariot-wheels so long delaying?”—*Ev. Mag.* p. 124.

*The Reverend Mr Mead’s sorrow for his sins.*

‘This wrought him up to temporary desperation; his inexpressible grief poured itself forth in groans: “O that I had never sinned against God! I have a hell here upon earth, and there is a hell for me in eternity!” One Lord’s day, very early in the morning, he was awoke by a tempest of thunder and lightning; and imagining it to be the end of the world, his agony was great, supposing the great day of divine wrath was come, and he unprepared; but happy to find it not so.’ *Ev. Mag.* p. 147.

*Similar case of Mr John Robinson.*

‘About two hours before he died, he was in great agony of body and mind: it appeared that the enemy was permitted to struggle with him; and, being greatly agitated, he cried out, ‘Ye powers of darkness, begone!’ This, however, did not last long: ‘the prey was taken from the mighty, and the lawful captive delivered,’ although he was not permitted to tell of his deliverance, but lay quite still and composed.’—*Ev. Mag.* p. 177.

*The Reverend William Tennant in an Heavenly Trance.*

“While I was conversing with my brother,” said he, ‘on the state of my soul, and the fears I had entertained for my future welfare, I found myself, in an instant, in another state of existence, under the direction of a superior being, who ordered me to follow him. I was accordingly wafted along, I know not how, till I beheld at a distance an ineffable glory, the impression of which on my mind it is impossible to communicate to mortal man. I immediately reflected on my happy change; and thought, Well, blessed be God! I am safe at last, notwithstanding all my fears. I saw an innumerable host of happy beings surrounding the inexpressible glory, in acts of adoration and joyous worship;

ship; but I did not see any bodily shape or representation in the glorious appearance. I heard things unutterable. I heard their songs and hallelujahs of thanksgiving and praise, with unspeakable rapture. I felt joy unutterable and full of glory. I then applied to my conductor, and requested leave to join the happy throng.' — *Ev. Mag.* p. 251.

The following we consider to be one of the most shocking histories we ever read. God only knows how many such scenes take place in the gloomy annals of Methodism.

' A young man, of the name of S—— C——, grandson to a late eminent Dissenting minister, and brought up by him, came to reside at K——g, about the year 1803. He attended at the Baptist place of worship, not only on the Lord's Day, but frequently at the week-day lectures and prayer-meetings. He was supposed by some to be seriously inclined; but his opinion of himself was, that he had never experienced that divine change, without which no man can be saved.

' However that might be, there is reason to believe he had been for some years under powerful convictions of his miserable condition as a sinner. In June 1806, these convictions were observed to increase, and that in a more than common degree. From that time he went into no company; but, when he was not at work, kept in his chamber, where he was employed in singing plaintive hymns, and bewailing his lost and perishing state.

' He had about him several religious people; but could not be induced to open his mind to them, or to impart to any one the cause of his distress. Whether this contributed to increase it or not, it did increase, till his health was greatly affected by it, and he was scarcely able to work at his business.

' While he was at meeting on Lord's Day, September 14, he was observed to labour under very great emotion of mind, especially when he heard the following words. "Sinner, if you die without an interest in Christ, you will sink into the regions of eternal death."

' On the Saturday evening following, he intimated to the mistress of the house where he lodged, that some awful judgment was about to come upon him; and as he should not be able to be at meeting next day, requested that an attendant might be procured to stay with him. She replied, that she would herself stay at home, and wait upon him; which she did.

' On the Lord's Day he was in great agony of mind. His mother was sent for, and some religious friends visited him; but all was of no avail. That night was a night dreadful beyond conception. The horror which he endured brought on all the symptoms of raging madness. He desired the attendants not to come near him, lest they should be burnt. He said that "the bed-curtains were in flames,—that he smelt the brimstone,—that devils were come to fetch him,—that there was no hope for him, for that he had sinned against light and conviction, and that he should certainly go to hell." It was with difficulty he could be kept in bed.

‘ An apothecary being sent for, as soon as he entered the house, and heard his dreadful howlings, he inquired if he had not been bitten by a mad dog. His appearance, likewise, seemed to justify such a suspicion, his countenance resembling that of a wild beast more than that of a man.

Though he had no feverish heat, yet his pulse beat above 150 in a minute. To abate the *mania*, a quantity of blood was taken from him, a blister was applied, his head was shaved, cold water was copiously poured over him, and fox-glove was administered. By these means his fury was abated; but his mental agony continued, and all the symptoms of madness, which his bodily strength thus reduced would allow, till the following Thursday. On that day he seemed to have recovered his reason, and to be calm in his mind. In the evening, he sent for the apothecary; and wished to speak with him by himself. The latter, on his coming, desired every one to leave the room, and thus addressed him. “ C——, have you not something on your mind.” ‘ Aye,’ answered he, ‘ *that is it!*’ He then acknowledged that, early in the month of June, he had gone to a fair in the neighbourhood, in company with a number of wicked young men; that they drank at a public-house together till he was in a measure intoxicated; and that from thence they went into other company, where he was criminally connected with a harlot. “ I have been a miserable creature,” continued he, “ ever since; but during the last three days and three nights, I have been in a state of desperation.” He intimated to the apothecary, that he could not bear to tell this story to his minister: “ But,” said he, “ do you inform him that I shall not die in despair; for light has broken in upon me: I have been led to the great Sacrifice for sin, and I now hope in him for salvation.”

‘ From this time his mental distress ceased, his countenance became placid, and his conversation, instead of being taken up as before, with fearful exclamations concerning devils and the wrath to come, was now confined to the dying love of Jesus! The apothecary was of opinion, that if his strength had not been so much exhausted, he would now have been in a state of religious transport. His nervous system, however, had received such a shock, that his recovery was doubtful; and it seemed certain, that if he did recover, he would sink into a state of idiocy.

‘ He survived this interview but a few days.’ *Ev. Mag.* 412-13.

A religious observer stands at a turnpike gate on a Sunday to witness the profane crowd passing by;—he sees a man driving very clumsily in a gig;—the inexperience of the driver provokes the following pious observations.

“ What (I said to myself) if a single untoward circumstance should happen! Should the horse take fright, or the wheel on either side get entangled, or the gig upset,—in either case what can preserve them? And should a morning so fair and promising bring on evil before night,—should death on his pale horse appear,—what follows?” My mind flattered at the images I had raised.’ *Ev. Mag.* p. 558-59.

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*Miss Louisa Cooke's rapturous State.*

‘ From this period she lived chiefly in retirement, either in reading the sacred volume on her knees, or in pouring out her soul in prayer to God. While thus employed, she was not unfrequently indulged with visits from her gracious Lord; and sometimes felt herself to be surrounded, as it were, by his glorious presence. After her return to Bristol, her frame of mind became so heavenly, that she seemed often to be dissolved in the love of God her Saviour.’ *Ev. Mag.* p. 576-77.

*Objection to Almanacks.*

‘ Let those who have been partial to such vain productions, only read Isaiah xlvi. 13, and Daniel ii. 27.; and they will there see what they are to be accounted of, and in what company they are to be found; and let them learn to despise their equivocal and artful insinuations, which are too frequently blended with profanity: for is it not profanity in them to attempt to palm their frauds upon mankind by Scripture quotations, which they seldom fail to do, especially Judges v. 20, and Job xxxviii. 31. ? neither of which teaches nor warrants any such practice. Had Baruch or Deborah consulted the stars? No such thing.’ *Ev. Mag.* p. 600.

This energy of feeling will be found occasionally to meddle with, and disturb the ordinary occupations and amusements of life, and to raise up little qualms of conscience, which, instead of exciting respect, border we fear somewhat too closely upon the ludicrous.

*A Methodist's Footman.*

‘ A gentleman's servant, who has left a good place because he was ordered to deny his master when actually at home, wishes something on this subject may be introduced into this work, that persons who are in the habit of denying themselves in the above manner may be convinced of its evil.’ *Ev. Mag.* p. 72.

*Doubts if it is right to take any Interest for Money.*

‘ *Usury.*—Sir, I beg the favour of you to insert the following case of conscience. I frequently find in Scripture, that *Usury* is particularly condemned; and that it is represented as the character of a good man, that “ he hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase,” Ezek. xviii. 8, &c. I wish, therefore, to know how such passages are to be understood; and whether the taking of interest for money, as is universally practised among us, can be reconciled with the word and will of God? Q.’ *Ev. Mag.* p. 74.

*Dancing ill suited to a Creature on Trial for Eternity.*

‘ If dancing be a waste of time; if the precious hours devoted to it may be better employed; if it be a species of trifling ill suited to a creature on trial for eternity, and hastening towards it on the swift wings of time; if it be incompatible with genuine repentance, true faith in Christ, supreme love to God, and a state of entire devotedness to him, — then is dancing a practice utterly opposed to the whole spirit and temper of Christianity, and subversive of the best interests of the rising generation.’ *Met. Mag.* p. 127-28.

The Methodists consider themselves as constituting a chosen and separate people, living in a land of atheists and voluptuaries. The expressions by which they designate their own sects, are, the *dear people*—the *elect*—the *people of God*. The rest of mankind are *carnal people*—the *people of this world*, &c. &c. The children of Israel were not more separated, through the favour of God, from the Egyptians, than the Methodists are, in their own estimation, from the rest of mankind. We had hitherto supposed that the disciples of the Established Churches in England and Scotland had been Christians; and that, after baptism, duly performed by the appointed minister, and participation in the customary worship of these two churches, Christianity was the religion of which they were to be considered as members. We see, however, in these publications, men of twenty or thirty years of age first called to a knowledge of Christ *under a sermon* by the Rev. Mr Venn,—or first admitted into the church of Christ *under a sermon* by the Rev. Mr Romainé. The apparent admission turns out to have been a mere mockery; and the pseudo-christian to have had no religion at all, till the business was really and effectually done under these sermons by Mr Venn and Mr Romainé.

*An awful and general departure from the Christian Faith in the Church of England.*

‘ A second volume of Mr Cooper’s sermons is before us, stamped with the same broad seal of truth and excellence as the former. Amidst the awful and general departure from the faith, as once delivered to the saints in the church of England, and sealed by the blood of our Reformers, it is pleasing to observe, that there is a remnant, according to the election of grace, who continue rising up to testify the gospel of the grace of God, and to call back their fellows to the consideration of the great and leading doctrines on which the Reformation was built, and the church of England by law established. The author of these sermons, avoiding all matters of more doubtful disputation, avowedly attaches himself to the great fundamental truths; and on the two substantial pillars, the Jachin and Boaz of the living temple, erects his superstructure. 1. Justification by faith, without works, free and full, by grace alone, through the redemption which is in Jesus Christ, stands at the commencement of the first volume; and on its side rises in the beauty of holiness. &c.’ *Ev. Mag.* p. 79.

*Mr Robinson called to the knowledge of Christ under Mr Venn’s sermon.*

‘ Mr Robinson was called in early life to the knowledge of Christ, under a sermon at St Dunstan’s, by the late Rev. Mr Venn, from Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26; the remembrance of which greatly refreshed his soul upon his deathbed.’ *Ev. Mag.* p. 176.

*Christianity introduced into the Parish of Launton, near Bicester, in the year 1807.*

‘ A very general spirit of inquiry having appeared for some time in the

the village of Launton, near Bicester, some serious persons were excited to communicate to them the word of life.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 380.

We learn in page 128, *Meth. Mag.* that twelve months had elapsed from the time of Mrs Cocker's joining *the people of God* before she obtained a clear sense of forgiveness.

*A Religious Hoy sets off every week for Margate.*

'*Religious Passengers accommodated.*—*To the Editor.*—Sir, It afforded me considerable pleasure to see upon the cover of your Magazine for the present month, an advertisement, announcing the establishment of a packet, to sail weekly, between London and Margate, during the season; which appears to have been set on foot for the accommodation of religious characters; and in which "no profane conversation is to be allowed."

'To those among the followers of a crucified Redeemer, who are in the habit of visiting the Isle of Thanet in the summer, and who, for the sea air, or from other considerations, prefer travelling by water, such a conveyance must certainly be a *desideratum*, especially if they have experienced a mortification similar to that of the writer, in the course of the last summer, when shut up in a cabin with a mixed multitude, who spake almost all languages but that of Canaan. Totally unconnected with the concern, and personally a stranger to the worthy owner, I take the liberty of recommending this vessel to the notice of my fellow-Christians; persuaded that they will think themselves bound to patronize and encourage an undertaking that has the honour of the dear Redeemer for its professed object. It ought ever to be remembered, that every talent we possess, whether large or small, is given us in trust to be laid out for God;—and I have often thought that Christians act inconsistently with their high profession, when they omit, even in their most common and trivial expenditures, to give a decided preference to the friends of their Lord. I do not, however, anticipate any such ground of complaint in this instance; but rather believe, that the religious world in general will cheerfully unite with me, while I most cordially wish success to the Princess of Wales Yacht, and pray that she may ever sail under the divine protection and blessing!—that the humble followers of Him who spoke the storm into a calm, when crossing the lake of Gennesareth, may often feel their hearts glowing with sacred ardour, while in her cabins they enjoy sweet communion with their Lord, and with each other;—and that strangers, who may be providentially brought among them, may see so much of the beauty and excellency of the religion of Jesus exemplified in their conduct and conversation, that they may be constrained to say, "We will go with you, for we perceive that God is with you.—Your God shall be our God, and his people shall henceforth be our chosen companions and associates." I am, Mr Editor, your obliged friend and sister in the gospel, E. T.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 268.

*A religious Newspaper is announced in the Ev. M. for September.*—It is said of common newspapers, 'That they are absorbed in temporal concerns, while the consideration of those which are eternal is postponed.'

poned; the business of this life has superseded the claims of immortality; and the monarchs of the world have engrossed an attention which would have been more properly devoted to the Saviour of the universe.' It is then stated, 'that the columns of this paper (*The Instructor*, Price 6d.) will be supplied by pious reflections; suitable comments to improve the dispensations of Providence will be introduced; and the whole conducted with an eye to our spiritual, as well as temporal welfare. The work will contain the latest news up to four o'clock on the day of publication, together with the most recent religious occurrences. The prices of stock, and correct market-tables, will also be accurately detailed.'—*Ev. Mag. September Advertisement*. The Eclectic Review is also understood to be carried on upon Methodistical principles.

Nothing can evince more strongly the influence which Methodism now exercises upon common life, and the fast hold it has got of the people, than the advertisements which are circulated every month in these very singular publications. On the cover of a single number, for example, we have the following—

'Wanted by Mr Turner, shoemaker, a steady apprentice; he will have the privilege of attending the ministry of the gospel;—a premium expected, p. 3.—Wanted, a serious young woman, as servant of all work, 3.—Wanted, a man of serious character, who can shave, 3.—Wanted, a serious woman to assist in a shop, 3.—A young person in the millinery line wishes to be in a serious family, 4.—Wants a place, a young man who has brewed in a serious family, 4.—Ditto, a young woman of evangelical principles, 4.—Wanted an active serious shopman, 5.—To be sold, an eligible residence, with 60 acres of land; gospel preached in three places within half a mile, 5.—A single gentleman may be accommodated with lodging in a small serious family, 5.—To let, a genteel first floor in an airy situation, near the Tabernacle, 6.—Wanted, a governess, of evangelical principles and corresponding character, 10.—The religious vessel, we have before spoken of, is thus advertised,—“The Princess of Wales yacht, J. Chapman, W. Bourn, master, by divine permission, will leave Ralph's Quay every Friday, 11.” &c. &c. —*July, Ev. Mag.*

After the specimens we have given of these people, any thing which is said of their activity can very easily be credited. The Army and Navy appear to be particular objects of their attention.

'*British Navy*.—It is with peculiar pleasure we insert the following extract of a letter from the pious Chaplain of a Man of War, to a Gentleman at Gosport, intimating the power and grace of God manifested towards our brave Seamen. “*Off Cadiz, Nov. 26. 1806.*—My dear friend,—A fleet for England found us in the night, and is just going away. I have only time to tell you that the work of God seems to prosper. Many are under convictions;—some, I trust, are converted. I  
preach



preach every night, and am obliged to have a private meeting afterwards with those who wish to speak about their souls. But my own health is suffering much, nor shall I probably be able long to bear it. The ship is like a tabernacle; and really there is much external reformation. Capt. — raises no objection. I have near a hundred hearers every night at six o'clock. How unworthy am I!—Pray for us.”—*Ev. M.* 84.

*The Testimony of a Profane Officer to the Worth of Pious Sailors.*

‘ Mr Editor,—In the mouth of two or three witnesses a truth shall be established. I recently met with a pleasing confirmation of a narrative, stated some time since in your Magazine. I was surprized by a visit from an old acquaintance of mine the other day, who is now an officer of rank in his Majesty’s navy. In the course of conversation, I was shocked at the profane oaths that perpetually interrupted his sentences; and took an opportunity to express my regret that such language should be so common among so valuable a body of men. “ Sir,” said he, still interspersing many solemn imprecations, “ an officer cannot live at sea without swearing;—not one of my men would mind a word without an oath: it is common sea-language. If we were not to swear, the rascals would take us for lubbers, stare in our faces, and leave us to do our commands ourselves. I never knew but one exception; and that was extraordinary. I declare, believe me ’tis true (suspecting that I might not credit it) there was a set of fellows called *Methodists*, on board the *Victory*, Lord Nelson’s ship (to be sure he was rather a religious man himself!) and those men never wanted swearing at. The dogs were the best seamen on board. Every man *knew* his duty, and every man *did* his duty. They used to meet together and sing hymns; and nobody dared molest them. The commander would not have suffered it, had they attempted it. They were allowed a mess by themselves; and never mixed with the other men. I have often heard them singing away myself; and ’tis true, I assure you, but not one of them was either killed or wounded at the battle of Trafalgar, though they did their duty as well as any men. No, not one of the psalm-singing gentry was even hurt; and there the fellows are swimming away in the Bay of Biscay at this very time, singing like the D——. They are now under a new commander; but still are allowed the same privileges, and mess by themselves. These were the only fellows that I ever knew do their duty without swearing; and I will do them the justice to say they do it.” J. C.—*Ev. Mag.* p. 119, 120.

These people are spread over the face of the whole earth in the shape of missionaries.—Upon the subject of missions, we shall say very little or nothing at present, because we reserve it for another article in a subsequent number. But we cannot help remarking the magnitude of the collections made in favour of the missionaries at the Methodistical chapels, when compared with the collections for any common object of charity in the orthodox churches and chapels.

‘ *Religious Tract Society.*—A most satisfactory Report was presented by

by the Committee; from which it appeared, that since the commencement of the Institution in the year 1799, upwards of *Four Millions* of Religious Tracts have been issued under the auspices of the Society; and that considerably more than one fourth of that number have been sold during the last year.—*Ev. Mag.* p. 284.

These tracts are dropped in villages by the Methodists, and thus every chance for conversion afforded to the common people. There is a proposal in one of the numbers of the volumes before us, that travellers, for every pound they spend on the road, should sling one shilling's worth of these tracts out of the chaise window;—thus taxing his pleasures at *5 per cent.* for the purposes of doing good.

‘Every Christian who expects the protection and blessing of God, ought to take with him as many *shillings worth*, at least, of cheap Tracts to throw on the road, and leave at inns, as he takes out *pounds* to expend on himself and family. This is really but a trifling sacrifice. It is a highly reasonable one; and one which God will accept.’—*Ev. Mag.* p. 405.

*It is part of their policy to have a great change of ministers.*

‘Same day, the Rev. W. Haward, from Hoxton Academy, was ordained over the Independent church at Rendham, Suffolk. Mr Pickles of Walpole, began with prayer and reading; Mr Price, of Woodbridge, delivered the introductory discourse and asked the questions; Mr Dennant, of Halesworth, offered the ordination prayer; *Mr Shuffelbottom, of Bungay, gave the charge*, from Acts xx. 28; Mr Vincent, of Deal, the general prayer; and Mr Walford, of Yarmouth, preached to the people, from 2 Phil. ii. 16.’—*Ev. Mag.* p. 429.

*Chapels Opened.*—‘Hambleton, Bucks, Sept. 22.—Eighteen months ago this parish was destitute of the gospel: the people have now one of the Rev. G. Collison's students, the Rev. Mr Eastmead, settled among them. Mr English, of Wooburn, and Mr Frey preached on the occasion; and Mr Jones, of London, Mr Churchill, of Henley, Mr Redford, of Windfor, and Mr Barratt, now of Petersfield, prayed.’—*Ev. Mag.* p. 533.

*Methodism in his Majesty's Ship Tonnant—a Letter from the Sail-maker.*

‘It is with great satisfaction that I can now inform you God has deigned, in a yet greater degree, to own the weak efforts of his servant to turn many from Satan to himself. Many are called here, as is plain to be seen by their pensive looks and deep sighs. And if they would be obedient to the heavenly call, instead of grieving the Spirit of grace, I dare say we should soon have near half the ship's company brought to God. I doubt not, however, but, as I have cast my bread upon the waters, it will be found after many days. - Our 13 are now increased to upwards of 30. Surely the Lord delighteth not in the death of him that dieth.’—*Meth. Mag.* p. 188.

It appears also, from p. 139. *Meth. Mag.* that the same principles

ciples prevail on board his Majesty's ship Seahorse, 44 guns. And in one part of the *Evan. Mag.* great hopes are entertained of the 25th regiment. We believe this is the number, but we quote this fact from memory.

We must remember, in addition to these trifling specimens of their active disposition, that the Methodists have found a powerful party in the House of Commons, who, by the neutrality which they affect, and partly adhere to, are courted both by ministers and opposition; that they have gained complete possession of the India-House; and under the pretence, or perhaps with the serious intention of educating young people for India, will take care to introduce (as much as they dare without provoking attention) their own peculiar tenets. In fact, one thing must always be taken for granted respecting these people,—that wherever they gain a footing, or whatever be the institutions to which they give birth, *prose-lytism will be their main object*; every thing else is a mere instrument—this is their principal aim. When every proselyte is not only an addition to their temporal power, but when the act of conversion which gains a vote, saves (as they suppose) a soul from destruction,—it is quite needless to state, that every faculty of their minds will be dedicated to this most important of all temporal and eternal concerns.

Their attack upon the Church is not merely confined to publications; it is generally understood, that they have a very considerable fund for the purchase of livings, to which, of course, ministers of their own profession are always presented.

Upon the foregoing facts, and upon the spirit evinced by these extracts, we shall make a few comments.

I. It is obvious, that this description of Christians entertain very erroneous and dangerous notions of the present judgments of God. A belief, that Providence interferes in all the little actions of our lives, refers all merit and demerit to bad and good fortune; and causes the successful man to be always considered as a good man, and the unhappy man as the object of divine vengeance. It furnishes ignorant and designing men with a power which is sure to be abused; the cry of, a *judgment*, a *judgment*, it is always easy to make, but not easy to resist. It encourages the grossest superstitions; for if the Deity rewards and punishes on every slight occasion, it is quite impossible, but that such an helpless being as man, will set himself at work to discover the will of Heaven in the appearances of outward nature, and to apply all the phenomena of thunder, lightning, wind, and every striking appearance, to the regulation of his conduct; as the poor Methodist, when he rode into Piccadilly in a thunder storm, and imagined that all the uproar of the elements was a mere hint to him not to preach at Mr Romaine's chapel.

chapel. Hence a great deal of error, and a great deal of secret misery. This doctrine of a theocracy must necessarily place an excessive power in the hands of the clergy: It applies so instantly and so tremendously to men's hopes and fears, that it must make the priest omnipotent over the people, as it always has done where it has been established. It has a great tendency to check human exertions, and to prevent the employment of those secondary means of effecting an object which Providence has placed in our power. The doctrine of the immediate, and perpetual interference of Divine providence, is not true. If two men travel the same road, the one to rob, the other to relieve a fellow creature who is starving; will any but the most fanatic contend, that they do not both run the same chance of falling over a stone, and breaking their legs? and is it not matter of fact, that the robber often returns safe, and the just man sustains the injury? Have not the soundest divines of both churches, always urged this unequal distribution of good and evil, in the present state, as one of the strongest natural arguments for a future state of retribution? Have not they contended, and well, and admirably contended, that the supposition of such a state is absolutely necessary to our notion of the justice of God,—absolutely necessary to restore order to that moral confusion which we all observe and deplore in the present world? The man who places religion upon a false basis, is the greatest enemy to religion. If victory is always to the just and good,—how is the fortune of impious conquerors to be accounted for? Why do they erect dynasties, and found families which last for centuries? The reflecting mind whom you have instructed in this manner, and for present effect only, naturally comes upon you hereafter with difficulties of this sort; he finds he has been deceived; and you will soon discover that, in breeding up a fanatic, you have unwittingly laid the foundation of an atheist. The honest and the orthodox method, is to prepare young people for the world, as it actually exists; to tell them they will often find vice perfectly successful; virtue exposed to a long train of afflictions; that they must bear this patiently, and look to another world for its rectification.

2. The second doctrine which it is necessary to notice among the Methodists, is the doctrine of inward impulse and emotions, which, it is quite plain, must lead, if universally insisted upon, and preached among the common people, to every species of folly and enormity. When an human being believes that his internal feelings are the monitions of God, and that these monitions must govern his conduct; and when a great stress is purposely laid upon these inward feelings in all the discourses from the pulpit; it is, of course, impossible to say to what a pitch of extravagance mankind may not be carried, under the influence of such dangerous doctrines.

3. The

3. The Methodists hate pleasure and amusements; no theatre, no cards, no dancing, no punchinello, no dancing dogs, no blind fiddlers;—all the amusements of the rich and of the poor must disappear, wherever these gloomy people get a footing. It is not the abuse of pleasure which they attack, but the interperfusion of pleasure, however much it is guarded by good sense and moderation;—it is not only wicked to hear the licentious plays of Congreve, but wicked to hear Henry the Vth, or the School for Scandal;—it is not only dissipated to run about to all the parties in London and Edinburgh,—but dancing is not *fit for a being who is preparing himself for eternity*. *Ennui*, wretchedness, melancholy, groans and sighs are the offerings which these unhappy men make to a Deity, who has covered the earth with gay colours, and scented it with rich perfumes; and shown us, by the plan and order of his works, that he has given to man something better than a bare existence, and scattered over his creation a thousand superfluous joys, which are totally unnecessary to the mere support of life.

4. The Methodists lay very little stress upon practical righteousness. They do not say to their people, do not be deceitful; do not be idle; get rid of your bad passions; or at least (if they do say these things) they say them very seldom. Not that they preach faith without works; for if they told the people, that they might rob and murder with impunity, the civil magistrate must be compelled to interfere with such doctrine:—but they say a great deal about faith, and very little about works. What are commonly called the mysterious parts of our religion, are brought into the fore-ground, much more than the doctrines which lead to practice,—and this among the lowest of the community.

The Methodists have hitherto been accused of dissenting from the church of England. This, as far as relates to mere subscription to articles, is not true; but they differ in their choice of the articles upon which they dilate and expand, and to which they appear to give a preference, from the stress which they place upon them. There is nothing heretical in saying, that God *sometimes* intervenes with his special providence; but these people differ from the established church, in the degree in which they insist upon this doctrine. In the hands of a man of sense and education, it is a safe doctrine;—in the management of the Methodists, we have seen how ridiculous and degrading it becomes. In the same manner, a clergyman of the church of England would not do his duty, if he did not insist upon the necessity of faith, as well as of good works; but as he believes that it is much more easy to give credit to doctrines, than to live well, he labours most in those points where human nature is the *most* liable to prove defective. Because he does so, he is accused of giving up the articles of his faith, by  
men

men who have their partialities also in doctrine ; but partialities, not founded upon the same sound discretion, and knowledge of human nature.

5. The Methodists are always desirous of making men more religious, than it is possible, from the constitution of human nature, to make them. If they could succeed as much as they wish to succeed, there would be at once an end of delving and spinning, and of every exertion of human industry. Men must eat, and drink, and work ; and if you wish to fix upon them high and elevated notions, as the *ordinary* furniture of their minds, you do these two things ;—you drive men of warm temperaments mad,—and you introduce, in the rest of the world, a low and shocking familiarity with words and images, which every real friend to religion would wish to keep sacred. *The friends of the dear Redeemer who are in the habit of visiting the Isle of Thanet—* (as in the extract we have quoted ; ) —Is it possible that this mixture of the most awful, with the most familiar images, so common among Methodists now, and with the enthusiasts in the time of Cromwell, must not, in the end, divest religion of all the deep and solemn impressions which it is calculated to produce ? In a man of common imagination (as we have before observed) the terror, and the feeling which it first excited, must necessarily be soon separated : but, where the fervour of impression is long preserved, piety ends in bedlam. Accordingly, there is not a mad-house in England, where a considerable part of the patients have not been driven to insanity by the extravagance of these people. We cannot enter such places without seeing a number of honest artizans, covered with blankets, and calling themselves angels and apostles, who, if they had remained contented with the instruction of men of learning and education, would still have been sound masters of their own trade, sober christians, and useful members of society.

6. It is impossible not to observe how directly all the doctrine of the Methodists is calculated to gain power among the poor and ignorant. To say, that the Deity governs this world by general rules, and that we must wait for another, and a final scene of existence, before vice meets with its merited punishment, and virtue with its merited reward ; to preach this up daily, would not add a single votary to the Tabernacle, nor sell a Number of the Methodistical Magazine ;—but, to publish an account of a man who was cured of scrofula by a single sermon—of Providence destroying the innkeeper at Garstang for appointing a cock-fight near the Tabernacle ;—this promptness of judgment and immediate execution, is so much like human justice, and so much better adapted to vulgar capacities, that the system is at once admitted,

mitted, as soon as any one can be found, who is impudent, or ignorant enough, to teach it; and, being once admitted, it produces too strong an effect upon the passions, to be easily relinquished. The case is the same with the doctrine of inward impulse, or, as they term it, experience;—if you preach up to ploughmen and artizans, that every singular feeling which comes across them is a visitation of the Divine Spirit—can there be any difficulty, *under* the influence of this nonsense, in converting these simple creatures into active and mysterious fools, and making them your slaves for life? It is not possible to raise up any dangerous enthusiasm, by telling men to be just, and good, and charitable; but, keep this part of christianity out of sight—and talk long, and enthusiastically, before ignorant people, of the mysteries of our religion, and you will not fail to attract a crowd of followers:—verily the Tabernacle loveth not that which is simple, intelligible, and leadeth to good sound practice.

Having endeavoured to point out the spirit which pervades these people, we shall say a few words upon the causes, the effects, and the cure of this calamity.—The fanaticism so prevalent in the present day, is one of those evils from which society is never wholly exempt; but which bursts out, at different periods, with peculiar violence, and sometimes overwhelms every thing in its course. The last eruption took place about a century and a half ago, and destroyed both Church and Throne with its tremendous force. Though irresistible, it was short; enthusiasm spent its force—the usual reaction took place; and England was deluged with ribaldry and indecency, because it had been worried with fanatical restrictions. By degrees however it was found out, that orthodoxy and loyalty might be secured by other methods than licentious conduct and immodest conversation. The public morals improved; and there appeared as much good sense and moderation upon the subject of religion, as ever can be expected from mankind in large masses. Still, however, the mischief which the Puritans had done was not forgotten; a general suspicion prevailed of the dangers of religious enthusiasm; and the fanatical preacher wanted his accustomed power among a people recently recovered from a religious war, and guarded by songs, proverbs, popular stories, and the general tide of humour and opinion, against all excesses of that nature. About the middle of the last century, however, the character of the genuine fanatic was a good deal forgotten, and the memory of the civil wars worn away; the field was clear for extravagance in piety; and causes, which must always produce an immense influence upon the mind of man, were left to their own unimpeded operations. Religion is so noble and powerful a consideration

deration—it is so buoyant and so insubmergible—that it may be made, by fanatics to carry with it any degree of error and of perilous absurdity. In this instance Messrs Whitfield & Wesley happened to begin. They were men of considerable talents; they observed the common decorums of life; they did not run naked into the streets, or pretend to the prophetic character;—and therefore, they were not committed to Newgate. They preached with great energy to weak people; who first stared—then listened—then believed—then felt the inward feeling of grace, and became as foolish as their teachers could possibly wish them to be: in short folly ran its ancient course,—and human nature evinced itself to be, what it always has been, under similar circumstances. The great and permanent cause, therefore, of the increase of Methodism, is the cause which has given birth to fanaticism in all ages,—*the facility of mingling human errors with the fundamental truths of religion.* The formerly imperfect residence of the clergy may perhaps, in some trifling degree, have aided this source of Methodism. But unless a man of education, and a gentleman, could stoop to such disingenuous arts as the Methodist preachers,—unless he hears heavenly music all of a sudden, and enjoys *sweet experiences*,—it is quite impossible that he can contend against such artists as these. More active, than they are at present, the clergy might perhaps be; but the calmness and moderation of an Establishment can never possibly be a match for sectarian activity:—If the common people are *ennui'd* with the fine acting of Mrs Siddons, they go to Saddlers Wells. The subject is too serious for ludicrous comparisons; but the Tabernacle really is to the Church, what Saddlers Wells is to the Drama.—There, popularity is gained by vaulting and tumbling,—by low arts, which the regular clergy are not too idle to have recourse to, but too dignified: their institutions are chaste and severe,—they endeavour to do that which, *upon the whole, and for a great number of years*, will be found to be the most admirable and the most useful: it is no part of their plan, to descend to small artifices, for the sake of present popularity and effect. The religion of the common people under the government of the Church, may remain as it is for ever;—enthusiasm must be progressive, or it will expire.

It is probable that the dreadful scenes which have lately been acted in the world, and the dangers to which we are exposed, have increased the numbers of the Methodists.

To what degree will Methodism extend in this country? This question it is not easy to answer. That it has rapidly increased within these few years, we have no manner of doubt; and we confess we cannot see what is likely to impede its progress



gress. The party which it has formed in the Legislature, and the artful neutrality with which they give respectability to their small numbers,—the talents of some of this party, and the unimpeached excellence of their characters, all make it probable that fanaticism will increase, rather than diminish. The Methodists have made an alarming inroad into the Church, and they are attacking the Army and Navy. The principality of Wales, and the East India Company, they have already acquired. All mines and subterraneous places belong to them; they creep into hospitals and small schools, and so work their way upwards. It is the custom of the religious neutrals to beg all the little livings, particularly in the north of England, from the minister for the time being; and from these fixed points they make incursions upon the happiness and common sense of the vicinage. We most sincerely deprecate such an event; but it will excite in us no manner of surprise, if a period arrives when the churches of the sober and orthodox part of the English clergy, are completely deserted by the middling and lower classes of the community. We do not prophecy any such event; but we contend, that it is not impossible,—hardly improbable. If such, in future, should be the situation of this country, it is impossible to say what political animosities may not be ingrafted upon this marked and dangerous division of mankind into the *godly*, and the *ungodly*. At all events, we are quite sure that happiness will be destroyed, reason degraded, sound religion banished from the world; and that when fanaticism becomes too foolish and too prurient to be endured, (as is at last sure to be the case), it will be succeeded by a long period of the grossest immorality, atheism, and debauchery.

We are not sure that this evil admits of any cure,—or of any considerable palliation. We most sincerely hope that the Government of this country will never be guilty of such indiscretion as to tamper with the toleration act, or to attempt to put down these follies by the intervention of the law. If experience has taught us any thing, it is the absurdity of controuling men's notions of eternity by acts of Parliament. Something may perhaps be done, in the way of ridicule, towards turning the popular opinion. It may be as well to extend the privileges of the dissenters to the members of the Church of England; for, as the law now stands, any man who dissents from the established church may open a place of worship where he pleases. No orthodox clergyman can do so, without the consent of the parson of the parish,—who always refuses, because he does not chuse to have his monopoly disturbed; and refuses, in parishes where there are not accommodations for one half of the persons who wish

to frequent the Church of England, and in instances where he knows that the chapels from which he excludes the established worship, will be immediately occupied by sectaries. It may be as well to encourage in the early education of the clergy, as Mr Ingram recommends, a better and more animated method of preaching; and it may be necessary, hereafter, if the evil gets to a great height, to relax the articles of the English church, and to admit a greater variety of Christians within the pale. The greatest and best of all remedies, is perhaps the education of the poor;—we are astonished, that the established church in England is not awake to this mean of arresting the progress of methodism. Of course, none of these things will be done; nor is it *clear* if they were done, that they would do *much* good. Whatever happens, we are for common sense and orthodoxy. Insolence, servile politics, and the spirit of persecution, we condemn and attack, whenever we observe them;—but to the learning, the moderation, and the rational piety of the Establishment, we most earnestly wish a decided victory over the nonsense, the melancholy, and the madness of the tabernacle.\*

God send that our wishes be not in vain.

ART. VI. *Exodus: an Epic Poem, in Thirteen Books.* By Charles Hoyle of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Domestic Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. J. Hatchard, London.

A CORRESPONDENT wrote us lately an account of a tea-drinking in the west of England, at which there assisted no fewer than six epic poets—a host of Parnassian strength, certainly equal to six-and-thirty ordinary bards; and Mr Hoyle, we believe, was not of the party. How unreasonable then is it to complain, that poetry is on the decline among us! We ought, on the contrary, to rejoice, that so precious (however ungainful) an article of our staple manufactures is the only one which, in these disastrous times, our inveterate enemy is either unable, or unambitious, to diminish.

In addition to this, we have the pleasure to remark, that our *measure* and *numbers* seem, from the specimen before us, to be improving.—

\* There is one circumstance to which we have neglected to advert in the proper place,—the dreadful pillage of the earnings of the poor which is made by the Methodists. A case is mentioned in one of the numbers of these two magazines for 1807, of a poor man with a family, earning only twenty-eight shillings a week, who has made *two donations of ten guineas each to the missionary fund!*

improving.—In the number of books in an epic poem, varying from six to two dozen, an odd number has been hitherto little known. It comes, therefore, as a gratuity in the present instance; and Mr Hoyle, surpassing Virgil himself in generosity, gives us thirteen books, as the conscientious baker gives thirteen rolls to the dozen.

Yet this generous profusion of an author in multiplying his pages, though it may please the purchaser who loves to have bulk of volume for his money, and may read as much or as little as he pleases, is sometimes rather troublesome to peevish critics: and we must honestly confess, that on the first perusal of this important article, our fortitude forsook us at the prospect of thirteen books, on which no ray of interest or entertainment appeared to dawn. Returning, however, to a sense of the duty and dignity of our profession, we resolved to scorn the trifling allurements of mere amusement, and apply our aged eyes to the task of measuring Mr Hoyle's poetical altitude, not by the random guess of our own calculation, but by the quadrant and plummet of Aristotelian criticism. After applying this surer test to the performance, our veneration for the poem has considerably increased.

Aristotle hath remarked, that the epic poem should be distinguished from history, by its poetical form, and by the liberty of fiction which it assumes. Whether the reverend author before us has sufficiently fulfilled this ordonnance with regard to fiction, we do not feel bold enough in so important a question to decide; but certain it is, that his poem will never be mistaken for the book of Exodus in scripture. In the first place, Exodus of the Pentateuch, is known to be an history; but the Exodiade is expressly named an epic poem in the title-page. In the next place, Exodus is divided into chapters of prose; Mr Hoyle's performance is divided into books of blank verse. In the third place, the bible Exodus is inspired; whereas the Exodiade of Mr Hoyle bears evident marks of human achievement.

Instead of failing in attention to the rule above-mentioned, it gives us pain to remark, that our author has gone a little too far in establishing the distinction between his work and holy writing. It behoved him, we think, as a grave divine, to have stuck closely, in all the important facts, to the text and order of Scripture. Every one knows how much of our interest in the original story of Exodus depends upon the ten plagues of Egypt. Of these, the stagnant and bloody waters were the first; and immediately after these, came the plague of lice; a visitation which, as 'coming home to the business and bosoms of men,' we have no doubt tormented the court of Pharaoh, more than all the nine other plagues put together. Where so much depended on the agency of those heaven-commissioned vermin, much ought to have been described

by the poet. The rage of Pharaoh, and the confusion of his seraglio under these tormentors, might have furnished sufficient horrors for the page of Mr Hoyle, or the pencil of Mr Fuseli. What does Mr Hoyle do? He is afraid to name them; he slurs them over by circumlocution. Now this, we think, is abandoning truth, scripture, and simplicity, without any apology; and making a cowardly submission to false and modern refinement. We trust we shall not be accused of national prejudices on so delicate a subject: but to suppress a whole plague of Egypt for the sake of a name, is really too much. No man who has had occasion to attend to the subject, will pretend to consider it as insignificant. We dare swear Pharaoh himself thought with Goldsmith, that

‘ These little things are great to little men.’

All that is said, however, of this sublime plague, is hurried over in a slight allusion in a speech addressed to Pharaoh, by one of his jugglers, or high priests, or courtiers—for at this period, those professions seem not to have been divided. The Egyptian court show-men, it is well known, had maintained for some time an unequal rivalship with Moses, whose miracles they made ingenious, but fruitless, efforts to imitate,—either by collusion, as some suppose, with the devil, after the manner of Dr Faustus,—or, like Boaz and Breslaw, by slight of hand deception. The latter, we think, is the more orthodox supposition. Howsoever it happened, they were able to play off but a few entertainments, when the genuine miracles of Moses laid their mountebank quackeries in the dirt. Like true courtiers, they left their deluded king to scratch his head without assistance, in the distresses which they had advised him to bring upon himself; and, when the vermin plague arrived, were obliged to confess, that they had neither witchcraft nor hocus-pocus to disenchant his enemies. Observe, however, how one of those detected rogues addresses the monarch in the usual style of court adulation.

‘ Mightiest of monarchs, the desire and dread  
Of nations!—on the well-appointed state  
That girds thy throne magnificent, we gaze,  
Till gazing grows to labour; yet our sight  
Finds no satiety, while ruled in peace  
By thine experienced sceptre.—We admire  
Thine equity and sage paternal care;  
To thee, as present godhead, we devote  
Our art and service; to thy bidding task  
Our utmost faculties, of no mean power  
By proof evinced. When Aaron turned to blood  
Egyptian streams, the obsequious element  
We smote, and colourless pellucid changed  
To sanguine and opaque; and when he called  
Embodied reptile hosts o’er house and field,

We too with facil imitation raised  
 Th' amphibious croaking race : but when he brought  
 O'er man and beast the vermin plague, tuspense  
 Our mystery failed ; for to transmute the dust  
 Of Egypt, and with swarms of insects loathed,  
 Priests, altars, temples, palaces desile,  
 Isis forbade, and, blasting our attempt,  
 Her dreadful frown assumed, and name of wrath,  
 Tithrambo : her dishonour'd priests she mourns,  
 And rites polluted, (hence her aid withdrawn) :  
 Or Typhon's baleful influence triumphs now  
 Predominant in air ; or Israel's God,  
 In higher spheres presiding, thwarts our charms.

Book I. l. 104.

In the next plague our author makes a still more alarming deviation from his text. Instead of the simple plague of flies, he gives us, in a most heterodox manner, a plague of all animals whatsoever, and tells us that this is the true meaning of the passage in scripture, without adducing a tittle of evidence for the assertion. Now, we strongly suspect, that instead of pitying the Egyptians for such a plague, our true English sportsmen, many of whom belong to his own mother church, and will naturally look into a brother clergyman's performance, will rather envy the Egyptians such a visitation of elephants and bisons, wild boars, flamingoes, falcons, &c.; and, in spite of the snakes and amphibænas, wish in their hearts for a few shots at such excellent game, so infinitely preferable to fly-catching. What would a Daniel or a Thornton say, to have the whole treasures of savage nature laid open to their field sports ?

The passage we allude to is quite a natural history poetized,

' Foremost in whirls the insect millions came.'

These are not so pleasant, to be sure ; but let us come to the wildfowl—

' Of longitude immense, and depth profound,  
 Next with annoyance dire the feather'd tribe  
 Darken'd the sun ; flamingoes, falcons, hems,  
 The greedy cormorant, the sharp-ey'd kite,  
 The doleful bittern, and the sea-mew gaunt,  
 Red ibis, and the hawk of steadiest wing,  
 Fit symbol of the winds, and sacred held  
 Throughout the land of Nile ; the clam'rous crane,  
 The broad-beak'd pelican ; the ostrich tall ;  
 The ossifrage and osprey, and the clang  
 Of eagles fierce, as when afar they ken  
 Havoc and battle ; when their headlong rage  
 With speed of lightning hurries to the plain.  
 Nor such alone as whom Norwegia breeds,

Or Thule, where, from beetling precipice,  
 Suspense, the peasant plies his dreadful trade,  
 Plundering their eyries ; but of mighty bone,  
 And pennons, rival to the condor's plume,  
 Who in the stony girdle pleas'd resides,  
 Where winter shivers near the tropic sun  
 On Cotopasi, and the lonely snows  
 Of Chimboraco ; there the monarch wings  
 The depth of upper air. With eyes on fire  
 Darted the vulture : next the bird that tends  
 His aged fire (and thence by Egypt's sons  
 Revered) and on the royal sceptre graven  
 Outstretch'd his length of neck ; nor lagg'd behind  
 The raven, nor the dismal owl, whose cries  
 Infest the night ; nor he of doubtful form,  
 Th' unhallow'd bird of darkness, though to beasts  
 Fittier perhaps ascribed, and by his side  
 The vampyre, kindred plague, that sucks the veins,  
 And changes sleep to death.

We have then a procession of snakes with long names ; and afterwards this fine *menagerie* of quadrupeds.

————— ' Now far and wide

The dusty plain resounds with trampling speed  
 Of bestial feet ; now leaps, now proudly stalks  
 The panther, conscious of his painted vest,  
 And youthful strength redundant ; now remote,  
 And now at hand, the lion's hollow roar  
 Appeals the bold ; slow from the labouring wave  
 Behemoth snorting rose, portentous shape,  
 His loins and ribs like solid plates of brass,  
 His tail like cedar waving, and his bones  
 As iron bars ; the horned rhinoceros,  
 The boar and spotted ounce ; the bearded pard,  
 The fierce-ey'd bison, furious buffalo,  
 The sharp quill'd porcupine, and tiger fell,  
 Promiscuous roam'd ; the wild ass did not love  
 That time his desert haunts and mountains drear,  
 But swept the plain with savage scorn, deriding  
 Affrighted man ; unwieldy in his might  
 Huge strode the lordly elephant, and seem'd  
 A moving tower, o'er all the countless throng  
 Preeminent, as o'er the tallest bark  
 Some icy mount in Hyperborean seas  
 Loose drifting from the pole, beneath whose lee  
 Navies might moor—so vast the giant length,  
 The base so deep, the nodding crest so high.'—Book I. l. 303.

An epic poem, we are told by the critic, is to be considered under

under three heads,—the subject, the characters, and the narration of the poet.

The subject ought to have unity, greatness and interest ;—in two of these respects, Mr Hoyle is remarkably classical. As the hero of epic song is in the hands of the poet not a drudge of all work, who is to shift from one unconnected adventure to another, but an articulated apprentice, who is to be kept strictly to one business, with the exception of a few episodes intervening like holidays ; so the hero of the Exodiade attends, during ten thousand lines, very soberly to the main chance. Delays are indeed interposed, such as the marriage of Moses, the parliamentary intrigues of the devils, the country dances of the witches and clergy of Egypt, and the provoking obstinacy of Pharaoh ; but our unpleasant suspense is relieved by the certainty of what is ultimately to be done with Pharaoh, and the consciousness how well he deserves it. Indeed, the moral of our poet's work seems only an echo of the concluding stanza of another heroic poem on the same subject, by an author of no small celebrity in his day—

‘ Now, was not Pharaoh a very great rascal,

Not to let the children of Israel, with their wives and their sons and daughters, go out into the wilderness to eat the Lord's paschal? ’ \*

Nor is the gentle relief of the episode wanting to this work ; at least, we apprehend the interview of Moses with her serene highness the Egyptian princess-dowager Thermutis (in the sixth book), having little or nothing to do with the main subject, to be an episodical flourish. The evening party of those illustrious personages reminds us strongly of that of Dido and Æneas, as far as story-telling goes :—but here the similarity stops ; for the moral tendency of the two passages is as different as that of the Shorter Catechism and the Nouvelle Eloise. Instead of a love-sick queen, we have an aged and devout gentlewoman considerably turned of ninety. None of the madness, suicide, or romance of Dido, which so much endanger the morality of youth in perusing the Roman poet, are to be found in this holy episode.—Thermutis is, indeed, the adopted mother of Moses ; but if she were not, the greatest praise would still be due to our poet, for painting them in such grave and reflective attitudes, that the loosest imagination could conceive no more danger to their mutual virtue from the *tête-à-tête*, than from the meeting of two Egyptian mummies.

Under the head of characters, much has been said by criti-

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\* This admirable distich is extracted from a metrical version of a considerable part of the Holy Scriptures by Zachary Boyd—a copy of which is preserved in the library of the university of Glasgow.

cal writers respecting the manners of epic poetry.—They certainly mean, that good heroes should be drawn with polite manners, and evil ones with the reverse. In this respect, it is true, neither Virgil nor Homer can be wholly acquitted, when we consider the ungallant courtship of the Trojan chief, and the foul-mouthed epithets of Achilles. But different, indeed, is Mr Hoyle's delineation of characters.—Pharaoh, it is true, is as graceless and remote from good-breeding, and every way as dishonourable, as a king of the gypsies might be expected to be;—but Moses, besides the simple dignity of his scripture character, is here invested with the polish and dignity of the soldier, the scholar and the gentleman. Thermutis having vainly attempted to use her influence at court in behalf of the unfortunate Hebrews, is banished for sedition to the land of Goshen. She retires from the palais-royal in a very dignified lady-like manner, and betakes herself to the country residence of Moses, to which, in passing at the ferry of the Nile, she is compared to Xerxes abandoning Greece,—though from what circumstances of similarity, we confess ourselves unable to perceive. Luckily, however, she finds the Hebrew leader at home, who receives her with all the courtesy of a kind landlord, and beguiles the evening like an eloquent, amusing and instructive companion. He regales her first with a short history of the universal deluge; and then, by an easy transition, describes his own flight into the land of Midian, his courtship of Jethro's daughter, and his subsequent felicity in a conjugal state. Of all these enchanting passages, it is beyond our power to give more than a scanty fragment to the reader; but he may take our word for it, that the whole conversation is exceedingly edifying.

Pharaoh, in dismissing the princess, thus abuses her—

‘ Halte! avaut!

Answer me not, but speed thy banish'd steps  
To Goshen:—shame and sorrow with thee go.—  
He ceas'd; and with imperial, grave deport,  
Thermutis made obeisance, and withdrew,  
And call'd th' attendant damsels to sustain  
Her feebleness, and bent to Goshen's meads  
Her steps. The chafing amplitude of Nile,  
Soon they arrived, and soon in fragile bark  
Ferried the stream; in humiliation like  
(But how unlike in virtue) Persia's King,  
Xerxes, from Salamis, through Thracian wilds,  
With labour huge escap'd o'er Hellespont,  
Despairing fled. Debark'd, they soon attained  
Th' abode of Moses; him (the tumult quell'd)  
In evening meditation lone they found.  
He started at their entrance, and amazed

Beheld



Beheld the royal dame. With love and awe  
 To benefactress, as to parent due,  
 He hasted to salute her, and inquire  
 What chance had prompted, cloudy or serene,  
 Her sudden coming. She in grief exclaimed:  
 With age, with anguish, weary and o'erspent,  
 Outcast I come—\* \* \* \* \*

Thermitis ended; and with earnest words,  
 Cordial in welcome, Moses thus replied.—  
 Here, then, thy country and thy servants find,  
 Much honour'd princes; here reside, and reign  
 O'er willing hearts. Heaven's treasured comfort, all  
 With balm of blessing, wait thee, and assuage  
 Each earthly pang. Ye female train, retire;  
 And through the mansion all things so dispose,  
 As best your royal mistress may allure  
 To due refection, or restoring sleep.—

Immediate they withdrew.' &c. &c. &c.—Book VI. l. 395.

After noticing thus imperfectly the subject and characters of *Exodus*, it still remains to consider, in the third place, the poet's narration, or the manner of his communicating the story, together with the style or diction. With respect to the former of these circumstances, viz. the manner of imparting the story, we think he has greatly the advantage of some of the greatest masters of epic poetry, in one particular. In compliance with that vulgar concern for the distresses of others, which plumes itself on the name of sympathy, it has been usual for epic poets to keep their readers, during two thirds of their performance, in perpetual anxiety for the fate of the poor hero; who, before he gets his business accomplished, is so beleaguere'd and beset by what they call the *nodus*, or difficulty of his situation, that we see him enclosed, like a reel in a bottle, with scarce the hope or possibility of release. How differently Mr Hoyle has treated his hero, the reader (if he can read, to use the words of Martinus Scriblerus) will discover in the course of these thirteen books. So dexterously is the story managed, that our heart's ease is never for a moment disturbed. Storms, plagues, disasters and difficulties sound in our ears like the rain pattering on the windows of the castle of indolence, only to make our slumber more secure. For Hebrew or for Gentile, for man, woman, devil or sorcerer, we never breathe a sigh, or are defrauded of a single tear. All is comfort and tranquillity in the calm creation of Mr Hoyle; and the excellent treatise on Whist by his illustrious synonym, is fully as likely to betray the reader into unbecoming emotions, as the exemplary Epic of the writer before us. We venture to say, that not the most abject lover of kings will feel regret for the afflicted

afflicted majesty of Egypt; nor is there a whig in the country zealous enough for the cause of liberty, to pant for the deliverance of the Hebrews, as their servitude is painted by Mr Hoyle. It is laudable and salutary to read and cultivate acquaintance with such authors in these perturbed and sentimental times. Who would not prefer sobriety to intoxication,—the security of the money-holder to the tumult of the gamester,—the calm dignity of a mind at rest, to the foolish excitement which romantic readers call the joy of grief, and words that harrow up the soul?

With regard to diction, our poet's style is the most perfect model that could be imagined for seconding the lulling magic of his muse;—it breathes the very spirit of repose. Such may be called, perhaps, only the negative merits of this excellent performance. We shall not dispute about words; but we think they are positive qualities, and only such as Herculean labour could achieve; at least, if we may judge of the poet's labour by our own.

The last object of attention in an epic poem criticized on regular principles, is the moral. That of the work before us is in the highest degree just and interesting. It is, we think, that people oppressed on account of their religion, will be supported by Providence in their endeavours after emancipation; and that bloody tyrants are apt to come to an untimely end. The first, we think, has a direct reference to the case of the Irish Catholics. The second, we imagine, to be intended for the use of Bonaparte.

ART. VII. *Letters from England*. By Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella. Translated from the Spanish. 3 vol. London. Longman & Co. 1807.

THIS publication appears to us to be pretty evidently the work of some experienced *English* bookmaker: and by no means a despicable specimen of the progress which has been made in that laudable art. The name of Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella, in the title-page, is no doubt placed there, however, for very useful purposes. We have of late been so overrun with travels, tours, walks and journals, through every nook and corner of the island, and they have been presented to the public in such a variety of forms and styles,—picturesque, sentimental, agricultural and evangelical, that it was hardly possible any longer to attract attention to works of this description, by any effort of native ingenuity. Observations on our own country by a stranger or foreigner, on the other hand, never fail to excite curiosity, and obtain at least a temporary circulation.

tion. We are all anxious to know what other people say of us ; and are apt to suppose, perhaps not very erroneously, that we gain a new knowledge of familiar objects, by seeing them with the eyes of a stranger. This alone would afford a sufficient temptation to the deception which has here been attempted ; but the ingenious person who practises it has many other advantages. He is enabled, in the first place, to fill up his pages with a series of trifling and familiar details, that never could have been tolerated in his own character. He has, besides, much greater latitude and freedom allowed him, if he chooses to discuss the more delicate subjects of politics and religion ; and if he brings his hero from a part of the world where we can reasonably suppose him to be ignorant of the arts and refinements and peculiar manners of our country, he can very successfully employ him in exposing the follies and vices that have been introduced with these refinements. This is admirably exemplified in the *Lettres Persannes* of Montesquieu.

The author before us has made ample use of the first of these privileges ; and has contrived to fill a large portion of his book with such trifling and minute descriptions of the inns, roads, stages, &c. as would have been quite insufferable and ridiculous in his own person. What Englishman, travelling in his own country, would be allowed to enlighten the minds of his countrymen with such information as the following ? ‘ They burn earth coal every where ; it is a black shining stone, very brittle, which kindles slowly, making much smoke and much ashes ; but as all the houses are built with chimnies, it is neither unwholesome nor disagreeable.’—‘ The hearth is furnished with a round bar to move the coals, a sort of forceps to arrange them, and a small shovel for the cinders ; all of iron, and so shaped and polished as to be ornamental. Besides these, there is what they call the fender, which is a little moveable barrier, either of brass or polished steel, or sometimes of wire painted green and capt with brass, to prevent the live embers from falling on the floor.’ In this manner, every article of household furniture is described ; and we have equally full accounts of the different modes of travelling, with a most accurate description of all the varieties of stage-coaches, mail-coaches, long-coaches, &c.

To maintain the character of Spaniard, Don Manuel is of course represented as a most zealous member of the Holy Catholic Church, which naturally affords the author an opportunity of filling many pages with lamentations over the miserable heresy which prevails in our unhappy country ; but, except enabling him to spin out his book to the requisite length with the least possible exertion of intellect, it serves no good purpose either to himself or his reader, as it necessarily checks all free discussion.

cussion on the nature and tendency of the Establishment, and harmonizes very ill with the tone of philosophical liberality and intrepid reasoning which is assumed on most other occasions. The same thing may be said with regard to his political remarks; although, in the variety of miscellaneous discussions which occur in these volumes, enough is said to convince us, that the author possesses such a laudable zeal for freedom and love of peace, that however we may be inclined to differ from him in many speculative points, we are satisfied of his philanthropy and the innocence of his intentions.

From what we have already said, our readers may perceive, that we do not think very highly of the plan of this book: indeed, we are pretty well convinced, that if the author had abstained from all attempt at writing in character, he would have been much more successful. He evidently holds the pen of a practised writer; and though he frequently gives proofs of a bad taste in composition, particularly in his attempts at wit, to which he is unfortunately too much addicted, yet there are many passages which display a command of language and power of description far above the common pitch;—we allude particularly to the account of an excursion to the Lakes, which is extremely well executed, and, in our opinion, by far the best part of the book.

Of his powers of reasoning we cannot speak very highly: he goes to the bottom of nothing; when his subject leads him to discuss any of the nicer points of political economy, or any subject which requires minute investigation, or close reasoning, he is uniformly superficial and declamatory, and, at the same time, delivers his opinions in the most dogmatical and peremptory manner. He belongs indeed, on the whole, rather to the sentimental than to the reasoning class of composers; he is continually inveighing against the present constitution of society, and holds in the greatest abhorrence all those great commercial and manufacturing establishments, which, 'while they enable the rich to revel in all kinds of luxurious enjoyment, infallibly tend to sink the great mass of the community into a state of the most abject slavery and misery.' Accordingly, whenever he approaches any great manufacturing town, instead of any expression of admiration at the wonderful exertions of ingenuity and industry which are there displayed, we are sure to be presented with a highly coloured and most lamentable picture of the misery and vice into which a great portion of the inhabitants are plunged, in consequence of their hateful and pernicious pursuits; and the certain and total ruin of the country is most emphatically denounced, if we are mad enough to continue this system. But his discontent is not confined to the remarks on our trade and commerce:

merce: the same querulous tone is kept up in his observations on all our institutions. All this is the more provoking, as he never once deigns to give us the least glimpse of the clue by which we may escape from the labyrinth of error in which we are now involved; and, after having exerted himself to show the darkness of the dungeon which we have dug for ourselves, he very humanely leaves us to grope our way out of it, the best way we can. In short, he seems to have no very clear views on the subject; and finds it, of course, a much easier task to point out the evils of our situation, than to suggest any scheme for its improvement.

We shall not attempt to give a minute account of these volumes; but we shall give a slight sketch of their miscellaneous contents, and make such extracts, as may enable our readers to judge for themselves, of their general merits, and style of execution.

Our traveller lands at Falmouth in spring 1802, accompanied by an English gentleman, whose remarks, in the course of the journey, are of essential service; as, without this assistance, the knowledge he displays of the country he passes through, would have been quite out of character. The first sixty pages are occupied with an account of their journey to London, in which nothing very striking or interesting occurs: it is chiefly made up of descriptions of the roads, inns, and modes of travelling; which, as we have already hinted, are insufferably minute and trifling. The whole is narrated in a rather lively, but pert and flippant manner; and enlivened with a variety of little stories and anecdotes, apparently gleaned from some of their voluble hostesses. In the very first letter, there is a string of them, which we will quote, as a specimen of their general merit.

‘ A madman not many years ago carried his wife here at low water, landed her on the rock, and rowed away in sport; nor did he return till her danger as well as fear had become extreme. Some time since, the priest of this place was applied to to bury a certain person from the adjoining county. “ Why, John,” said he to the sexton, “ we buried this man a dozen years ago:” and in fact it appeared, on referring to the books of the church, that his funeral had been registered ten years back. He had been bed-ridden and in a state of dottage during all that time; and his heirs had made a mock burial, to avoid certain legal forms and expenses which would else have been necessary to enable them to receive and dispose of his rents. I was also told another anecdote of an inhabitant of this town, not unworthy of a stoic:—his house was on fire; it contained his whole property; and when he found it was in vain to attempt saving any thing, he went upon the nearest hill and made a drawing of the conflagration:—an admirable instance of English phlegm!’ I. 5, 6.

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There are many examples of the affected liveliness, and conceited turn of expression, which marks the close of the following extract:—we hope our readers will be satisfied with this.

‘ The perpetual stir and bustle in this inn is as surprising as it is wearisome. Doors opening and shutting, bells ringing, voices calling to the waiter from every quarter, while he cries “ coming ” to one room, and hurries away to another. Every body is in a hurry here ; either they are going off in the packets, and are hastening their preparations to embark ; or they have just arrived, and are impatient to be on the road homeward. Every now-and-then a carriage rattles up to the door with a rapidity which makes the very house shake. The man who cleans the boots is running in one direction, the barber with his powder-bag in another : here goes the barber’s boy with his hot water and razors ; there comes the clean linen from the washer-woman ; and the hall is full of porters and sailors bringing in luggage, or bearing it away :—now you hear a horn blow because the post is coming in, and in the middle of the night you are awakened by another because it is going out. Nothing is done in England without a noise ; and yet noise is the only thing they forget in the bill ! ’ I. 6, 7.

The description of the country, and the different towns they pass, we believe to be tolerably correct ; but we shall not detain our readers with any account of places so very generally known : the descriptions are by no means diffuse or tedious, and we accompany the travellers without any sense of fatigue. We must confess, however, we are frequently annoyed with the author’s unlucky passion for jokes ; he never loses an opportunity of introducing them ; and they are very often in rather a vulgar taste. For instance, in speaking of Bridport, he says the neighbourhood is so proverbially productive of hemp, that when a man is hanged, they have a saying, that he has been stabbed with a *Bridport Dagger*. And again, on his approaching London, it is remarked, that the country had once been a forest, but has now no other *wood* remaining than a few *gibbets* ; which last ingenious witticism, we suspect, he borrowed from a certain auctioneer, who, in selling a piece of land, described it as beautifully adorned with *hanging woods* ; which, the enraged purchaser found to be no other than the useful machines above mentioned. We now reach London ; and confess we were under great apprehensions of being obliged to follow our traveller through the vast field of description that is now at once opened to him ; we were, however, agreeably disappointed, on finding only a very short account of the general appearance of the city, and a lively picture of the moving scenery, the wonderful concourse of people, and the activity and bustle which pervades every corner. The opulence and splendour of the shops, it is justly observed, is particularly striking to foreigners, and give them the highest idea of the immense riches of the metropolis.

It is quite impossible to follow the writer through the great variety of matter which he has jumbled together in the remaining letters of the first volume. Except a visit to St Paul's, Westminster Abbey, St James's, and Drury Lane theatre, there are few notices of our public buildings or places of entertainment. The account of St Paul's, on the whole, is dull; though the following short statement, of the general effect of the view from the top, on the mind of our sentimental Iberian, is rather a favourable specimen of the style which England has lately condescended to borrow from Germany.

' I would have climbed St Paul's, if it had been only to see London thus mapped below me, and though there had been nothing beautiful or sublime in the view: few objects, however, are so sublime, if by sublimity we understand that which completely fills the imagination to the utmost measure of its powers, as the view of a huge city thus seen at once:—house-roofs, the chimneys of which formed so many turrets; towers and steeples; the trees and gardens of the inns of court, and the distant squares forming so many green spots in the map; Westminster Abbey on the one hand with Westminster Hall, an object scarcely less conspicuous; on the other the Monument, a prodigious column worthy of a happier occasion and a less lying inscription; the Tower and the masts of the shipping rising behind it; the river with its three bridges and all its boats and barges; the streets immediately within view blackened with moving swarms of men, and lines of carriages. To the north were Hampstead and Highgate on their eminences, southward the Surry hills. Where the city ended it was impossible to distinguish: it would have been more beautiful if, as at Madrid, the capital had been circumscribed within walls, and the open country had commenced immediately without its limits. In every direction the lines of houses ran out as far as the eye could follow them; only the patches of green were more frequently interspersed towards the extremity of the prospect, as the lines diverged further from each other. It was a sight which awed me and made me melancholy. I was looking down upon the habitations of a million of human beings; upon the single spot whereon were crowded together more wealth, more splendour, more ingenuity, more worldly wisdom, and, alas! more worldly blindness, poverty, depravity, dishonesty and wretchedness, than upon any other spot in the whole habitable earth.' II. 14, 15.

The following remarks on the bad effect produced by windows in our buildings in the Grecian style, we think quite just. ' But the architecture of the ancients is altered, and materially injured by the alteration, when adapted to cold climates, where it is necessary when the light is admitted to exclude the air; the windows have always a littleness, always appear misplaced; they are holes cut in the wall; not, as in the Gothic, natural and essential parts of the general structure.' Drury Lane theatre is minutely described, and due praise is bestowed on our two most celebrated

celebrated performers, Kemble and Mrs Siddons. The acknowledged degeneracy of the drama is attributed to the prodigious size of our theatres. 'The finer tones of passion cannot be discriminated, nor the finer movements of the countenance perceived from the front, hardly from the middle of the house. Authors therefore substitute what is called broad farce for genuine comedy; their jests are made intelligible by grimace, or by that sort of mechanical wit which can be seen; comedy is made up of trick, and tragedy of processions, pageants, battles and explosions.' There is, no doubt, much justice in this remark; but we cannot receive it as a complete solution of the melancholy fact; and it is indeed partly contradicted by the great applause constantly bestowed on the two great actors already named, who certainly do not owe their celebrity to mere stage-trick and extravagant grimace. The subject is a curious one, and worthy of more attention than has yet been bestowed on it.

He has now leisure to notice the public events of the day, such as the change of ministry, and the elevation of Mr Addington, of whom he professes great admiration, and delivers a long panegyric on his talents and virtues. Our readers must be contented with this *morceau*. 'His enemies have nothing worse to object against him than that his father was a physician. They call him Doctor on this account. A minister of healing he has truly been; he has poured balm and oil into the wounds of his country, and his country is blessing him.' A whole letter is filled with an account of the trial and execution of Governor Wall; which leads to some observations on the martial law and military affairs of England. We heartily agree with the writer in his reprobation of the cruelty of our military punishments. The following description, we are afraid, is not exaggerated.

'The offender is sometimes sentenced to receive a thousand lashes;— a surgeon stands by to feel his pulse during the execution, and determine how long the flogging can be continued without killing him. When human nature can sustain no more, he is remanded to prison; his wound, for from the shoulders to the loins it leaves him one wound, is dressed, and as soon as it is sufficiently healed to be laid open again in the same manner, he is brought out to undergo the remainder of his sentence. And this is repeatedly and openly practised in a country, where they read in their churches, and in their houses, that Bible, in their own language, which saith, "Forty stripes may the judge inflict upon the offender, and not exceed." I. 109, 110.

We agree with him also in his opinion of the miserable state of our present military system; but we must add, that the hints which are here thrown out for its improvement are, in general, either quite common-place, or ridiculously puerile and absurd; which is the more unfortunate, as they are delivered in the most presumptuous and dogmatical



dogmatical manner. No comment can be necessary on the following passage.

‘ But the sure and certain way to secure any nation for ever from a alarm as well as from danger, is to train every schoolboy to the use of arms: boys would desire no better amusement, and thus, in the course of the next generation, every man would be a soldier. England might then defy, not France alone, but the whole Continent leagued with France, even if the impassable gulph between this happy island and its enemy were filled up. This will be done sooner or later, for England must become an armed nation. How long it will be before her legislators will discover this, and how long when they have discovered it, before they will dare to act upon it, that is, before they will consent to part with the power of alarming the people, which they have found so convenient, it would be idle to conjecture.’ I. 117, 118.

Can any man in his senses seriously believe, that if all the schoolboys in the kingdom were to abandon bats and balls, and *amuse* themselves, in their leisure hours, in learning the use of arms, the next generation would be at all more likely to be soldiers, or the nation more warlike? After a residence of a couple of months in London, our traveller sets out on another journey. He first goes in the stage-coach to Oxford. His fellow-travellers are of course introduced to our acquaintance. We are then presented with this delectable specimen of their conversation.

‘ The good lady gave us her whole history before we arrived at the end of the first stage;—how she had been to see her sister who lived in the Borough, and was now returning home; that she had been to both the playhouses; Astley's amphitheatre, and the Royal circus; had seen the crown and the lions at the Tower, and the elephants at Exeter Change; and that on the night of the illumination she had been out till half after two o'clock, but never could get within sight of M. Otto's house. I found that it raised me considerably in her estimation when I assured her that I had been more fortunate, and had actually seen it. She then execrated all who did not like the peace; told me what the price of bread had been during the war, and how it had fallen; expressed a hope that Hollands and French brandy would fall also; spoke with complacency of Bonapart, as she called him, and asked whether we loved him as well in our country as the people in England loved king George. On my telling her that I was a Spaniard, not a Frenchman, she accommodated her conversation accordingly; said it was a good thing to be at peace with Spain, because Spanish annatto and jar raisins came from that country; and inquired how Spanish liquorice was made, and if the people wer'n't Papists, and never read in the Bible. You must not blame me for boasting of a lady's favours, if I say my answers were so satisfactory that I was pressed to partake of her cakes and oranges.’ II. 49—51.

When tired of the company inside, he takes his seat on the

roof of the coach, and gives us some little sketches of the country, mixed with anecdotes about the coachman. On reaching Oxford, we have good descriptions of most of the principal colleges, walks, gardens, &c. with a minute account of the costume and mode of living of the students; but a very meagre and unsatisfactory one of the present state of learning and science at this celebrated seminary. Indeed, we have hardly a word on the subject; though we cannot help thinking it would have been quite as acceptable to his learned correspondent, as the long account we are presented with of their kitchens, dinners and breakfasts, or even the following description of the *chairs* at Baliol, which we are tempted to extract as a specimen of the absurd minuteness to which our author sometimes descends.

‘ Their chairs are, beyond comparison, the easiest in which I ever sat down, though made entirely of wood: the seats are slightly concave from side to side; I know not how else to describe their peculiarity of construction; yet some thought and some experience must have been requisite to have attained to their perfection of easiness; and there may be a secret in the form which I did not discover.’ II. 67.

However, in another part of the book, while on a visit to Cambridge, he makes some observations, from which we may gather his opinion of both universities.

‘ I inquired what were the real advantages of these institutions to the country at large, and to the individuals who study in them. “ They are of this service,” he replied, “ to the country at large, that they are the great schools by which established opinions are inculcated and perpetuated. I do not know that men gain much here, yet it is a regular and essential part of our system of education; and they who have not gone through it, always feel that their education has been defective. A knowledge of the world, that is to say, of our world, and of the men in it, is gained here; and that knowledge remains when Greek and Geometry are forgotten.” I asked him which was the best of the two universities; he answered, that Cambridge was as much superior to Oxford, as Oxford was to Salamanca. I could not forbear smiling at his scale of depreciation: he perceived it, and begged my pardon, saying, that he as little intended to undervalue the establishments of my country, as to overrate the one of which he was himself a member. “ We are bad enough,” said he, “ Heaven knows; but not so bad as Oxford. They are now attempting to imitate us in some of those points wherein the advantage on our part is too notorious to be disputed. The effect may be seen in another generation;—meantime the imitation is a confession of inferiority.” II. 295—297.

To the question, whether we might regard the universities as the seats of learning and the Muses, we have the following particularly smart answer. ‘ As for the Muses, Sir, you have traversed the banks of the Cam, and must know whether you have seen

seen any *nine ladies* who may answer their description.' He adds,

'We do certainly produce verses both Greek and Latin which are worthy of gold medals; and English ones also; after the newest and most approved receipt for verse-making. Of learning, such as is required for the purposes of tuition, there is much;—beyond it, except in mathematics, none. In this we only share the common degeneracy. The Mohammedans believe that when Gog and Magog are to come, the race of men will have dwindled to such littleness, that a shoe of one of the present generation will serve them for a house. If this prophecy be typical of the intellectual diminution of the species, Gog and Magog may soon be expected in the neighbourhood of their own hills.

"The truth is, Sir," he continued, "that the institutions of men grow old men like themselves, and, like women, are always the last to perceive their own decay. When universities were the only schools of learning, they were of great and important utility; as soon as there were others, they ceased to be the best, because their forms were prescribed, and they could adopt no improvement till long after it was generally acknowledged. There are other causes of decline.—We educate for only one profession: when colleges were founded, that one was the most important; it is now no longer so; they who are destined for the others find it necessary to study elsewhere, and it begins to be perceived that this is not a necessary stage upon the road. This might be remedied. We have professors of every thing, who hold their situations, and do nothing. In Edinburgh, the income of the professor depends upon his exertions; and, in consequence, the reputation of that university is so high, that Englishmen think it necessary to finish their education by passing a year there. They learn shallow metaphysics there, and come back worse than they went, inasmuch as it is better to be empty than flatulent." II. 297—299.

On leaving Oxford, we proceed through Worcester to Birmingham: the appearance of this place and of Manchester, which he shortly after visits, raises only the most melancholy images in the imagination of Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella: We have already noticed his abhorrence of the manufacturing system; and he has here an ample field for the display of his eloquence: he turns with disgust from the examination of these models of perfection in the mechanic arts, which are here everywhere to be seen; and the bustle of active industry, which is so cheerful a spectacle to many men, presents to his mind only the painful ideas of unceasing labour, poverty and misery. That there must be in all countries, where the population and the arts of civilized life have reached a certain point, a class of men who pass their days in labour for a pittance barely adequate to their subsistence, and who, of course, must be continually liable to want and misery, from accidents, and the follies and vices in-

cident to human nature, is a position which we are afraid cannot be denied. To divert the course of industry from one channel into another, would be of no avail; it would change the place, but could not alter the nature nor diminish the quantity of the evil.

There is, no doubt, much truth in the melancholy picture which is here presented to us; of the wretched state of the lower class of labourers; and it is drawn with much force and feeling. The following extract will explain our author's ideas on the subject, and at the same time afford a good specimen of that kind of declamatory eloquence in which he excels, and of which there are many examples in these volumes:

' We purchase English cloth, English muslins, English buttons, &c. and admire the excellent skill with which they are fabricated; and wonder that from such a distance they can be afforded to us at so low a price, and think what a happy country is England! A happy country indeed it is for the higher orders; no where have the rich so many enjoyments, no where have the ambitious so fair a field, no where have the ingenious such encouragement, nor where have the intellectual such advantages; but to talk of English happiness, is like talking of Spartan freedom,—the helots are overlooked. In no other country can such riches be acquired by commerce; but it is the one who grows rich by the labour of the hundred. The hundred—human beings like himself, as wonderfully fashioned by nature, gifted with the like capacities, and equally made for immortality, are sacrificed body and soul. Horrible as it must needs appear, the assertion is true to the very letter. They are deprived in childhood of all instruction and all enjoyment; of the sports in which childhood instinctively indulges,—of fresh air by day, and of natural sleep by night. Their health physical and moral is alike destroyed; they die of diseases induced by unremitting task work, by confinement in the impure atmosphere of crowded rooms, by the particles of metallic or vegetable dust which they are continually inhaling; or they live to grow up without decency, without comfort, and without hope, without morals, without religion, and without shame, and bring forth slaves like themselves to tread in the same path of misery.

' The dwellings of the labouring manufacturers are in narrow streets and lanes, blocked up from light and air, not (as in our country) to exclude an insupportable sun, but crowded together, because every inch of land is of such value, that room for light and air cannot be afforded them. Here, in Manchester, a great proportion of the poor lodge in cellars, damp and dark, where every kind of filth is suffered to accumulate, because no exertions of domestic care can ever make such homes decent. These places are so many hot-beds of infection; and the poor in large towns are rarely or never without an infectious fever among them,—a plague of their own, which leaves the habitations of the rich, like a Goshen of cleanliness and comfort, unvisited.

' Wealth flows into the country, but how does it circulate there? Not equally and healthfully through the whole system; it sprouts into

wens and tumours, and collects in aneurisms which starve and palsy the extremities. The government indeed raises millions, now, as easily as it raised thousands in the days of Elizabeth: the metropolis is six times the size which it was a century ago; it has nearly doubled during the present reign: a thousand carriages drive about the streets of London, where, three generations ago, there were not an hundred: a thousand hackney coaches are licensed in the same city, where at the same distance of time there was not one: they whose grandfathers dined at noon from wooden trenchers, and upon the produce of their own farms, sit down by the light of waxen tapers to be served upon silver, and to partake of delicacies from the four quarters of the globe. But the number of the poor, and the sufferings of the poor, have continued to increase: the price of every thing which they consume has always been advancing; and the price of labour, the only commodity which they have to dispose of, remains the same. Workhouses are erected in one place, and infirmaries in another; the poor-rates increase in proportion to the taxes; and in times of dearth, the rich even purchase food, and retail it to them at a reduced price, or supply them with it gratuitously: still every year adds to their number. Necessity is the mother of crimes; new prisons are built, new punishments enacted; but the poor become year after year more numerous, more miserable, and more depraved; and this is the inevitable tendency of the manufacturing system.' II. 144, —149.

Leaving with pleasure scenes so little congenial to his feelings, our traveller proceeds by the canal to Chester, where a visit to the jail leads him to make some remarks on the state of the penal laws, and the excellent administration of justice in England. He suggests the following improvements—'That a pleader should be permitted to defend the prisoner, as well as one to accuse him: where the innocence of the prisoner is proved, he ought to be indemnified for the losses he has sustained, and the expenses he has incurred by his imprisonment and trial: where he is convicted, the expense of bringing him to justice ought to fall upon the public, not upon the individual prosecutor, already a sufferer by the offence.' The first and the last of these regulations have long been established in Scotland. The difficulty of distinguishing acquittal from proof of absolute innocence, makes us hesitate as to the practicability of the second.

Our next stage is Liverpool; of which we have a short description. Just praise is bestowed on the liberality and enterprize of the merchants; and literature is said to be in an uncommonly flourishing state for a commercial town; in proof of which, we have an account of their Athenæum, a public library and reading room, which was set on foot by two of the inhabitants, and in 'one day sufficient funds were subscribed to establish the finest institution of the kind in the kingdom.'

We now proceed to Kendal, and come within view of the romantic scenery about the Lakes, of which we have an admirable description in the succeeding fifty or sixty pages. We followed our traveller with great pleasure throughout the whole of this excursion: the narrative is very lively and entertaining. The subject appears to be quite congenial to the taste of the writer, who shows a delicate perception of the sublimity and picturesque beauty of this delightful region. We bestow on this part of the book our unqualified praise; and recommend it to our readers as the best account we have met with of a part of the country which has been the subject of so many volumes of description. We would willingly make ample extracts, but our limits must confine us to the following.

‘ We walked once more at evening to the Lake side. Immediately opposite the quay is a little island with a dwelling-house upon it. A few years ago it was hideously disfigured with forts and batteries, a sham church, and a new druidical temple, and, except a few fir trees, the whole was bare. The present owner has done all which a man of taste could do in removing these deformities: the church is converted into a tool-house, the forts demolished, the batteries dismantled, the stones of the druidical temple employed in forming a bank, and the whole island planted. There is something in this place more like the scenes of enchantment in the books of chivalry, than like any thing in our ordinary world;—a building, the exterior of which promised all the conveniences and elegancies of life, surrounded with all ornamental trees, in a little island the whole of which is one garden, and that in this lovely lake, girt round on every side with these awful mountains. Immediately behind it is the long dark western mountain called Brandelov: the contrast between this and the island, which seemed to be the palace and garden of the Lady of the Lake, produced the same sort of pleasure that a tale of enchantment excites, and we beheld it under circumstances which heightened its wonders, and gave the scene something like the unreality of a dream. It was a bright evening, the sun shining, and a few white clouds hanging motionless in the sky. There was not a breath of air stirring; not a wave—a ripple or wrinkle on the lake; so that it became like a great mirror, and represented the shores, mountains, sky and clouds so vividly, that there was not the slightest appearance of water. The great mountain-opening, being reversed in the shadow, became a huge arch; and through that magnificent portal the long vale was seen between mountains, and bounded by mountain beyond mountain,—all this in the water; the distance perfect as in the actual scene; the single houses standing far up in the vale—the smoke from their chimneys—every thing the same—the shadow and the substance joining at their base; so that it was impossible to distinguish where the reality ended and the image began. As we stood on the shore, heaven and the clouds and the sun seemed lying under us; we were looking down into a sky, as  
heavenly

heavenly and as beautiful as that overhead; and the range of mountains, having one line of summit under our feet, and another above us, were suspended between two firmaments.' II. 212—14.

'The rain now ceased, and the clouds grew thinner. They still concealed the summits, but now began to adorn the mountain, so light and silvery did they become. At length they cleared away from the top, and we perceived that the mountain, whose jagged and grotesque rocks we had so much admired, was of a pyramidal shape. That on the southern side of the dale head, which was of greater magnitude, and therefore probably, though not apparently, of equal height, had three summits. The clouds floated on its side, and seemed to cling to it. We thought our shore tamer than the opposite one, till we recollected that the road would not be visible from the water; and presently the mountain which had appeared of little magnitude or beauty while we passed under it, became, on looking back, the most pyramidal of the whole, and in one point had a cleft summit like Parnassus; thus forming the third conical mountain of the group, which rose as if immediately from the head of the Lake, the dale being lost. But of all objects *the screes* was the most extraordinary. Imagine the whole side of a mountain, a league in length, covered with loose stones, white, red, blue and green, in long straight lines as the torrents had left them, in sheets and in patches, sometimes broken by large fragments of rocks which had unaccountably stopt in their descent, and by parts which, being too precipitous for the stones to rest on, were darkened with mosses,—and every variety of form and colour was reflected by the dark water at its foot: no trees or bushes upon the whole mountain,—all was bare, but more variegated by this wonderful mixture of colouring than any vegetation could have made it.' II. 231—33.

During the whole of this excursion, we lose sight almost entirely of the character of foreigner which the writer has undertaken to support. It is quite impossible, we are convinced, for any person, during a transient visit, to acquire the intimate knowledge which is here displayed of every thing connected with the country around him: he not only speaks quite familiarly of the names of all the villages and hamlets within his view, but notices, with an accuracy that could only have been attained by a residence in the neighbourhood, many of the changes and alterations that have taken place during a course of years.

Leaving the vicinity of the Lakes, we proceed on our return to the metropolis, through Carlisle, York, Durham, &c. Nothing particularly worthy of notice occurs during the journey. We have a short description of the two famous cathedrals; and the narrative is, as usual, interspersed with a variety of little stories and anecdotes, some of which are amusing enough, but narrated, in general, in no very good taste.



Once more established in London, he resumes his more general speculations. We shall not detain our readers with any extracts from his remarks on the state of the House of Commons; his observations are in general quite commonplace and superficial; and he rings the usual changes on the well worn subjects of bribery and corruption, rotten boroughs, &c. &c.

The excessive credulity of the people has been a favourite topic with almost all the authors who have attempted to delineate the English character. If it be a fact that they are more generally subject to this weakness than their neighbours, it is a circumstance that is not easily to be accounted for. But, contrary to the opinion of our traveller, who boldly asserts 'that the great mass of the people are as ignorant, and as well contented with their ignorance, as any the most illiterate nation in Europe,' we are well convinced that instruction and information is much more generally diffused through all ranks of people in Great Britain than in any other country on the face of the earth; besides, no nation is more addicted to travelling than the English; and their immensely extended commerce leads a great number in all ranks of life to visit foreign countries; than which, nothing tends so much to remove those prejudices which are the usual sources of credulity. Now, with these advantages, and many more that might be enumerated, such as the freedom of the press, and of discussion in their public assemblies, that they should continue the most credulous and easy to be duped of all the nations in Europe, is certainly most extraordinary, and in our opinion quite incredible. The truth is, this notion seems to arise altogether from the circumstance of the great number of quacks that infest this country, and the great and rapid fortunes that have been made by some of these impostors. But the great riches of England, and the rapid circulation of wealth throughout all parts of the country, is of itself sufficient to attract these needy adventurers to its shores; and when we consider the advantages and facilities afforded them by the quick communication and intercourse that is maintained with every part of the country, and, above all, by means of the newspapers, to which they chiefly trust for the extension of their fame, we need no longer marvel at their predilection for England, and their uncommon success. Besides, the superstitious belief in the efficacy of relics, and the miraculous power of their tutelary saints, which still maintains its ground in many parts of Europe, must operate powerfully against these profane doctors, and drive them to a part of the world where these superstitions no longer prevail: for it is certainly a very just remark which is here quoted from the ingenious  
Lady



Lady Mary W. Montague, that 'quacks are despised in countries where they have shrines and images.'

We are here presented with a variety of anecdotes of some of the most celebrated of those worthies, and an amusing account of some of their tricks and arts of deception; which concludes with a full detail of that most extraordinary of all quackeries, the theory of animal magnetism, which, to the disgrace of Europe, not forty years ago, attracted such a share of the public attention. He takes the pains to give us the substance of the lectures of Mainauduc, who was the teacher of this new system of physics in this country. But we will not, by any extracts, attempt to draw our readers' attention to a subject that is happily now almost entirely forgotten.

A large portion of the third volume, on which we now enter, is occupied with an account of the different religious sects which chiefly prevail in England. We have a good account of the rise and progress of Methodism, and a variety of anecdotes of Wesley and Whitfield, the Calvin and Luther, as our author calls them, of this schism. The character and adventures of these two personages is so very generally known to the public, that it would be idle to give any part of their history here. But the following account of one of the sect, who has chosen to secede from the government of the general body, presents such a curious picture of human nature, that we are tempted to extract it for the amusement of our readers.

'One of these independent chieftains has published an account of himself, which he calls *God the Guardian of the Poor and the Bank of Faith*. His name is William Huntington, and he styles himself S. S. which signifies *Sinner Saved*.

'The tale which this man tells is truly curious. He was originally a coal-heaver, one of those men whose occupation and singular appearance I have noticed in a former letter; but finding praying and preaching a more promising trade, he ventured upon the experiment of living by faith alone; and the experiment has answered. The man had talents, and soon obtained hearers. It was easy to let them know, without asking for either, that he relied upon them for food and clothing. At first supplies came in slowly,—a pound of tea, and a pound of sugar at a time, and sometimes an old suit of clothes. As he got more hearers they found out that it was for their credit he should make a better appearance in the world. If at any time things did not come when they were wanted, he prayed for them, knowing well where his prayers would be heard. As a specimen, take a story which I shall annex in his own words, that the original may prove the truth of the translation, which might else not unreasonably be suspected.

"Having now had my horse for some time, and riding a great deal every week, I soon wore my *breeches* out, as they were not fit to ride

in: I hope the reader will excuse my mentioning the word *breeches*, which I should have avoided, had not this passage of scripture obtruded into my mind, just as I had resolved in my own thoughts not to mention this kind providence of God. 'And thou shalt make linen breeches to cover their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs shall they reach.' &c. Exod. xxviii. 42, 43. By which and three others, (namely, Ezek. xliv. 18; Lev. vi. 10; and Lev. xvi. 4), I saw that it was no crime to mention the word *breeches*, nor the way in which God sent them to me; Aaron and his sons being clothed entirely by Providence; and as God himself condescended to give orders what they should be made of, and how they should be cut; and I believe the same God ordered mine, as I trust it will appear in the following history.

"The scripture tells us to call no man master, for one is our master, even Christ. I therefore told my most bountiful and ever-adored Master what I wanted; and he, who stripped Adam and Eve of their fig-leaved aprons, and made coats of skins and clothed them, and who clothes the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, must clothe us, or we shall soon go naked; and so Israel found it when God took away his wool, and his flax, which they prepared for Baal: for which iniquity was their skirts discovered, and their heels made bare. Jer. xiii. 22.

"I often made very free in my prayers with my valuable Master for this favour; but he still kept me so amazingly poor that I could not get them at any rate. At last I was determined to go to a friend of mine at Kingston, who is of that branch of business, to bespeak a pair; and to get him to trust me until my Master sent me money to pay him. I was that day going to London, fully determined to bespeak them as I rode through the town. However, when I passed the shop I forgot it; but when I came to London I called on Mr Croucher, a shoemaker in Shepherd's Market, who told me a parcel was left there for me, but what it was he knew not. I opened it, and behold there was a pair of *leather breeches* with a note in them! the substance of which was, to the best of my remembrance, as follows.

"SIR,—I have sent you a pair of breeches, and hope they will fit. I beg your acceptance of them; and, if they want any alteration, leave in a note what the alteration is, and I will call in a few days and alter them. J. S."

"I tried them on, and they fitted as well as if I had been measured for them; at which I was amazed, having never been measured by any leather breeches-maker in London. I wrote an answer to the note to this effect.

"SIR,—I received your present, and thank you for it. I was going to order a pair of leather breeches to be made, because I did not know till now that my Master had bespoke them of you. They fit very well; which fully convinces me that the same God, who moved thy heart to give, guided thy hand to cut; because he perfectly knows my size, having clothed me in a miraculous manner for near five years.

When

When you are in trouble, Sir, I hope you will tell my Master of this, and what you have done for me, and he will repay you with honour.'

" This is as nearly as I am able to relate it ; and I added,

" ' I cannot make out I. S. unless I put I. for Israelite indeed, and S. for Sincerity ; because you did not ' sound a trumpet before you as the hypocrites do.'

" About that time twelvemonth I got another pair of breeches in the same extraordinary manner, without my ever being measured for them."

' Step by step, by drawing on his Master as he calls him, and persuading the congregation to accept his drafts, this Sinner Saved has got two chapels of his own, a house in the country, and a coach to carry him backwards and forwards.' III. 20—26.

The Methodists certainly gain ground in all parts of the country ; and their numbers are so great, and their progress so rapid, that our author is of opinion that the safety of the established Church is seriously threatened. In the account of the Quakers, there is little to attract our notice. The following observations on their character, are certainly striking.

' What is truly extraordinary is, that though they seem to have advanced to the utmost limits of enthusiasm as well as of heresy, so far from being enthusiastic, they are proverbially deliberate and prudent : so far from being fullen and gloomy, as their prohibitions might induce you to suppose, they are remarkably cheerful : they are universally admitted to be the most respectable sect in England ; and though they have a church without a priesthood, and a government without a head, they are perhaps the best organized and most unanimous society that ever existed.' III. 75.

This sect is represented, and we believe truly, to be in rather a declining state. We are next presented with a number of extracts from the insane ravings of Emanuel Swedenborg, which our readers will readily excuse us for passing over in silence. The disciples of this very prolix and fanciful dreamer, have, we believe, made but very slender progress in this country.

A number of letters follow, containing an account of some of those impostors, madmen and fanatics, who, in spite of their gross absurdity and vulgarity, have succeeded in attracting the public attention ; such as Richard Brothers, Joanna Southcott, and others of that description. The author has taken a good deal of pains in examining a great variety of pamphlets published by those wretched impostors and their dupes. That the writers of such a mass of blasphemous impiety, idiocy and brutal vulgarity as is here exposed, instead of receiving the wholesome discipline of the house of correction, should have succeeded in making thousands of proselytes, and should even have been cherished and encouraged by some individuals in a respectable station, is wonderful,

ful, and certainly most disgraceful to this country. That such things should be, in the present enlightened state of society, is scarcely credible: but though our author may have somewhat exaggerated the numbers of those who have been influenced by this strange insanity, we are afraid the main fact is too notorious to be denied.

The renewal of hostilities with France leads to some general political speculations. The writer is of opinion that England has nothing to fear from the power of a foreign enemy; but predicts our certain ruin from the baneful effects of our manufacturing system, that object of his constant reprobation, all the evils of which he once more re-arranges in frightful array. Our limits will not permit us to make many more extracts; but we make room for the following striking remarks on the effects of taxation on a certain class of the community.

• The gentry of small fortune have also disappeared. The colonial war bore hard upon them, but the list has crumpled them. Inheriting what to their forefathers had been an ample subsistence, they have found themselves step by step curtailed of the luxuries, and at last of the comforts of life, without a possibility of helping themselves. For those who were reared at manhood it was too late to enter into any profession; and to embark what they possessed in trade was hazarding all, and putting themselves at the mercy of a partner. Meantime, year after year the price of every article of necessary consumption has increased with accelerating rapidity: education has become more costly, and at the same time more indispensable; and taxation year after year falls heavier, while the means of payment become less. In vain does he whole father hoe, live in opulence, and whom the villagers with hereditary respect still address that in hand, or bow to as they pass,—in vain does he put down the carriage, dismiss the footman, and block up windows even in the house front. There is no escape. Wine disappears from his side-board; there is no longer a table ready for his friend; the priest is no longer invited after service:—all will not do: his boys must out to sea, or seek their fortune in trade; his girls sink lower, and become dependants on the rich, or maintain themselves by the needle, while he mortgages the land, for immediate subsistence, deeper and deeper; as the burthen of the times presses heavier and heavier; and happy is he if it lasts long enough to keep him from absolute want before he sinks into the grave.' III. 109, 110.

The remaining part of the book will not detain us long; it is particularly uninteresting and trifling. After a few letters on card-playing, fashions, fops, &c. &c. our Spaniard leaves London, and proceeds through Bath, Bristol, &c. to Falmouth, where he embarks and takes his final leave of England. In his account of the fashions and fashionsables, he does not attempt to give any description of the modes of life of those in the higher ranks; in-

deed, it is somewhat remarkable, that throughout the whole book, we are never once introduced into the polite circles about court. The author might have managed this very easily for Don Manuel; and in a work professing to give an account of the manners of a nation, it is a very important omission. The picture he gives us of a fop, seems to be drawn entirely from his own fancy, and is a complete caricature; our readers may judge of the whole, from the following sketch of their intellectual endowments.

' Their souls might be lodged in a nutshell without incommoding the maggot who previously tenanted it; and if the whole flock of their ideas were transferred to the maggot, they would not be sufficient to confuse his own. It is impossible to describe them, because no idea can be formed of infinite littleness; you might as reasonably attempt to dissect a bubble, or to bottle moonshine, as to investigate their characters; they prove satisfactorily the existence of a vacuum: the first total of their being is composed of negative quantities.' III. 302, 303.

There is a great deal of this slipping, affected style of writing in these letters, and many abortive attempts at wit and satire, which is often directed to subjects far above the author's reach, as in the following instance.

' At present the English philosophers and politicians, both male and female, are in a state of great alarm. It has been discovered that the world is over peopled, and that it always must be so, from an error in the constitution of nature;—that the law which says "Increase and multiply," was given without sufficient consideration;—in short, that He who made the world does not know how to manage it properly, and therefore there are serious thoughts of requesting the English parliament to take the business out of his hands.' III. 316, 317.

This, to say the least of it, is very pitiful impertinence. In the journey to Falmouth there is nothing that particularly attracts our attention. We have short descriptions of Bath and Bristol, interspersed with a variety of anecdotes in his usual taste, from which we shall make no further extracts, as we believe our readers will think we have been already sufficiently liberal.

Upon the whole, though we cannot complain of Don Manuel for being a dull or tedious companion, we part from him without any feeling of regret or respect. He is very conceited, shallow, and dogmatical; full of exaggerations and discontents, and quite destitute of that tone of good company which can make trifling graceful, and presumption inoffensive. His pleasantries and anecdotes, are such as might be collected in the traveller's apartment of any well frequented inn; and the greater part of his reasonings are evidently the productions of a mind accustomed either to indulge in solitary and unchecked speculation, or to predominate in a society of still humbler qualifications. There is a good deal of bitterness displayed in the work, and for the most part a

tone of right feeling ; but the petulance of the author's manner entirely destroys his respectability ; and the value he evidently sets on the odd and minute observations it contains, makes them appear, to an indifferent reader, still more insignificant perhaps than they really are. No one, we conceive, who reads the book, can for a moment suppose it to be the work of a foreigner. We have seldom seen a character, indeed, worse dressed or supported ; and no one is in any danger of being imposed on by the Spanish title, who would not believe in the reality of ghosts at the play-house, or vestal virgins at the masquerade. We have not thought it necessary to produce any proofs of a deception which we cannot imagine intended to be effectual. The whole strain of the sentiment and diction is manifestly English ; and the author cannot even refrain from indulging himself in a variety of *puns* and verbal pleasantries, to which it would not be easy to find an equivalent in ' the original Spanish.'

ART. VIII. *The Bakerian Lecture on some Chemical Agencies of Electricity.* By Humphry Davy, Esq. Sec. R. S. M. R. I. A. Prof. Chem. R. J.

(From the *Phil. Trans.* for 1807. Part I.)

IT is no small proof of Mr Davy's natural talents and strength of mind, that they have escaped unimpaired from the enervating influence of the Royal Institution ; and indeed grown prodigiously in that thick medium of fashionable philosophy. The paper now before us is by far the most important addition which his labours have yet made to the stock of physical science ; it contains one or two discoveries of considerable intrinsic value, and opens a field of research almost new and altogether unbounded. He has, since the publication of it, if we are not misinformed, begun to enter upon this field, and has been rewarded for his toil and ingenuity, by the most brilliant discovery which has adorned the annals of chemistry from the foundation of the new theory to the present day. As soon as his own account of these experiments is given to the world, we shall call the attention of our readers to it. In the mean time, it will both prepare the way for examining that discovery, and divert somewhat of the impatience which our readers, in common with ourselves, cannot avoid feeling, until the details of it are made known, if we endeavour to make them acquainted with the substance and merits of the present communication.

The first set of experiments described in this paper was instituted.

tuted with a view to ascertain, with greater accuracy than had hitherto been attained, the sources of the acid and alkali observed to be produced when distilled water is submitted to the action of the galvanic fluid. Mr Davy, with several of our best chemists, had ascribed this phenomenon to certain impurities in the water, and ingredients in the composition of the glass and the conductors; which others of inferior note had denied. The question is now discussed in a very satisfactory manner; and, we may say, set completely at rest. We cannot pretend to follow the train of the experiments, but shall endeavour to give a general outline of them.

Two cups, tubes, cones, or other vessels capable of containing water, and made of various substances successively, were connected together by films of pure amianthus, and connected with the positive and negative ends respectively of the pile of Volta, by means of platina wires. The pile was a strong one, generally consisting of 100 or 150 plates of zinc and copper, six inches square, and moistened with alum, or alum and diluted sulphuric acid. The water in the vessels being exposed to the action of this pile, after a certain time became acid in the positive vessel, and alkaline in the negative. When the vessels were of glass, the alkali was much greater in quantity (about twenty times) than when they were of agate. The same process, too, in the latter case, being repeatedly tried with the same cups, though the acid continued to be abundantly produced on the positive side, the quantity of the alkali was diminished greatly in the negative tube. Still, however, some was produced; and, after several repetitions of the process, the quantity continued stationary, being extremely small, though perceptible. It was natural, therefore, to suspect the water of having some alkaline impurities. The process was now repeated with small vessels of pure gold, and in ten minutes the negative vessel had attained its maximum of alkali; for the action being continued for fourteen hours, while the water in the positive vessel became constantly more acid, the water in the negative side was not sensibly changed; and after three days more had elapsed, the acid became still stronger, the alkali remaining as before. By evaporating a quart of the same distilled water, seven tenths of a grain of solid matter were obtained, consisting of nitrate of soda, and nitrate of lead, the latter apparently from the still. The galvanic experiment was then repeated in agate vessels much used, and in gold vessels, with the water thus purified by evaporation; and no alkali was produced in the negative vessel. The substances of the vessels being varied, different acids and alkalis were produced in the opposite sides of the circuit. Thus wax tubes gave for the acid matter, a mixture of sulphuric, muriatic, and nitric acids; for



for the alkaline, soda and potash; and Carrara marble gave lime-water continually, and at first a mixture of limewater and fixed alkali. But in all the experiments nitrous acid was produced in the positive side, constantly to the end of the process; and a small quantity of ammonia was regularly formed in the negative side, at the beginning of the process. For the purpose of rendering still more indubitable the inference to which all these experiments point, the process with purified water in golden vessels was performed during many hours in the receiver of an air pump, exhausted sixty-four times; and then in a receiver filled with hydrogen gas. In neither case was there the smallest particle of alkali produced; in the former, there was a most minute portion of acid; in the latter, none whatever.

Nothing, certainly, can be more satisfactory than the result which all these most elaborate experiments concur in pointing out; and we may conclude with perfect confidence, that wherever an acid, or an alkaline matter is produced by subjecting water to the action of the galvanic fluid, the latter of these bodies is evolved, either from the impurities of the water, or from the materials of the vessels; and the former from the vessels, or the impurities of the water, or the union of one of the constituent parts of the water with the azote which it has absorbed from the air. And the only case in which an alkali is really formed, is where ammonia results from the union of the hydrogen of the water with the azote dissolved in it.

There is one fact common to every one of these experiments, which indeed had attracted some attention from the first application of galvanism to chemical inquiries, but was never placed in so striking and steady a light as by the processes just now analyzed. We allude to the uniform and exclusive appearance of the alkali, where any was evolved, at the negative surface; and of the acid at the positive surface. Mr Davy's first set of experiments, being made with a view to explain what effects certain impurities and extraneous substances produced on water in the galvanic circuit, had no immediate or direct reference to the action of the fluid on these substances, which were, indeed, accidental to the different processes. But the observation of the fact now mentioned, naturally led him to examine more fully the laws of this action, by exposing to it a variety of known substances. He began with a set of experiments upon insoluble bodies, containing large quantities of acid and alkaline matter, repeating, in fact, the process so often referred to, with two cups made successively of sulphates of lime, strontites, and barytes, and fluate of lime, connected together either by pieces of the same earths, or by asbestos. The water in the positive cup, was always, as the process went on, mixed with more and more sulphuric or fluoric acid; and in the negative



negative cup, it was uniformly converted into limewater, or had a mixture of strontites, or a crust of barytes, carbonated by the contact of the atmosphere. Insoluble substances, containing very minute portions of acid and alkali, were next exposed to a similar process; and the negative side uniformly extracted the alkali, the positive side the acid, be the quantities ever so small. Soluble bodies were then examined in like manner, being subjected to the galvanic fluid in agate cups, and dissolved in pure water. The separation here went on much more rapidly, but it followed the same rules. The negative cup contained a solution of alkali, or a deposit of earth or metallic crystals, according to the compound neutral employed; the positive cup uniformly contained a great excess of acid; a muriatic salt gave oxymuriatic acid in the positive cup. The stronger the solution exposed in these experiments, the quicker was the change produced; but the smallest portion of acid and alkali was always detected; and the separation, at the end of the process, was as complete as at first.

Two foreign chemists of reputation, Messrs Hisinger and Berzelius, had made an experiment, in which muriate of lime being exposed in the positive side of a siphon, and pure water in the negative, the action of the galvanic fluid made lime appear in the water: so extraordinary a discovery, merited every degree of attention. Mr Davy immediately pursued it, upon the plan of his former experiments. His first inquiry was into the manner of the passage here remarked, through a menstruum not chemically attracting the substance which passed over. An agate cup, for example, filled with water, was connected with a cup of sulphate of lime, by moistened asbestos: if the former was positively electrified, acid soon came over; if negatively, lime came over. Metals and metallic oxides passed over to the negative cup, like alkalis and alkaline earths; and, in one beautiful experiment, where nitrate of silver was placed in the positive side, the amianthus between the cups appeared covered with a thin silver film. The transference went on slower, in proportion to the body of water through which it was performed: when the wires were only an inch asunder, sulphuric acid came over from sulphate of potash in five minutes; nor was contact with either electrified surface, necessary in these experiments. A vessel of solution of muriate of potash, being connected by amianthus with two glass tubes filled with water, the one negatively, the other positively electrified; by degrees, the alkali went over into the former, and the acid into the latter. But one of the most singular parts of this process, is, that the acid and the alkali, in passing from one vessel to another, through any intermediate body of water, or over the surface of the amianthus, do not change the vegetable colours in their way, except in so far as they come in contact with them at the positive

and negative sides respectively; *e. g.* the acid passes over the negative portion of a solution of litmus without reddening it; and the alkali does not render turmeric brown by passing over it at the positive side.

A considerable step was now made from the point at which our author had set out. He had satisfactorily ascertained the regular decomposition of bodies containing acids united with alkalis or metallic bases; the constant preference of the acid for the positive side, and of the alkaline or metallic base for the negative; and the actual transference by perceptible motion of those substances from one part to another of the electrical circuit; circumstances which had been vaguely remarked by former observers. But he now was led a step further, and perceived a phenomenon perfectly different in kind from any thing which their experiments had made known. He found, that the action of the acids and alkalis on vegetable colours was suspended by the electrical state of those bodies; and that the influence of chemical affinity, in this instance at least, was superseded by the powers of electricity: for on what, but chemical affinity, does the action of salts upon colours depend? This singular fact, however, deserved a more careful examination, and obviously suggested a set of experiments upon the influence of electricity in various other processes of elective attraction.

The same general form of experiment was here again employed. Two glass tubes were connected with the positive and negative wires of the pile, and each was connected with a third vessel by films of amianthus. In the third vessel various substances were successively placed, having a known chemical affinity for the component parts of the substances in the two tubes; and those parts were made to pass through the contents of the third vessel, by the action of the galvanic fluid. Thus, sulphate of potash being placed in the negative tube, distilled water in the positive, and ammonia in the middle vessel, the action of the pile sent the acid over into the water, and through the ammoniacal solution, in a longer or shorter time in proportion to the strength of that solution. When it was weak, the acid would tinge the water in five minutes; but, even through the most saturated lixivium it never failed to come in a certain time. The other acids passed in the same manner; and by a similar process the alkalis and alkaline earths were sent through the acids according to the like rules; only that strontites and barytes passed with very great difficulty through sulphuric acid, and transmitted sulphuric acid with proportionate slowness, and in very small quantities. When the acids and alkalis were passed through neutral salts in the intermediate vessel, the alkali of the latter soon appeared in the  
negative

negative tube, and the passage of the alkali from the positive tube went on slowly, sometimes never being completed; as when it united with the remaining acid of the intermediate vessel and formed an insoluble compound, which fell immediately down beyond the sphere of the electrical action. Thus barytes could not be transmitted through sulphate of potash, though the galvanic process brought it from muriatic acid in the positive, to the sulphuric acid in the intermediate vessel, and at the same time brought the potash from the intermediate into the negative vessel. Animal and vegetable substances were quickly decomposed in similar experiments; and their constituent parts either separated purely, or recombined with other bodies exhibited to them, according to the general rules which the salts and metals follow.

A few experiments only were necessary to demonstrate, that in all the processes now described, the matter, or energy, or galvanism, or whatever it may be called, which operates in the pile of Volta, is identical with common electricity. Our author produced several of the same decompositions and transferences, by means of a powerful electrical machine, in the same manner as with the galvanic pile. 'It will be a general expression (says Mr Davy) of the facts that have been detailed, relating to the changes and transitions by electricity, in common philosophical language, to say that hydrogene, the alkaline substances, the metals, and certain metallic oxides, are attracted by negatively electrified metallic surfaces, and repelled by positively electrified metallic surfaces; and, contrariwise, that oxygene and acid substances are attracted by positively electrified metallic surfaces, and repelled by negatively electrified metallic surfaces; and these attractive and repulsive forces are sufficiently energetic to destroy or suspend the usual operation of elective affinity.' He thinks it further proved by his experiments, that a chain of homogeneous particles is kept up from one surface to another, along the circuit, by means of the electrical energy; for he observed, that so long as any of the matter transferted remained in the vessel, the chain of particles of that matter existed all along the circuit, and was only destroyed, or drawn over into the other vessel, after the first reservoir had been exhausted. That successive compositions and decompositions take place while substances pass through solutions of neutral salts, he conceives, is rendered very probable by the impossibility of completely bringing over such substances as form heavy compounds in their way, and fall down, so as to escape the limits of the electrical circuit.

The inquiries of our author are next directed to trace the analogy between the singular phænomena above described, and other known facts relating to the electrical changes superinduced in dif-

ferent bodies by their mutual contacts, and the tendencies to unite which opposite states of electricity may create. The various experiments which he instituted upon this subject, are incapable of a general abridgement. We shall only observe, that he found that the acids and alkalis, which could be exhibited in a solid state, gave plain indications of negative and positive electricity, respectively, upon being brought in contact with metallic plates. Thus, boracic acid, being touched with an insulated copperplate, became negative, and left the plate positive; lime, on the other hand, being treated in the same way, was positive, and the plate negative. Mr Davy is disposed, from these and similar considerations, to conjecture, that the chemical affinities of bodies depend on their natural state of electricity; that some being always, when in their natural state, positively, and others negatively electrified, the two classes combine in consequence of this; that when their natural electricity is augmented, their tendency to unite is increased, and that this tendency is destroyed by an electrization, of a contrary, and as it were, an unnatural kind. Thus, an acid and an alkali having opposite electricities, unite readily; if their degrees of electricity are nearly equal in opposite directions, they unite with the greater force; if those degrees of electricity are made stronger artificially, these bodies combine still more readily; if they are artificially reversed, and the acid made positive, and the alkali negative, no union is produced. Of the general theory thus hinted at, it is no small confirmation, that perfectly neutral salts show no symptoms of either positive or negative electricity; and that bodies having very strong degrees of opposite electricity, are restored to equilibrium, with an evolution of heat, and even of light and heat; while bodies show a similar phenomenon, when their union is effected by means of chemical action. It may likewise be observed, that Guyton de Morveau found the mechanical adhesion of the metals to mercury was in proportion to their chemical affinity with it. Mr Davy, admitting this to have been established by his experiments (though we wish he had repeated and varied them himself, as they were liable to a serious objection\*), remarks, that it supports his

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\* Mr Davy hints at this in a note, observing 'that amalgamation must have interfered, but that the *general* result seems distinct.' If we remember right, the polished plate of metal was let down upon the surface of mercury from one end of a delicate balance, and the weight necessary to draw it up from the contact was marked. It is clear that there must here have been a chemical union at the common surface, where the metal used had a considerable affinity with mercury.—The employment of mercury is itself a suspicious circumstance. Polished plates of solid metal cohere strongly,—and why does the comparative trial not answer here?

his hypothesis; for he finds those metals which, in Mr Guyton's experiments, adhered most strongly to the mercury, are those which charge a condensing electrometer most highly.

Mr Davy's paper concludes with a number of ingenious and important observations on the general inquiries to which his experiments lead, the phenomena which they enable us to explain, and the more practical uses to which they may hereafter be applied. As this branch of the discourse consists of a series of detached remarks, we shall not attempt to analyze it, but shall content ourselves with extracting a few of them for a specimen.

' A piece of muscular fibre, of two inches long, and half an inch in diameter, after being electrified by the power of  $150^{\circ}$  for five days, became perfectly dry and hard, and left on incineration no saline matter. Potash, soda, ammonia, lime, and oxide of iron were evolved from it on the negative side, and the three common mineral acids and the phosphoric acid were given out on the positive side.

' A laurel leaf treated in the same manner, appeared as if it had been exposed to a heat of  $500^{\circ}$  or  $600^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit, and was brown and parched. Green colouring matter, with resin, alkali, and lime, appeared in the negative vessel; and the positive vessel contained a clear fluid, which had the smell of peach blossoms; and which, when neutralized by potash, give a blue-green precipitate to solution of sulphate of iron; so that it contained vegetable prussic acid.

' A small plant of mint, in a state of healthy vegetation, was made the medium of connexion in the battery, its extremities being in contact with pure water: the process was carried on for 10 minutes: potash and lime were found in the negatively electrified water, and acid matter in the positively electrified water, which occasioned a precipitate in solutions of muriate of barytes, nitrate of silver, and muriate of lime. This plant recovered after the process: but a similar one, that had been electrified for four hours with like results, faded and died. The facts show that the electrical powers of decomposition act even upon living vegetable matter; and there are some phenomena which seem to prove that they operate likewise upon living animal systems. When the fingers, after having been carefully washed with pure water, are brought in contact with this fluid in the positive part of the circuit, acid matter is rapidly developed, having the characters of a mixture of muriatic, phosphoric, and sulphuric acids: and if a similar trial be made in the negative part, fixed alkaline matter is as quickly exhibited.

' The acid and alkaline tastes produced upon the tongue, in Galvanic experiments, seem to depend upon the decomposition of the saline matter contained in the living animal substance, and perhaps in the saliva.

' As acid and alkaline substances are capable of being separated from their combinations in living systems by electrical powers, there is every reason to believe that by converse methods they may be likewise introduced into the animal economy, or made to pass through the animal or-

gans : and the same thing may be supposed of metallic oxides ; and these ideas ought to lead to some new investigations in medicine and physiology.' p. 52, 53.

We have thus introduced our readers to the important facts recorded in Mr Davy's very interesting communication. Satisfied that the experimental investigation itself is the most material part of the work, that we are as yet only on the verge of a much wider field, and that the facts already within our reach are insufficient for the foundation of a general theory, we have deemed it proper to confine our attention almost exclusively to a history of the subject, in so far as it is before us ; and, without entering into any discussion of the hypothesis struck out by Mr Davy, or even of the inferences which he is entitled to draw, we have reserved for a more mature branch of the Inquiry, whatever we may have to deliver on these heads. In so doing, we have indeed only followed our author's own example ; for nothing is more praiseworthy in his treatise, than the caution and modesty with which he ventures to suggest, rather than lay down, his theoretical opinions ; and he uniformly keeps them in the background, applying himself almost exclusively to the multiplication of facts, and repeatedly admitting that the time for theorizing is not yet come. Even at present, however, and while awaiting, with impatience, the continuance of his investigations, we may be permitted to express the delight which we have received from his strict and patient induction. The chain of experiments by which he removes all the difficulties and obscurity that hitherto hung over the changes produced in water by Galvanic action, is surpassed by no inquiry of the kind, in modern times, for closeness, copiousness, and minute accuracy. The examination of it gives us an irresistible disposition to confide in all the other processes of the author, which he passes over more hastily, or only refers to in general terms. The felicity with which he seizes and follows up the loose hints thrown out by other inquirers, and pursues also the various paths opened incidentally by his own preliminary course of experiments, must take away all the envy one might be apt to feel towards a person who, without so excellent a title, had, by happy chances, made such a progress in valuable discovery as has rewarded his labours. Whatever Mr Davy has done in this Inquiry, and all the more wonderful things which he has since accomplished, are the fair fruits of the industry and ability shown in the painful researches above analyzed. We shall wait with some impatience, until the remaining part of his Galvanic experiments are laid before the public ; and shall then gladly resume the discussion, both for the sake of continuing our account of his progress, and of entering into an examination of the general reasonings,

ART. IX. *The Works of Alexander Pope Esq., in Verse and Prose; containing the principal Notes of Drs Warburton and Warton: to which are added some Original Letters.* By the Rev. William Lisle Bowles. 10 volumes 8vo. London. 1806.

THERE is something very perverse in the irregularity with which fortune distributes to literary men their chief sustenance—reputation. To some she gives full measure, and present payment; they live with nobles, and are buried among kings; they are worshipped by friends and flatterers; they exercise a sort of tyranny over the public taste, and the credit of their contemporaries; and after multiplying their acknowledged writings without any stint, but that which their own indolence or discretion may impose, there is still an abundant harvest remaining of private correspondence, and whole volumes of *ana* and anecdotes are hashed up out of their sayings. A less fortunate class have nothing in this world to comfort them, but that last solace of poor poets and scholars—the hope of posthumous fame from a wiser posterity; and to take off again from even this scanty pittance, they must be aware that posterity, even if it showers applause upon their labours, may be able to trace little more of themselves than could be discovered of P. P. clerk of the parish; that he walked about with a black and white cat, and swallowed loaches. Homer is, in fact, only a shorter expression for the anonymous author of the *Iliad*; we have just a trifle more about Pindar; we have some little light respecting Virgil; can tell still more of Shakespeare; and a good deal about Milton. But the three writers, of our own country at least, who seem to bask in the fullest sunshine of reputation, are Pope, Swift, and Johnson. They have fallen into the hands of portrait-painters, who think shadow unnecessary, and disdain that discreet management of the pencil, which keeps down certain parts of the picture, were it only to give relief to others. We own that the public are against us, who seem to crave insatiably for these literary morsels: but it does appear to us, that a man may have too much said about him, as well as too little; and that many a distinguished character may be the loser by showing the world, amidst all the blaze of hot-pressed paper, in what terms he gave orders to his steward, and with what compliments he returned thanks for a haunch of venison. Indeed, we almost doubt whether the possible existence of future Nicholsons, Malones, and Chalmerses, events against which we see no security, is not a drawback upon literary exertion; and we put it to any modest young man who intends to obtain immortal renown, whether the consciousness that he is

living, like the Bonzes, in a house of glass, that all his loose sayings are sure to be as eternal as his writings, does not inspire, from time to time, an irksome and painful sensation.

The works of Pope were published soon after his death, by his friend and executor Warburton, in nine volumes, containing as well those poems upon which his fame most depends, as a collection of letters, copious enough, one would think, to satisfy the public curiosity for such compositions. By degrees, a few trifling poems, and some more letters became public: and Dr Joseph Warton, in 1797, added these, with as much more as he could scrape together, to Warburton's edition; cutting down, at the same time, his own essay on the writings and genius of Pope, published 1761, into shreds and patches of notes, which he interspersed with those of Warburton. Mr Bowles has now republished Warton's edition, with a few letters which were not included in it. His own share of this edition consists of a life, a variety of notes, in addition to those of the preceding editors, and concluding observations on the poetical character of Pope.

The partiality of editors is not more notorious than natural. If an author is as a parent to his works, an editor is at least a guardian; he is *loco parentis*; and while he is bound to protect the inheritance from wrong, may be expected also to feel some little tenderness for the heir. There have been those, however, who, from this weakness, have seemed to lye under the opposite bias, and have endeavoured, rather, to dispossess the world of too favourable an idea of their author, than to varnish over his failings. Of Pope's three critical commentators, Warburton is an indiscriminate and sophistical eulogist; Warton is, generally, candid and impartial; but Mr Bowles, we think, almost always evinces an adverse prepossession. The tone, indeed, of his own poetical feelings is so little in unison with his author, that one is led to wonder that he should have taken upon him a labour, the burthen of which could not have been alleviated by much zeal and interest about his subject.

The life of Pope is one of the finest, as well as most elaborate, which Johnson has written. He seems to have been more on his guard than was usual with him, against a secret ill-will, and perhaps jealousy, which he had imbibed; and, in the present state of public opinion respecting Pope, that suffrage may be deemed favourable, which would have been spurned half a century since as the fruit of bad taste or malignity. If he has left on the mind an impression of dislike towards Pope's moral character, the cause, we fear, must be found rather in the plain truth of his story, than in his own commentary. Mr Bowles is more studious in bringing forward and dwelling upon the blemishes of his  
author's



author's disposition; but, in fact, they speak pretty plainly for themselves; and we stand in need of no guide-post to direct our contempt towards duplicity and cowardice. Perhaps, however, an editor might have done more for the brighter parts of the subject, and pointed out more fully that remarkable sensibility and tenderness of heart, which beamed through Pope's natural selfishness, and turned his connexions, even with the great, into real and ardent friendships.

The following account of the 'Unfortunate Lady,' is curious.

'The story which was told to Condorcet by Voltaire, and by Condorcet to a gentleman of high birth and character, from whom I received it, is this. 'That her attachment was not to Pope, or to any Englishman of inferior degree;' but to a young French prince of the blood-royal, Charles Emmanuel Duke of Berry, whom, in early youth, she had met at the court of France. In 1710, if we give this date to the elegy, the Duke of Berry must have been in his twenty-fourth year, being born 1686.

'The verses certainly seem unintelligible, unless they allude to some connexion, to which her highest hopes, though nobly connected herself, could not aspire. What other sense can be given to these words?

"Why bad'st ye, else, ye powers, her soul aspire

"Beyond the vulgar flight of low desire?

"Ambition first sprung from your bright abodes,

"The glorious fault of angels and of gods!"

'She was herself of a noble family, or there can be no meaning in the line,

"That once had honour, virtue, titles, fame."

Under the idea here suggested, a greater propriety is given to the verse, which otherwise appears so tame and common place,

"'Tis all thou art, and all the proud shall be." Vol. I. p. xxxii.

Mr Bowles justifies Addison, at some length, from the charge, which Pope and all the world, since the publication of Pope's lines on Atticus, have brought against him, of disingenuously writing a translation of the first Iliad in Tickell's name. There is a similar defence of Addison in Bishop Hurd's *Life of Warburton*, which Mr Bowles has not quoted; it is said to have been satisfactory to Warburton himself.

The passion of Pope for the Misses Blount, which is almost passed over by Johnson, is put in a striking light by Mr Bowles.

'A friendly but indefinite connexion, a strange mixture of passion, gallantry, licentiousness, and kindness, had long taken place between himself and the Miss Blounts. It has been said, that Teresa was the first object of his attention. For some time his partiality seems to have been wavering. He was consulted, and interested himself in the affairs of the family; for the father died in 1710. After some misunderstanding,

ing, mutual bickerings, and complaints with Teresa, he finally set his heart on Martha. She was neither so handsome nor intelligent as her sister; and, to be admired by a man so celebrated as a wit, was the more grateful, as it flattered her understanding, the point in which she was most deficient.'

The curious letters which passed between him and her sister Teresa, published in the tenth volume, will show the decline and termination of their connexion, as well as evince how much he felt on the occasion.

As these letters are without date, we cannot say exactly when they were written. Pope seems to have fixed his regard solely on Martha so early as 1714; for he says, in one letter,

"In these overflowings of my heart, I pay you my thanks for those two obliging letters you favoured me with, of the 18th and 24th instant. That which begins with "My charming Mr Pope!" was a delight to me beyond all expression. You have at last entirely gained the conquest over your fair sister. 'Tis true, you are not handsome, for you are a woman, and think you are not; but this good-humour and tenderness for me has a charm that cannot be resisted. That face must needs be irresistible, which was adorned with smiles even when it could not see the coronation."

'Though it is hardly worth noticing, my opinion is, that after this letter, the public appearance of Teresa in town at the coronation, revived all his suppressed tenderness; and the most direct addresses to Martha were not conceived till after the coolness of Lady Mary, and the death of the brother in 1726.

'Pope, however, was in this respect a politician; and he carefully, to the family at least, avoided any expression in his letters that might be construed into a direct avowal; and when his warmth sometimes betrayed him, he generally contrived to make old Mrs Blount and her other daughter parties, so that whatever was said might appear only the dictates of general kindness.

'On the death of their brother his intimate friend and correspondent, he seems to speak more openly his undisguised sentiments to Martha, who from this time became his confidant, having admitted a connexion which subjected her to some ridicule, but which ended only with his life. Pope was now in his 38th year. He was never indifferent to female society; and though his good sense prevented him, conscious of so many personal infirmities, from marrying, yet he felt the want of that sort of reciprocal tenderness and confidence in a female, to whom he might freely communicate his thoughts, and on whom, in sickness and infirmity, he could rely. All this Martha Blount became to him: by degrees she became identified with his existence. She partook of his disappointments, his vexations, and his comforts. Wherever he went, his correspondence with her was never remitted; and when the warmth of gallantry was over, the cherished idea of kindness and regard remained.' I. p. lxix.

Of this remarkable attachment, which enslaved the whole heart  
of

of Pope, and rendered every other feeling, whether of self-interest, or friendship, subservient, we would speak with more pity than ridicule. That any criminal intercourse subsisted between them, as Mr Bowles inquires, (Life, p. cxxviii.), is highly improbable. She appears to have been a woman of a little mind and violent temper, incapable of estimating the honour which was conferred on her by the attachment of Pope, and careless of those feelings, which her caprice and peevishness kept in perpetual irritation. The letters that are now published, are among the most humiliating we have ever read. They present us with the picture of a man of fine genius and exquisite sensibility; and acting, in this instance, without art or affectation, chained at the footstool of two paltry girls. The following is a specimen out of many;

‘ TO THE MISSES BLOUNT.

‘ LADIES,

Thursday morn.

‘ Pray think me sensible of your civility and good meaning, in asking me to come to you.

‘ You will please to consider, that my coming, or not, is a thing indifferent to both of you. - But God knows it is far otherwise to me, with respect to one of you.

‘ I scarce ever come, but one of two things happens, which equally afflicts me to the soul: either I make her uneasy, or I see her unkind.

‘ If she has any tenderness, I can only give her every day trouble and melancholy. If she has none, the daily sight of so undeserved a coldness must wound me to death.

‘ It is forcing one of us to do a very hard and very unjust thing to the other.

‘ My continuing to see you will, by turns, teaze all of us. My staying away can at worst be of ill consequence only to myself.

‘ And if one of us is to be sacrificed, I believe we are all three agreed who shall be the person.’ Vol. X. p. 84.

We shall now make a few desultory strictures upon Mr Bowles's notes.

Vol. II. p. 377. ‘ I am inclined to think, by Roxana was meant the Dutchess of Marlborough; this is my idea; but it is of little consequence to illustrate a poem, which Pope, perhaps, never wrote.’ The poem, entitled Roxana, is a flimsy *jeu d'esprit*, quite unlike Pope, and probably written by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. But Mr Bowles's notion, that Roxana was meant for the Dutchess of Marlborough, is marvellously absurd. Was she ‘ a prude,’ who, ‘ in glowing youth, when nature bids be gay,’ sought sermons, and with a mien severe, ‘ censured her neighbours, and said daily prayer?’

Vol. IV. p. 55. *Can Sporus feel?* ‘ In the first edition, Pope had the name Paris, instead of Sporus; it seems a more suitable name. There is, I believe, no account why it was altered.’ Mr

Bowles

Bowles has made a similar remark somewhere else; from which we infer, that he does not know who the real *Sporus* was. Let him turn to Tacitus, or the commentators on Juvenal, and he will find, that such was the name of a minion of Nero, and therefore chosen by Pope as *more suitable* than Paris, because it was more contemptuous and severe.

P. 131. 'Pope, when he spoke with such disrespect of kings, had in his eye the house of Brunswick.' Not in particular: it was a branch of that idle affectation, which led him to speak contemptuously of all the great, while he was panting for their society, a little heightened by the semi-republican tone, which the opponents of Sir Robert Walpole affected. It is quite unfounded, in our opinion; to consider Pope as a jacobite, which is a notion perpetually recurring in Mr Bowles's notes. This, we think, one proof, how little this gentleman knows of the times, or even of the author on whom he comments. We doubt if any of Pope's friends, at least his later friends, were attached to the Stuart family, Atterbury excepted. We cannot help subjoining, on this subject, the following note of Mr Bowles, as an extraordinary evidence of acute and profound thinking.

'It is a singular circumstance, that he was born the very year of the Revolution, and died the year before the last effort was made to re-establish the throne of the Stuarts.'

We have transcribed this note entire, and applaud Mr Bowles for not having diluted its philosophical energy by any explanatory context, which might point out to the vulgar reader in what the singularity consisted. Lest, however, too much wisdom might be lost under a bushel, the same note is repeated in another volume, with scarce any variation.

P. 371. The satire, dated 1740, which was first printed by Warton, and seems to have come originally through the hands of Lord Bolingbroke, is an extraordinary composition. It is a bitter invective against Pope's own friends and party, and may be deemed historically curious, as it shows the suspicions which were entertained of Walpole's principal opponents, some time before they were justified. What Pope intended to make of this poem, is problematical. He could not have let it become public, at least in his lifetime; and yet there seems little pleasure in writing a satire which none is to know but the libeller himself. Nor do we think, that Pope was apt to give his loose unpremeditated lines such strength and animation, as reigns in the following, which may vie perhaps with any of his satirical poetry.

'Carteret, his own proud dupe, thinks monarchs things  
Made first for him, as other fools for kings;  
Controuls, decides, insults thee every hour,  
And antedates the hatred due to power.

Through

Through clouds of passion Pulteney's views are clear,  
 He foams a patriot to subside a peer ;  
 Impatient sees his country bought and sold,  
 And damns the market where he takes no gold.

\* \* \* \* \*

Britain, the curse is on thee, and who tries  
 To save thee, in th' infectious office dies.  
 The first firm Pulteney soon resigned his breath,  
 Brave Scarborough loved thee, and was doom'd to death.  
 Good Marchmont's fate tore Polwarth from thy side,  
 And thy last sigh was heard when Wyndham died.'

A ridiculous idea is thrown out by Mr Bowles, in his *Life of Pope* (p. cxxiv.), that the concluding lines of this satire allude to the young Pretender! They are obviously meant for Frederic Prince of Wales; but Mr Bowles having taken up the notion that Pope was a staunch jacobite, is too ignorant of history to correct his own misconceptions. What man of tolerable information could imagine, that, in the year 1740, the young Pretender, who was a mere boy, and obscure even to his own party, could be spoken of as 'the one alone' on whom 'our all relies?'

Vol. V. p. 92. '*Great Cibber's brazen brainless brothers stand.* The comparison of Cibber to the fine figures of Melancholy and Raving Madness, executed by his father, is *disgraceful only to the author.*' Is not this a proof of the *spitefulness* towards Pope which we complained of in Mr Bowles? What can there be disgraceful to the author in this very witty line? and what has the merit of the figures to do with it? *They* are not ridiculed,—unless it is a reproach for brass to want brains.

Vol. VI. p. 172. In Martinus Scriblerus's second voyage, 'he was happily-shipwrecked on the land of the Giants, now the most humane people in the world.' On this Mr Bowles inquires, innocently taking the whole of Gulliver for gospel—'Is it not a fact, that the more intimate knowledge we acquire of rude nations, the less cruel they appear?' With a great deal more about humanity and Esquimaux, too dull and trite to transcribe. The whole ends with the following remark, which, for its weight and pithiness, is made to stand as a paragraph by itself.

'Savage nations,' as they are called, are frequently, in this respect, much 'more sinned against, than sinning.'

Vol. VII. Appendix. 'The following account of the family of Mrs Thomas, the mistress of Cromwell, who sold Pope's Letters which were first published, was transcribed by D. P. Olneden, Esq. from a manuscript in the leaf of a book in Trinity College, Cambridge. As it is curious, it is presented to the reader in its native simplicity. This account is literally as follows;—of the truth of it I can say nothing; or of the time or person, where and by whom it was written.'

Upon

Upon the 'account' itself, be it curious or not, we can only say, that Mr Olneden's labour was ill employed in transcribing the manuscript he found. We remember to have read it many years ago in the supplemental volume to the Biographical Dictionary. If we mistake not, it is taken from the preface to Mrs Thomas's own works; but, whencesoever it comes, it is as absurd and palpable a romance, as any impostor ever invented. Mr Bowles, we believe, has no right to say that Mrs Thomas was the *mistress* of Cromwell. We have made no secret already of the low opinion we entertain of this gentleman's proficiency in English history. In his note subjoined to Mrs Thomas's tale, he has committed two blunders, which will put the justice of our censure beyond controversy. 1. He says, that the Duke of Montagu, therein named, is 'evidently meant for Montagu Duke of Manchester.' Now, there is hardly any one, who does not know that the dukedom of Manchester was not created till the reign of George I. The Duke of Montagu of King William's time, had been a Mr Montagu, ambassador in France about 1678, and famous for an important breach of trust towards Lord Danby. 2. He conceives that Lord Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, (properly Buckinghamshire) 'had most likely a considerable share in the Revolution;' whereas, he was strongly attached all his life to the house of Stuart.

Vol. VIII. p. 101.—'What I looked upon as a rant of Barrow's, I now begin to think a serious truth, and could almost venture to set my hand to it.

'Hæc quicumque leget, tantum cecinisse putabit  
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.'

*Atterbury in a letter to Pope on Milton.*

Mr Bowles, always eager to comment, observes—'The rant is not Barrow's, but Marvel's.' What pity that great poets will go out of their way to be wrong! The rant is not Marvel's, but Barrow's;—not, indeed, the great Isaac Barrow, as perhaps Atterbury thought, but a certain Samuel Barrow, M. D. whose Latin verses are prefixed to almost every edition of Milton.

Vol. IX. p. 469. Mr Bowles is certainly right in supposing that Pope was not the author of the Latin verses quoted in the *Guardian*, NO. 173. Those addressed to Bethell, which Warton seems to have conceived the production of Pope,

*Te mihi pinxerunt auri sine crimine mores, &c.*

are in the first book of the *Epistles* of Joannes Secundus. The lines in the *Guardian* belong probably to some other Dutch poet.

Whatever severity Mr Bowles may sometimes show towards the dead, the living of all classes meet with the very gentlest treatment

ment at his hands. Time would fail us, if we were to recount the eulogies which are showered on the head of Mr Coxe. Elegant, accurate, interesting, able, most judicious, best informed; he shines a whole neck and shoulders higher than common men,—the Magnus Apollo, the historical oracle of Mr Bowles. In truth, we believe that he is entitled to some gratitude; as we much question, whether our editor has a notion of history, as to those times, which is not gleaned from Mr Coxe's quartos. But the following compliment to a gentleman, who is, we believe, no author, though a great master of manuscripts, is unparalleled, both for its delicacy, and appositeness. Pope is severe, in one of his letters, upon the clerks of the Post-Office, whom he suspected of prying into his correspondence. Whereon thus saith Mr Bowles—

‘Pope and Swift were constantly declaiming against the gentlemen of the Post-Office. Whether their observations were true or not, we cannot fail to contrast the liberality of the present conductors, and particularly of the worthy secretary, Mr Freeling!’—Vol. IX. p. 241.

We can readily credit that Mr Bowles's letters have never been opened at the Post-Office. *Antoné gladius poterit contemnere.*

The tenth volume concludes with observations on the poetical character of Pope, which, coming from the pen of Mr Bowles, are justly entitled to respect. We think highly of some of this gentleman's productions, especially those of an early date; and, untainted as he has appeared by the grosser heresies of our day, it is natural to expect sound criticism as the result of a successful application to his art during full twenty years of authorship. Yet, in this judgment upon the merits of Pope, we conceive Mr Bowles to have failed, and the cause of his failure to be derived from principles of criticism by no means peculiar to himself, but which have obtained too great an influence over the public taste of our age.

‘I presume,’ he begins, ‘it will readily be granted, that all images drawn from what is beautiful or sublime in the works of nature, are more beautiful and sublime than any images drawn from art; and that they are, therefore, *per se*, more poetical.’

In the very outset we withhold our assent from this maxim, unlimited as it now stands in expression,—which Mr Bowles deems indisputable. Whether the sentiment of beauty results from harmony of form and colour, or from moral associations; whether that of sublimity depends upon terror or upon energy; the works of art, as well as those of nature, are alike capable of exciting them, either in their immediate effects, or by the reflection of poetical imagery. Does Mr Bowles conceive, that an ordinary mountain will raise stronger emotions than the pyramids; or that the verse of De Lille respecting those structures,

*Leur masse indestructible a fatigué le tems,*

is less noble than any description whatever of rocks and precipices, which may be found in the numerous class of versifiers who paint poetical landscapes after nature?

Mr Bowles proceeds to observe that, 'in like manner, those passions of the human heart, which belong to nature in general, are, *per se*, more adapted to the higher species of poetry, than those which are derived from incidental and transient manners.' Of this proposition there can be no doubt. From these two axioms he infers, that 'the rule by which we would estimate Pope's general poetical character, would be obvious.' But as he seems hastening to a conclusion, a new rule of judging comes across Mr Bowles's mind, which is likely to render our critical calculation somewhat more complex. 'Let me not be considered,' says he, 'as thinking that the *subject alone* constitutes poetical excellency. The *execution* is to be taken into consideration at the same time; for we might fall asleep over the creation of Blackmore, but be alive to the touches of animation and satire in Boileau.' By execution, he means, 'not only the colours of expression, but the design, the contrast of light and shade, the masterly management, the judicious disposition, and, in short, every thing that gives to a great subject relief, interest, and animation.' The subject and the execution, therefore, we find at last, 'are equally to be considered: the one respecting the poetry; the other, the art and powers of the poet.' And it is, in Mr Bowles's opinion, for want of observing this rule, that so much has been said, and so little understood, of the real ground of Pope's character as a poet. Now, it appears to us, we confess, that Pope's, or any other man's character as a poet, must depend upon 'his art and powers' solely, and in no degree upon the subject he has selected, however judicious or otherwise that choice may be, as to the end of displaying his talents to advantage. We submit to Mr Bowles, whether he has not fallen into a puzzle of ideas, not uncommon, of confounding the pleasure which a poem produces in us, with the degree of genius required for its composition. In estimating the *poems* of Pope, the subject may justly claim some consideration, though we are inclined to believe that to men of cultivated taste, it enters but in a very small proportion to the execution, into the feelings of poetical delight. But Mr Bowles is expressly considering the merits of the *poet*; and these can only be appreciated by examining his reach of thought, powers over the passions, command of expression, and every other *item* which enters into the accounts of Parnassus.

There is, however, one sense, undoubtedly, in which the poetical character of Pope may be said to depend upon his subjects:  
none



none can claim credit for greater powers than they display; and some subjects are less compatible than others with the manifestation of particular talents of execution.

It is this, perhaps, which Mr Bowles means, when he says, the subject is equally to be considered with the execution; it is this, at least, which he ought to mean. 'Pope must be judged,' he continues, 'according to the rank in which he stands among those of the French school, not the Italian; among those whose delineations are taken more from manners than from nature.' This is perfectly intelligible;—but is it true? Is there no difference between Pope and Boileau? Does he speak so little to the imagination and the heart? Does he borrow his delineations from manners only, and not from nature? Mr Bowles excepts, indeed, from his position, the Epistle of Eloisa, on which he bestows no more praise than is just, when he says, that 'nothing of the kind has ever been produced equal to it for pathos, painting and melody.' But are there no other parts of his works, in which Pope has reached a high tone of real poetry, according to the strictest notion of the term? Is poetry found in the moral sublime, in the excitement of high and dignified emotion, through the medium of harmonious and forcible numbers? The epistle to Lord Oxford displays this reach of noble sentiment, more uniformly, though not, perhaps, more conspicuously, than some other passages of his moral writings. Is the sprightliness of a versatile fancy, the play of varied imagery, a distinguishing characteristic of the poet? Where is this more striking, than in the Rape of the Lock,—and, indeed, in many parts of the Dunciad? Is the fervour of passion, the power of exciting and expressing emotion, the soul of poetry? We have already pointed to it in the Eloisa. What then is it that we want? and for what reason does Mr Bowles, like the vain herd of modern versifiers, carp at the poetical merits of Pope? That he is not of the class of Milton and Shakespeare is indisputable; and, notwithstanding the two volumes, in which Dr Warton thought it necessary to prove this truism, we doubt whether any critic, even during the flattery of his own age, ever thought of placing him so high.

The true reason, we suspect, of this perpetual tendency in the present age to depreciate Pope, is an inordinate preference of descriptive poetry. The following extract will prove, we think, the truth of what we assert, so far as Mr Bowles is concerned.

'In what has been said, I have avoided the introduction of picturesque description; that is, accurate representations from external objects of nature: but if the premises laid down in the commencement of these reflections are true, no one can stand preeminent as a great poet, unless he has not only a heart susceptible of the most pathetic or most

exalted feelings of nature, but an eye attentive to, and familiar with, every external appearance that she may exhibit, in every change of season, every variation of light and shade, every rock, every tree, every leaf, in her solitary places. He who has not an eye to observe these, and who cannot, with a glance, distinguish every diversity of every hue in her variety of beauties, must so far be deficient in one of the essential qualities of a poet.

Here Pope, from infirmities, and from physical causes, was particularly deficient. When he left his own laurel circus at Twickenham, he was lifted into his chariot or his barge; and, with weak eyes, and tottering strength, it is physically impossible he could be a descriptive bard. Where description has been introduced among his poems, as far as his observation could go, he excelled; more could not be expected. In the descriptions of the cloister, the scenes surrounding the melancholy convent, as far as could be gained by books, or suggested by imagination, he was eminently successful; but even here, perhaps, he only proved that he could not go far; and,

“ The streams that shine between the hills,

“ The grotts that echo to the tinkling rills,”

were possibly transcripts of what he could most easily transcribe,—his own views and scenery.

It would be perhaps idle to notice the anachronism with which this passage concludes, were it not a proof of that cavilling disposition which we noticed above, and which is perpetually on the scent for some ill-natured remark towards Pope. Mr Bowles knows very well, that Pope was not possessed of ‘ his own views and scenery,’ meaning his house and grotto at Twickenham, till long after the publication of *Eloisa’s* epistle. But we object, as critics, to the spirit of the whole paragraph. That picturesque description is a fruitful source of poetical pleasure, we readily confess: but we deny that it is essential to the poetical character, or that no one can stand preeminent, who has never excelled in it. Images, indeed, drawn from natural objects, are indispensable in poetry, as they are in all animated prose; but accurate and detailed description, which, in some species of poetical composition, is wholly inapplicable, is, in most others, rather valuable than necessary. Does Mr Bowles require, that the eye of the lyric poet, or of the tragedian, should be ‘ familiar with every variation of light and shade, every tree, and every leaf?’—Such petty circumstances of external nature are scorned by him who aims at a nobler quarry, the excitement of powerful emotion, and the delineation, not of trees and leaves, but of the passions and sentiments of the human mind. Even of those, whose subjects may fitly have led them to the introduction of this species of ornament, the painter’s eye, which Mr Bowles requires, has been the lot of very few. Poets are said to be ‘ *cupidi silvarum;*’ but it has chanced, we

we believe, that most of them have lived in courts or cities, without much inquiry after any 'external appearances' of nature, beyond those which are tolerably obvious, and which all men recognize pretty equally. A poet feels, and expresses what he feels, more forcibly than an ordinary person: the most common phenomena of the visible world, therefore, strike more in his descriptions, than in reality; they are better selected, better combined, and more richly associated. But if the nice skill of landscape painting, the power of showing 'what the reader wonders he never saw before,' for which Dr Johnson has praised Thomson, be essential to poetry; valuable as, in its judicious exercise, it may be deemed, few indeed are the poets. There is something of this, but not a great deal, in Homer. There is, as we observed on a former occasion,\* an eminent degree of picturesque skill in Virgil; it is one of his peculiar excellences; and perhaps he has a claim to rank higher, in this respect, than any ancient or modern poet. But we say this, on account of the good taste with which he has refrained from excessive and particular detail. He falls very short of Mr Bowles's exaggerated requisition; he does not stop 'to distinguish every diversity of every hue in nature's variety of beauties;' his descriptions are beautifully sketched, but the perfect finish must be supplied by the picturesque reader. The Italian poets are equally deficient, according to Mr Bowles's canon; even Spenser, if nicely examined, will not be found to have composed landscapes; and, with the 'weak eyes' of Milton, 'it is physically impossible,' in Mr Bowles's own words, 'that he could be a descriptive bard.'

In truth, we are become sick of this deluge of descriptive poetry, which, since the days of Thomson, has swept over the lower regions of Parnassus. It has its charm, and to us a very powerful one: we love the forms of external nature, and are pleased to find them suggested, whether by the painter or poet, in combinations more attractive than themselves generally present. But it readily degenerates into a very low style of poetry; a monotonous enumeration of rocks and rivers, birds and beasts, variegated only with the still more dreary embellishment of sickly and sombre sentiment. Will those, who are conversant with modern poetry, accuse us of injustice? It is the price which we pay for Thomson and Cowper; their successes, and the extreme easiness of descriptive poetry, have raised up a lamentable school, which we regret to think the public taste has too much encouraged. Indeed we owe some grudge to the two Wartons for their exceeding love of mere description,—though no one will impute to them

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\* No. XIII. p. 141.

too great knowledge of nature, in any sense of the word. Minute description, however, independently of its tendency to become heavy and tedious, seems to labour under one inevitable fault; it is too technical; it is hardly understood, but by those who have watched the slight and evanescent differences of visible things, with more attention, than is usually given by the studious or the busy. Unless where a fondness for painting, or habits of much seclusion, have accustomed the mind to sift and discriminate the sensations of the eye, it is not, we think, very common for men to look on nature in detail. Her striking features arrest the most careless; but a thousand varieties of shade and colour play over her countenance, without being heeded before they pass away, or remembered when they return.

We have thought this much necessary to vindicate what we deem the cause of poets and poetry, from a narrow and exclusive system. We will not permit the bards of former days to be thus arraigned before a jury of tourists and draughtsmen, for the want of excellences of which their own contemporaries had never dreamed. But lest, in defending the poetical character of Pope against false principles of criticism, we should inadvertently have appeared to raise it too high, let it be understood, that we do not believe him possessed of that diviner spirit, that energy and enthusiasm, which are required for the epic, the tragic, or the lyric muse. Not choice only, but nature, prescribed a different range; and, within his own sphere, there are surely very few who could be placed over his head; much less could any critic of taste and candour refuse the name of poet to one so highly gifted by nature, and so improved by skill. May we be permitted to suggest what we, perhaps singularly, deem a striking deficiency in the poetical faculties of Pope? He seems to have never acquired that facility of conception, or that ready use of his own instrument, versification, which long habit has given to other poets. His hasty lines, whenever they have come to light, seem almost always feeble and ill expressed. There cannot be a stronger proof than an epigram which Mr Bowles has printed, (Vol. IV. p. 32.) It is surprising, that a man like Pope, who 'lisp'd in numbers,' could have suffered such wretched lines to escape him, even if he never intended them to be public. His frequent infelicity of diction, from its harshness, its obscurity, its hardness, or its grammatical inaccuracy, seems to have proceeded from the same cause. Poetry was his daily labour; but the task does not seem to have grown lighter by use. There is, perhaps, more ease in his early productions, than in those of his maturer life; and most of all in his Homer. We know, however, that even this translation was re-  
touched

ouched in almost every line; and the manuscript exists in the British Museum, which contains his interlineations.

We have certainly been disappointed in Mr Bowles's edition of Pope, which exhibits neither the industry of a commentator, nor the elegance of a poetical critic. There may be a few good remarks, but we sincerely think they are very few: if we were to select one for praise, it should be his general criticism on the Rape of the Lock. Upon the whole, we recommend to this gentleman to abstain from prose, and to think rhyme quite as indispensable to his appearance in public, as a bag and sword are at court.

ART. X. *The Works of Sallust: to which are prefixed, two Essays on the Life, Literary Character, and Writings of the Historian; with Notes, Historical, Biographical, and Critical.* By Henry Steuart LL. D., Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 1800. C. & R. Baldwin, London, 1806.

THE most remarkable thing about this book is its enormous bulk: and those who, like us, have been accustomed to peruse the noble historian in an edition about the size of a hand at whist, will easily conceive with what amazement we contemplated the magnificent amplitude of the work before us. In examining its contents, we cannot say that this amazement has settled into admiration; although we still wonder a little at some of Dr Steuart's literary qualifications, besides his gift of amplification.

'It is singular,' observes this learned person in his preface, 'that, (in England) with a numerous body of clergy, whose leisure is liberally patronized by the nation, and who pique themselves on classical acquirements, there should still remain a single ancient writer inaccessible to those who cultivate only the language of their native country. It is an extraordinary circumstance, however discreditable to English learning, that, with translations of the ancient poets, beyond question the finest existing, we should still be outstripped in our versions of the prose authors of Greece and Rome, by the greater part of our European neighbours, who have any pretensions to taste or literature.'

Now in this we see little to be wondered at. It is no doubt true, that, before we can have translations of the classics, we must have men capable of translating them; but it is equally obvious, that the more men of this sort we have, there will be the less occasion for their services: and the fact is, that not only the clergy, but almost all who take any interest in classical subjects, are, in this country, capable of studying them in the original authors. Where classical instruction is less generally diffused, translations

are more likely to be common; so that, taking all the facts together, we are very far from considering their scarcity among us as any thing like an imputation upon our scholarship.

With poetry, indeed, the case is somewhat different. There is in this, as well as in other nations, a considerable class of male and female readers, who amuse themselves with translations of the poets of Greece and Rome; whilst they entertain for their historians, and indeed for their prose-writers in general, the most profound and tranquil indifference. The reason of this, too, is sufficiently obvious. The beauties of poetical composition are, in their own nature, more striking, and far more discernible to the generality of readers, than the more retired graces of history. Hence numbers, who are capable of appreciating strength of sentiment, or suavity of language, yet find in history nothing worthy of attention but the facts which it records. For these, however, an English reader is under no necessity of applying to translations of particular authors. In the common histories of Greece and Rome, by his own countrymen, he pursues the thread of the narrative, spared at once that tediousness of partial repetition, which he must have frequently encountered in taking up successive authors, and uninterrupted by those lamentable chasms, which have been made by the hand of time in so many of the ancient historians. Accordingly we shall find, that, for one person who has read in Murphy the death of Germanicus, or the victories of Agricola, there are at least fifty who are familiar with the woes of Andromache in Pope, and the fatal passion of Dido in Pitt or Dryden.

Upon the whole, though we should be most happy to cooperate with Dr Stewart in his laudable endeavours to avert in this country any decline in classical learning (Pref. p. 38.), we really cannot say that we expect this object to be much promoted by multiplying translations.

The translation itself, which fills about one fifth part of the huge volumes before us, is insulated by vast masses of dissertation and annotation; through some part of which it is necessary for us to work our way before we can get at the main body.

In the composition of ancient biography, we are told (Vol. I. p. 4.), 'the want of incident is severely felt;' a most veritable and innocent proposition, with which we should be the last people in the world to quarrel, if Dr Stewart had not attempted to make it stand as an excuse for so many hundred pages of triteness and insipidity. Now, we really cannot allow it to pass in this light, till we are further instructed in the obligation which he lay under to publish two vast quarto volumes; nor are we exactly of opinion, that all 'the candid are called on to be pleased with

with unimportant details and trifling anecdotes.' (Vol. I. p. 3.) This description is certainly not very attractive; but we must allow it the merit of accuracy as well as of modesty. The reader must be enabled to judge for himself.

The anecdote (we are informed) (Vol. I. p. 324.) 'concerning Mummius's notion of the productions in painting and statuary by the ablest masters, is well known.' Dr Steuart does not however on this account forbear to recite it; but gives it at full length, first in English, and then in Latin. Again (Vol. I. p. 343), lest the reader should not have learnt from his Lempriere's dictionary (a book from which, if we are not mistaken, Dr Steuart has learnt a great deal), that 'Thucydides reckoned amongst his ancestors the great Miltiades; that he shed tears when he heard Herodotus repeat his history at the public festivals of Greece; that, during the Peloponnesian war, he was commissioned by his countrymen to relieve Amphipolis; that the quick march of Brucidas the Lacedæmonian general defeated his operations, and that Thucydides, unsuccessful in his expedition, was banished from Athens; that he wrote in the Attic dialect, as possessed of more vigour, purity, elegance and energy; and, finally, that his history has been divided into eight books, the last of which is imperfect, and supposed to have been written by his daughter;' (Lempriere's Dict. *voc.* Thucydides):—lest, we say, the reader should chance to be unacquainted with all this, he has, in the volumes before us, an opportunity of informing himself of it in almost the same words.

'Thucydides was born at Athens, about 475 years A. C. He was both a scholar and a foldier, and a descendant of the great Miltiades. His noble emulation, when a boy, is well known, which prompted him to shed tears, at witnessing the honours bestowed, at the Olympic games, upon Herodotus. (See Suid. *voc.* Thucydid.) During the 8th year of the Peloponnesian war, being sent with a body of troops, to relieve Amphipolis, he failed in the attempt, through the quick march of Brucidas, the general of the Lacedæmonians; whereupon he was banished from Athens by the faction of Cleon. (See his own history, Lib. IV. p. 321.) During his exile in Thrace, Thucydides composed an account of the twenty-one first years of this war. (Plutarch. in Cim. de exilio, 19.) That of the six remaining years was afterwards added, by Xenophon and Theopompus. Thucydides wrote in the Attic dialect, as being eminent, above all others, for vigour, purity and elegance; hence compression and energy are the great characteristics of his style. This celebrated work is divided into eight books, of which the last is imperfect, and supposed to have been written by the daughter of the historian.' (Vol. I. p. 343.)

In the 4th section of the first epistle to Cæsar (Vol. I. p. 453.), our learned Doctor has the good fortune to mistake a tolerably

plain passage; and this happily presents him with an occasion for more than six pages of superfluous note. (Vol. I. p. 493, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 500.) In another place (Vol. II. p. 113), we are treated with the rape of Lucretia, and the expulsion of the Tarquins. But perhaps it is not surprising that Dr Steuart should imagine his readers might wish for information relative to this last transaction, he himself (as we shall afterwards attempt to prove) being but very ill informed on the subject. Again, as Cicero's orations are not in everybody's hands, we have one long quotation in Vol. II. p. 191, and a still longer in Vol. II. p. 279, in Latin and English. In the same way, if our readers should wish to peruse the 30th page of Adam's Roman Antiquities (about Patrons and Clients), in a larger type, and on better paper, than that less assuming volume can boast of, they may have that satisfaction, by turning to the 232d page of the work now before us.

In his account of the Sibylline books (Vol. II. p. 241, 42, 43.) our author is again kind enough to accommodate the homely antiquary in his splendid pages. On this occasion, however, it is to be regretted, that he did not copy what was before him a little more accurately; as we much doubt, notwithstanding the mention of the edition (viz. Reisk), his finding any part of the contents of this note in Dionys. Hal. L. 6. 62:—our edition certainly has it L. 4. 62. On the subject of sieges, Dr Adam is again transcribed by the learned translator, (Vol. II. p. 573, 74, 75, 76.) We will conclude these proofs of Dr Steuart's diligence and originality, by observing that we have met with one story (namely, what Cicero thought of Brutus's commendation of him) *three times over* in Latin, and twice with an English translation prefixed: the story, indeed, is not a long one. (Vol. I. 375.—Vol. II. 236, 276.)

Having thus given our readers a few examples in the art of collecting materials for quarto volumes, we shall proceed to examine how far the triteness of this heavy compilation is atoned for by its accuracy. For the information of some of our readers, it may be necessary to premise, that at Rome, under the emperors, 'there prevailed a practice, in the schools of declamation, of assuming some real character, and then giving or addressing to it a fictitious oration.' (Vol. I. p. 86.) There are extant two pieces of this description, composed as invectives of Sallust and Cicero against each other, some time in the latter end of the reign of Augustus. From these, it seems, many of the biographers of the historian have selected anecdotes for his life, most of them, as may be supposed, not highly favourable to his moral character. Amongst others, this has been done by 'M. Meisner, Professor in the university of Prague, and one of the most learned men, as well as politest scholars, in Germany.' (Vol. I. p. 120.) And he defends

his



his conduct on the following grounds:—that, though these orations are fictitious, still the circumstances, which are related in them, may be true; inasmuch as the authors of such compositions would be guided by reports current at the time in which they wrote. With this opinion, Dr Steuart makes himself very merry. After reading, however, all that he says on the subject, we profess that we cannot see the absurdity of it: nor do we think that Dr Steuart has any very good right to undervalue either Professor Meisner, or ourselves, for our dulness in this particular; as he himself, not long afterwards, seems to have come round to the same opinion, and refers to this very invective of Cicero against the historian, as authority for two facts, which he inserts in his text; the first, that, in the year of Rome 704, Sallust joined Cæsar's army in Gaul (Vol. I. p. 48, 177.); the other (what, by the by, we think extremely improbable), that Cæsar, when dictator, received from him a sum of money to stop the prosecution brought against him by the Africans for extortion in the capacity of their governor. (Vol. I. p. 59, 195.)

In the copious extracts from Cicero's Orations, before objected to, we have a proof, that at least some of those productions are familiar to Dr Steuart; but this can hardly have been the case with regard to the oration for Milo; or surely we should not meet with the following misstatement.

• His friend Brutus had advised him to rest the merits of Milo's defence on the service that he had rendered to the community, by ridding it of a pernicious citizen. The sentiment was consistent with the warm and animated temper of Brutus; who, though he did not speak in the cause, amused himself with writing an exculpatory pleading upon that principle. He afterwards published the piece; and it existed in the days of Quintilian. Cicero's better judgment, however, rejected the idea. He frankly declared to Brutus, that such an argument could not be maintained, on any grounds of law or equity: for, how salutary soever it might be to point, against the flagitious, the censure of mankind, yet it did not from thence follow, that they could be put to death, without the semblance of justice, or the forms of trial' (I. p. 166.)

Now, if the reader will take the trouble to turn to the oration in question, and to the part of it which begins—'Nec vero me judices, Clodianum crimen movet'—(Orat. pro T. A. Mil. § 27. edit. Schrivel.); and to read that, and the four following sections, he will find that they are totally occupied with stating and enforcing that very argument which, Dr Steuart here assures us, 'Cicero's better judgment rejected!'

In the following passage, we think Dr Middleton is improperly corrected.

• There is another opinion, in regard to the chronology of Sallust's writings, adopted by Dr Middleton, in his life of Cicero, which, on account

count of the respectability of the quarter from whence it proceeds, certainly lays claim to notice in this place. "Sallust, he alleges, was so extremely sparing in his praise of Cicero; first, on account of the personal enmity which, according to tradition, subsisted between them; and, secondly, on account of the time of publishing his history in the reign of Augustus, while the name of Cicero was still obnoxious to envy." This opinion as an hypothesis of Dr Middleton's, it were easy to refute, on more than one of the grounds on which I have controverted that of Le Clerc. But this becomes wholly unnecessary, from the consideration, that it was impossible for Sallust to have published his *Catiline* "during the reign of Augustus," as he himself died A. U. C. 718, no less than four years previous to its commencement—that is, *precious to the battle of Actium.* I. p. 249.

This appears to us little better than quibbling. We do not mean to say, that the fear of giving offence to the ruling party, was in fact the chief, or even a partial, inducement with Sallust to refrain from bestowing on Cicero his due share of praise: but, certainly, the historian was not less likely to be actuated by such a motive during the joint reign of Augustus and M. Anthony, who was the orator's bitterest enemy, and whilst the memory of Cicero's assassination was yet fresh in every one's mind, than he was afterwards, when Augustus was sole emperor. The mention of the battle of Actium, therefore, seems wholly irrelevant to the point in question.

We come now a little nearer to the translation. Dr Steuart tells us (Vol. I. p. 235.) that 'it has been already observed, in this Essay, and will be admitted by every impartial scholar, that the writings of our author are intelligible throughout, and infinitely more so than those of either Livy or Tacitus; insomuch that he may be accounted the most perspicuous of the Roman historians.' Whether this be so or not, we certainly will not presume to determine; but that he is not always intelligible to Dr Steuart, appears to us to be manifest from a variety of his interpretations. We shall lay a few of them before the reader for his consideration.

In the following sentence from the Jugurthine War, (§ 34, Var. edit. 8vo.—Vol. I. p. 431.) 'Ac, tametsi multitudo, qua in concione, aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, *quæ* ira fieri amat; vicit tamen impudentia'—he plainly conceives, that the plural *quæ* is the nominative to the singular *amat*. His reasons for this opinion, of which we confess we do not see the force, are, that in Thucydides verbs singular agree with nouns of number; and in Horace and Cicero with (as might have been guessed) singular nominatives!

We come now to that passage in the first Epistle to Cæsar, which,

which, we have already said, Dr Steuart appears to have mistaken. It is as follows, ‘ At herculè nunc cum Catone, L. Domitio, cæterisque ejusdem factionis, quadraginta senatores, multi præterea cum spe bonâ adolescentes, sicuti hostiæ, mactati sunt : cum interea opportunissima genera hominum tot miserorum civium sanguine satiari nequiverunt : non orbi liberi, non parentes exactâ ætate, non gemitus virorum, luctus mulierum immanem eorum animum inflexit : quin, acerbius in dies male faciendo ac dicundo, dignitate alios, alios civitate eversum irent.’ (Epist. ad Cæs. 2. edit. Var. 8vo. 1659.) Cook translates it thus. ‘ But now, when by Cato, L. Domitius, and the rest of the same faction, forty senators, with many young men of excellent hope, were sacrificed like victims ; when, meantime, this most outrageous set of men could not be satiated with the blood of so many miserable citizens : not orphans, not parents of decrepid age, not the groans of men, or the wailings of women, could prevail upon their cruel dispositions, but still they went on with greater sharpness every day in evil works and words, to deprive some of dignity, others of their country.’ In this sense we ourselves have always understood the passage—nor does any difficulty strike us, which might lead us to hesitate in our opinion. Sallust was of Cæsar’s party ; and, addressing to him this epistle, he naturally inveighs against the sanguinary proceedings of Cato, L. Domitius, and others of that faction. In another part of the same epistle, speaking in terms of censure of the same set of men, he again mentions by name the same two individuals. ‘ An L. Domitii magna vis est, cujus nullum membrum à flagitio aut facinore vacat ? lingua vana, manus cruentæ, pedes fugaces ; quæ honestè nominari nequeant inhonestissima. Unius tamen M. Catonis ingenium versutum, loquax, callidum haud contemno. Parantur hæc disciplina Græcorum. Sed virtus, vigilantia, labos, apud Græcos nulla sunt.’ (Epist. ad Cæs. edit. Var. 8vo. 2. p. 525.)

To us, all this appears very clear : and to all the commentators on Sallust, one only excepted, it was probably equally clear, since they have observed, as Dr Steuart informs us, an entire silence in regard to the passage.

‘ The Abbé Thyvon, (the one editor above alluded to,) instead of the above unintelligible reading, substitutes the following—“ At herculè, hinc cum Carbone, L. Domitio, cæterisque ejusdem factionis,” &c. ; because *hinc* may be easily supposed to have been mistaken for *nunc*, and particularly *Carbone* for *Catone*, by the copyists, as the latter name was so much better known to them. From this improved state of the text, the present translation is made. But it surpasses my comprehension, on what principles of Latin syntax, not only the President De Broffes, but likewise Mr Rowe and Mr Cooke (both certainly scholars) should have so

so rendered the words, as to make *cum* an adverb, instead of a preposition, and Cato (or Carbo) and Domitius, the *perpetrators* of the massacre.' (Vol. I. p. 494.)

We shall not here dwell on the inaccuracy of stating, 'that Mr Cooke makes *cum* an adverb,' whereas he in reality makes it a conjunction; but proceed to express our counter-astonishment, how Dr Steuart could imagine *cum* to be a preposition; and further to inquire, how, in this mode of interpretation, he disposes of the second *cum* (*i. e.* the *cum interea*). These two conjunctions govern the verbs *mactati sunt* and *nequiverunt*, thus making *inflexit* the principal verb in the sentence. We give Dr Steuart's translation.

'But, under the domination of his adherents, what deplorable excesses have we not seen committed! Not only Carbo and Domitius, and other persons of like principles, but forty Senators have also been cut off, together with the flower of our youth, all victims to their fury. Meanwhile, did the civil blood, which they thus made to flow, suffice to appease them? Deaf alike to the cries of the orphan, the tears of the widow, the entreaties of youth, and the groans of age, they maintained their course of unbridled violence. They grew daily fiercer with insolence and brutality; and, whomsoever they regarded as hostile to their views, they degraded from his rank, or else expelled from his country.' (Vol. I. p. 453.)

Another argument against the reading proposed by the Abbé and Dr Steuart, is this, that if Sallust had been speaking of Cæsar's and his own friends, instead of their enemies, he would never have used the word *factionis*. A neutral historian, indeed, might have called both parties *factiones*; but a partizan would not have termed his own side *factionem*. It is further curious, that after all this trouble to depart from the plain track, Dr Steuart, when he makes Domitius the slain, instead of the slayer, is obliged, in order at all to reconcile the fact with history, to change his name, and to contend, without the least authority, that Lucius is a corrupted reading for Cnæus. Indeed, the only plausible argument brought forward by him in defence of this reading is, what we cannot allow much weight to, that Sallust, in his *second* epistle to Cæsar, mentions, that the opposite party did, on some occasion, put to death Carbo and Cnæus Domitius. Now, according to Dr Steuart himself, there were, at this period, not fewer than *five* Domitii. 'An illa, quæ paullo ante hoc bellum in Cn. Pompeium victoriamque Syllanam increpabantur, oblivio abstulit? interfecit Domitium, Carbonem, Brutum, alios item non armatos, neque in prælio belli jure, sed postea supplices per summum scelus interfectos.' (Epist. ad Cæs. I.) (Vol. I. 473, 493, 537.)

In Cato's answer to Cæsar, in the debate on the sentence to be passed

passed on the accomplices of Catiline, we conceive the following passage to be quite misrepresented in the translation. ' Ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet, ne, si Romæ sint, aut à popularibus conjurationis, aut à multitudine conductâ, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali, atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit. (*Bell. Cat. 52. var. edit. 8vo.*) Dr Steuart renders this as follows.

' He has moved, that their fortunes be confiscated, and themselves thrown into prison, charging, with their confinement, the great municipal towns of Italy. Without doubt he prudently foresaw, that in Rome, at any moment, they might be rescued by force, either by their confederates, or by a mob, hired for the purpose. But I would demand of Cæsar, by what right the city of Rome shall thus monopolize the whole vice of Italy, and the municipal towns be denied their share? If their pretensions be admitted, 'is it not also true, that vice must be more formidable, in proportion as it is removed from the eye of government, where there is less vigilance to detect it, and less energy to check it? The proposition of Cæsar, therefore, is clearly nugatory, if the plot or the conspirators be really dreaded by him.' II. 75.

Here, the specific position as to the comparative probability of the prisoners being rescued by profligate persons in Rome, or the municipal towns, seems turned into an assertion concerning vice in general: and the word *illis*, which evidently refers to the *mali* and *scelesti* who were to rescue the prisoners, is made to stand for the conspirators themselves!

In the Jugurthine war, just after the death of Micipsa, we meet with a passage, in the interpretation of which we must again differ from Dr Steuart. The original is—' Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis erat, naturâ ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthæ, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextera Adherbalem adsedit: ne medius ex tribus, quod et apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, ut ætati concederet, fatigatus à fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est.' (*Bell. Jugurth. c. 11.*) Englished, we think unintelligibly, thus—

' He thrust himself down by his brother, thereby occupying the right hand of the prince, and excluding Jugurtha from the place of honour, which is accounted, likewise, the midst of three, in Numidia. After much importunity from Adherbal, he was with difficulty persuaded to remove, and to give place to superior years.' II. 336. 522.

We take the meaning to be very plainly this. Hiempsal wished to exclude Jugurtha from the middle seat, which, amongst the Numidians, (*et*) as well as at Rome, was accounted the seat of honour: at last, however, he gave it up to him, on the interference

terference of Adherbal. In the sentence which immediately follows, we cannot clearly determine, whether Dr Steuart has exactly reversed the meaning of his author, or only expresses himself unintelligibly. (Vol. 2. p. 398.) 'And he had, moreover, secured them against an unequal contest with an enemy superior in numbers, as in discipline.' The original is—'Quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa: locum superiorem; uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent.' (*Bell. Jugurth.* 49.) There can be no doubt of the right sense of this passage, viz. that Jugurtha had taken care, that his forces should be equal in number, and in discipline, to the Romans. Whether Dr Steuart's translation carries this, or the contrary meaning, it appears difficult to determine. But to do our author justice, as a translator of Sallust, it is not in his translated matter, that we meet with his most numerous or most glaring errors. It is to his unhappy propensity to dissertation he is indebted for the most serious of his misfortunes. Of these, we must add a few more specimens.

In the extract from Cicero's epistles (I. 517), we do not imagine, that the orator means to sneer at Bibulus; and consequently are of opinion, that the words, 'Quòd, in pares copias ad confligendum non habebis, non te fugiet uti consilio M. Bibuli; qui se oppido munitissimo et copiosissimo tamdiu tenuit, quamdiu in provinciâ Parthi fuerunt—(Epist. ad Fam. 1. 12. 19), are improperly translated. 'But should, &c. I trust at least you will not forget the *valorous* example of Marcus Bibulus, who, on the first approach of the same terrible people, retreated, *with great presence of mind*, to Antioch, one of his most *comfortable*, and best fortified towns, and there closely shut himself up, till they had quitted the country.' Of the words which immediately follow, however, Dr Steuart has indubitably mistaken the sense. 'Sed hæc melius ex re, et ex tempore constitues;' which he renders, 'This, however, I mention only in case of need, and that you have no better expedient to suit the emergency!' The sentiment, 'Facile imperium est in bonos,' Dr Steuart thinks 'not greatly dissimilar' to 'regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt; semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est.' (Vol. I. p. 528.) To our comprehension, these sentences carry meanings precisely contrary to each other. Again (Vol. I. p. 532), 'Nihil actum est a Pompeio nostro sapienter, nihil fortiter,' is translated, 'Our friend Pompey has nothing in him that savours of either ability or courage.' But if we turn to the epistle (Ep. ad Att. 1. 8. 3.), from which these words are taken, we shall find nothing to warrant this general attack on the character of Pompey. The real meaning is, that, *on a particular occasion*, his measures were deficient

ent in wisdom and activity. We are improperly referred (Vol. II. p. 186.), for a passage, to Tacitus's *history*: it should be to his *annals*, l. 4. 33. We think ' *falcarios* (Vol. II. 190, 191.) should not be rendered *ironmongers*, but cut-throats, assassins; that is, Catiline's profligate associates.

In the translation of the following sentence from *Cicero de Oratore*, ' Sed tamen ita solet narrare Scævola, conchas eos, et umbilicos, ad Cajetam, et ad Laurentum, legere consuesse, et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere' (l. 2. 6.), we are at a loss for the Latin words of ' delighted with throwing them on the smooth surface of the waters.' (Vol. I. p. 519.)

We have consulted all the passages referred to (Vol. II. p. 531.), on the subject of King Solomon's fleets; but in none of them do we find it made out to our satisfaction, that one of the voyages accomplished by this navy was to the coast of Guinea; nor are we less sceptical on this point, after the perusal of the following argument. ' For although gold made a part of each return, yet some of the articles composing the cargoes, such as ivory, apes, and peacocks, were certainly not imported on both occasions.' (p. 531.) We shall afflict the patience of our readers with the investigation of only two more of Dr Steuart's mistakes.

With the usual partiality of editors, he thinks fit to depreciate the merits of Livy, in order to exalt those of his own author. We do not, however, look on this circumstance as a very decided proof of bad literary taste, as we think it likely that Dr Steuart might admire this historian more, if he was better acquainted with him. In the following pleasant tale, any deficiency of knowledge is amply atoned for by ingenuity.

' Among the declaimers at Rome, in the time of Augustus, Livy, in a letter, as it is supposed, addressed to his son, celebrates one teacher in particular, who used to recommend to his scholars to *disguise* or *darken* their meaning as much as possible (*σκούριζε* was the Greek word he used to express his idea); thus intending that they should obtain the highest possible excellence of style. On one of his scholars, accordingly, who had been successful at his exercise beyond the rest, he bestowed this incomparable eulogium. ' Tanto melior; ne ego quidem intellexi!' — "Most excellent!" says the master; "so very good, that I am even unable to understand it myself." Vol. I. 399.

Whether Dr Steuart dreamed this, invented it waking, or from whence he got it, we are utterly at a loss to divine. He cites, indeed, a passage from Quintilian, which contains a part of the story, but nothing, certainly, which connects it with the style of Livy. We subjoin it; but we imagine the reader will not find in it one syllable of Livy's *celebrating* this delightful teacher, or concerning a letter to his son: indeed, from the five first words of the sentence, we should rather be led to conclude, that

that Livy was censuring the practice, which he recorded.— ‘*Neque id novum vitium est; cum jam apud Titum Livium inveniam fuisse præceptorem aliquem, qui discipulos obscurare, quæ dicerent, juberet, Græco verbo utens, σκωτισθαι. Unde illa scilicet egregia laudatio, tanto melior: ne ego quidem intellexi (Quint. de Inst. Orat. l. 8. 2.) The three following passages of this same historian are, in Dr Steuart's opinion, uncommonly dark and unintelligible; and a learned and ingenious friend of his (vol. I. 400.) could not explain them in less than several closely written quarto pages. ‘Injurias, et non redditas res ex fœdere, quæ repetitæ sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluiliam, causam hujusce esse belli, audisse videor: nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem præ te ferre.’ (lib. I. 23.) ‘In hâc tantarum expectatione rerum, sollicitâ civitate, dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta; sed nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquinâ essent (id quoque enim traditur) parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satis constat.’ (lib. II. c. 18.) Dr Steuart should not here have omitted to state, that in the Bodleian manuscript of the first Decad of Livy, the words *from quia to nec quis*, which assuredly contain the only difficulty, are not found: but even if we retain them, we have nothing more than one sentence within another, not at all harder to be explained than the ‘*multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus*’ of Sallust, which, on another occasion, Dr Steuart is at no loss to understand (Vol. I. 289.), and which he will not suffer honest Roger Ascham to stumble at.*

‘But one of the most extraordinary passages in all Livy is (Vol. I. p. 400.) where the historian says, ‘*Angebatur ferox Tullia, nihil materiæ in viro neque ad cupiditatem, neque ad audaciam esse,*’ (l. 1. 46.); and then adds of her, ‘*spernere forem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia.*’ (*Ibid.*)

This really appears to us infinitely ridiculous. We remember construing these passages, and perfectly comprehending them, at least a year before we left school. Nor can we believe, that any moderate scholar can fix his eye on them for five minutes, without most satisfactorily apprehending the meaning of the historian. But Dr Steuart has not yet done with Livy; nor have we quite done with Dr Steuart on the same subject.

‘The great peculiarity’ he tells us, (Vol. I. p. 397.) ‘in the style of Livy seems to be this, that whilst his narrative is graceful and flowing, far more so, indeed, than that of either Sallust or Thucydides, he deviates into an abrupt and affected manner in the speeches, of which the very reverse was rather to have been expected. Take, for example, the speech of Junius Brutus in an assembly of the people after the fall of Tarquin, when he endeavours *to persuade the dethroned prince to go into exile*, (l. 2. c. 2.); the speech of Mucius Sœvola to Porfenna the Etrus-

can



can king, l. 2. c. 2. (it should be c. 12.) ; the speeches against the decemvirs, l. 3. c. 52. &c. They are by far too long to be quoted in this place.

After the specimens we have already seen of Dr Steuart's moderation as to the length of his quotations, we should not have suspected him of delicacy on this head : we are therefore half inclined to suspect, that he may not very lately have seen the speeches referred to ; as, when taken all together, they do not amount to much more than fifty lines in an octavo page. But if, by this insinuation, we slander his character as a scholar, he can doubtless set himself fair again with the world by pointing out ' the speech of Junius Brutus, in an assembly of the people, after the fall of Tarquin, when he endeavours to persuade the dethroned prince to go into exile ! ' Our Journal is liable to fall into the hands of mere English readers, or we would not insult those of another description by informing them, that by this nonsense, Dr Steuart evidently demonstrates his utter ignorance of the latter part of the first, and the former part of the second book of Livy. The Romans rose against the regal government, whilst Tarquin was absent from Rome at the siege of Ardea ; nor was he ever afterwards admitted within the gates. Consequently, he never could have been in an assembly of the people ; and, had he contrived to get amongst them, they most likely would have torn him to pieces. Neither, after the first rising of the people, did Brutus ever come to a personal conference with the dethroned prince. The speech which is the subject of this lamentable blunder, is made by Brutus to Collatinus, his colleague in the consulship ; of whom, as allied to the blood-royal, the people, though probably with little cause, entertained a jealousy, which compelled him to quit not only his office, but his country.

Thus much for Dr Steuart's pretensions as a critic upon Livy. Let us now see how far he atones for this ignorance of so celebrated a Latin classic, by a more accurate acquaintance with a Greek historian. In Vol. II. p. 531, we have the following quotation from Herodotus.

" Except in that particular part which is contiguous to Asia, the whole of Africa is surrounded by the sea. The first person who proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho, king of Egypt. When he had desisted from his attempt to join, by a canal, the Nile with the Arabian Gulph, he despatched some vessels, under the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions to pass by the columns of Hercules, and, after penetrating the northern ocean, to return to Egypt. These Phœnicians, taking their course from the Red-sea, entered the southern ocean. On the approach of autumn, they landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves : when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two years, they, in the third, pas-

“ fed the columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt.” (Beloe's Translation, Vol. II. p. 215—217.)

With this Mr Beloe we have fortunately no immediate concern. It is the forfeiture of Dr Steuart's claims as a Greek scholar, in adopting this piece of choice translation, which we have to lament. Now, the only meaning which the exceptionable part of this version bears, is this:—that Necho ordered the Phœnicians to pass the columns of Hercules, and, after penetrating the Northern (which might with more propriety be termed the Western or Atlantic) ocean, to sail southward down the western side of Africa, till they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and thus to return by the eastern side. Now, it is certainly rather remarkable, that the Phœnicians, in receiving these orders from an absolute monarch, whose nod would probably have been a sufficient signal for taking their heads off, should immediately set out in their voyage *precisely the contrary way*; namely, sailing first southwards down the eastern coast of Africa, and then returning northwards by the western, till they came to the columns of Hercules, which they passed, and finished their course to Egypt by the Mediterranean. It remains to be inquired, if this rash and perversicacious conduct of these Phœnicians, appears in the original Greek. It runs thus;—

“ Λιβυη μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοῖ ἑωυτην, ἑσὶα περιγυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔρξει· Νεχὸ τὸ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς πρῶτα, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδμεν, κατὰ δεξιάντος· ὅς ἐπει τε τὴν διωρικὰ ἐπαισατο οὐρυσαν, τὴν ἐκ τῆ Νεῖλις διεκυσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀραβίον κόλπον, ἀπέπεμψε Φοινίκας ἀνδρας πλοιοῖσι, ἐντεταμενος ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω δὲ Ἑρακλῆϊαν στήλειαν ἐκπλεῖν ἕως ἐς τὴν Βορρῆην θαλασσαν, καὶ ἔτα ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἀπικνεσθαι. ὀρμηθεντες ἂν οἱ Φοινίκες, ἐκτῆς Εὐρῦδης καλεωμενης θαλασσης, ἐπλεον τὴν Νοτινὴν θαλασσαν. ὁπως δὲ γενοῖτο Φθινοπωραν, προσκοντες ἂν σπειρεσκον τὴν γην, ἵνα ἐκαστοτε τῆς Λιβυῆς πλεοντες γενοιατο, καὶ μενεσκον τὸν ἀμῆτον· θερῖσαντες δ' ἂν τὸν σιτον ἐπλεον. ὡστε δυο ἐτεων διεξελθόντων, τριτω εἰτε καμψαντες Ἑρακλῆϊας στήλας, ἀπικοντο ἐς Αἰγυπτον.” (Herod. Melpom. 42. Sat.)

The literal English of the words which cause the blunder, is this:—He (viz. Necho) sent away some Phœnicians (of course, from the place where, in the words immediately preceding, he is stated to have been, *i. e.* from the Arabian Gulph), ordering them to make their homeward voyage, or, in their return home, to sail (*ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω ἐκπλεῖν*) through the columns of Hercules, till they got into the northern sea, that is, the Mediterranean, which bounds *Egypt* on the north, and thus to return to that country.

Though there are some passages of the translation expressed with neatness and animation, we cannot help saying, that Dr Steuart's general style is very far from attractive. Sometimes it is rendered ridiculous by a sort of counterfeit grandeur; at others, it is extremely deficient in perspicuity; whilst its general diffusiveness

siveness is but ill adapted to convey to an English reader an idea of that nervous brevity, which is the peculiar characteristic of his original author. We shall give a few examples. The pompous verbosity of the following passage is quite ludicrous.

‘ A few days after the debarkation of the troops, intelligence being brought that a valuable magazine of corn and other stores had been formed at Corcina, then in the hands of the enemy, Sallust was despatched with a detachment of the fleet, and peremptory orders to make himself master of the island. “As to the possibility of the attempt,” said Cæsar, to his lieutenant in giving him his instructions, “it is needless to deliberate: our circumstances are such as admit of no room for delay, and no excuse for disappointment.” The vigorous character of Sallust was not calculated to disappoint the confidence thus reposed in him: and he executed the service with equal celerity and success.’ (Essay I. Vol. I. p. 56.)

The reader, we presume, would hardly guess, that the whole of the vigour displayed upon this occasion, consisted in peaceably landing upon the island, from whence the former commander had as vigorously run away, and where the inhabitants, who were favourably disposed to the dictator's interests, received his lieutenant with open arms. Our next extract is a description of a garden; which, we think, would do full as well for the gardens of Alcinous, or of Babylon, or indeed for any garden that was ever described.

‘ The other front of Sallust's house looked to the gardens. Here, every beauty of nature, and every embellishment of art, seem to have been assembled, which could delight or gratify the senses. Umbrageous walks, open parterres, and cool porticoes, displayed their various attractions. Amidst shrubs and flowers of every hue and odour, interspersed with statues of the most exquisite workmanship; pure streams of water preserved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; and while on the one hand the distant prospect caught the eye, on the other the close retreat invited to repose or meditation.’ (Essay I. Vol. I. p. 64.)

Of the three passages which immediately follow, the two first are, to us, unintelligible; and, in the feeble periphrasis of the last, it is with difficulty that we recognize the meaning of the original.

‘ Concerning your munificence and liberality, what further need I say, than is so fully attested by the world, whose applause is unable to keep pace with your merits; whose diligence shall sooner sink under the labour of commendation, than your efforts relax in the career of glory?’ (Vol. I. p. 450. I. Epist. to Cæsar.)

‘ On due consideration, notwithstanding, we shall find, that man, above all creatures, is gifted with excellence and energy; although the one he degrades, and the other he misapplies; in his pursuits far more frequently without diligence, than talents to direct it, or time for their exertion.’ (Vol. II. p. 323.)

‘ But the ruffian, who stabs in the dark, men of courage and virtue are not prepared to resist: they are ignorant of his arts, and unsuspecting of his purposes; and they too often perish by the blow.’ (l. p. 456.)

The Latin of this last passage is, ‘ *occulta pericula neque facere, neque vitare, bonis in promptu est.*’ (Orat. ad Cæs. in Lat. edit.—2. 8vo. Var. p. 522.)

The dignity of historical language might have been better maintained by a more sober English for the word *dolum* (vol. II. 36.) than ‘hellish artifice.’ In what follows, there is a redundant nominative, viz. *they*.

‘ That profligate set of men, seeing the impression made by the battering engines, and their own situation wholly desperate, *they* conveyed to the royal palace all the gold and silver, and other valuable property they could collect.’ (vol. II. p. 437.)

Again, in the following passage, the members of the sentence are improperly disjoined: and the meaning of *ad id locorum* is mistaken: these words certainly refer to Marius’s time of life; not to the period of Rome. ‘Tamen is ad id locorum (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) consulatum appetere non audebat.’ (Bell. Jugurth. c. 63. 8vo. var.)

‘ Such was Marius once; ere ambition corrupted his heart, and fatally urged him to the wildest excesses. In that period, even a man like Marius had not, as yet, ventured to offer himself for the supreme magistracy.’ (vol. II. p. 420.)

Dr Johnson, who, in the spirit of sound criticism, laughed at Blackwell for his absurd titles of ‘secretary at war,’ and ‘paymaster and commissary general,’ in the service of ‘Augustus,’ (Pref. p. 29.) would hardly have been less amused at ‘plenipoten-tiaries’ for ‘*legatos*,’ (Jugurth. Bell. 103. v. 2. p. 484.) or the phrase ‘pending the negotiation,’ (v. 2. 485.) for ‘*interea*,’ in the following passage. ‘*Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit: ab consule interea induciæ postulabantur.*’ (Jugurth. Bell. c. 104.) Nor do we think that the same critic would have been much more tolerant to the following translation.

‘ Resolving to alter the disposition of his troops, he instantly formed the line to the front, *in the right division*, that flank being next the enemy. The order he chose was that of three lines, the first covered and supported by the two others. The slingers and archers were ordered into the intervals between the companies of foot; and all the cavalry posted on the wings. Having encouraged the men by a concise speech, such as the nature of his situation, and the shortness of the time would permit, he commanded the whole to *file off from the left*, and marched down, *in column*, to the plain.’ (vol. II. p. 399.)

The original is,—*Ibi commutatis ordinibus, in dextro latere, quod proximum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: inter manipulos funditores, et sagittarios dispertit, equitatum omnem in cornibus locat; ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem,*

aciem, sicut instruxerat, transversis principiis in planum deducit.' (Bell. Jugurth. 49.) Dr Steuart calls this 'clothing the military part of the narrative in an appropriate dress; without which, (he thinks) in the present diffusion of military ideas throughout the island, it could have been perused with no pleasure, by a reader of discernment.' (Pref. p. 29.)

From what has been said, our readers may without much difficulty infer, that we are not likely to agree with Dr Steuart, that this will probably 'be the last time that the true principles of translation will need to be defended by a formal discussion.' (Pref. p. 23.) After all, however, the translation is tolerable enough; and if it had been printed by itself, in a cheap volume, might have had a fair chance of becoming popular among lazy school-boys, or even of being occasionally pored on by ladies who had pretensions to learning. As it is, we really cannot conscientiously join the worthy author, in recommending it to the use of 'the great schools of the kingdom' (Pref. p. 39.), though we conceive that there exists, in its exorbitant price, a much more serious obstacle to its being adopted in them, than the want of our approbation. Whether it will make its way into Germany, as its author seems to expect (vol. I. p. 418.), and, if it does, whether the pockets and the patience of German readers will enable them to benefit by it, we do not pretend to determine; but we will venture to predict, that, in our own island, its circulation will not be very extensive.

ART. XI. *Britain independent of Commerce; or, Proofs deduced from an Investigation into the true Causes of the Wealth of Nations, that our Riches, Prosperity, and Power, are derived from Resources inherent in ourselves, and would not be affected, even though our Commerce were annihilated.* By William Spence, F. L. S. The Third Edition. Cadell & Davies. London, 1807.

FROM the sensation which this pamphlet has excited, we were naturally led to expect that some important truths were brought to light in it, which had been totally overlooked by preceding political economists, although of a nature to afford peculiar consolation under the present lowering aspect of public affairs. We were a good deal disappointed, therefore, to find in it merely a restatement and application to the present state of things, of the doctrine of the French economists, with only one slight alteration for the better, and with two or three antiquated errors retained, which these ingenious writers had long since most successfully exposed. As, however, we consider the talent of making important truths familiar to the general mass of society, almost as valuable as the origi-

nal discovery of them, we were prepared to give Mr Spence no small degree of praise, if it had appeared, that the impression which his publication had made, was to be attributed to the peculiar force of language, or happiness of illustration, with which he had stated any old truths; but as, after a careful perusal, we are at a loss to point out to the reader any passages of this description, we are compelled to conclude, that the present extraordinary crisis of public affairs, which has given occasion to the ephemeral title of the pamphlet, together with the attention which has been repeatedly drawn to it in a journal of great circulation, must more than divide with Mr Spence, the credit derived from its popularity. Such being our general impressions, we perhaps owe some apology to our readers for making it the subject of serious discussion; but it will be recollected, that one of our professed objects, has always been to use our feeble endeavours in assisting the public judgment on those topics to which its attention was actually directed; and consequently, that the mere popularity of any work gives it a claim upon our attention, independently of its intrinsic merits.

As Mr Spence's production is not very long, we will advert to the principal parts of it, nearly in the order in which they occur; at least where his desultory mode of treating the subject will admit; noticing, as we go along, the errors into which we conceive he has fallen.

After some preliminary matter on Bonaparte, and on the gratification which the public must feel at being convinced by the arguments about to be propounded to them,—Mr Spence proceeds to express a very safe and laudable opinion, that gold and silver alone do not constitute wealth,—and to give a definition of wealth, to which we by no means object, but which we think will be found, together with his opinion respecting the value of the precious metals, in direct opposition to the doctrines which he afterwards maintains.

Mr Spence divides the political economists, who have investigated the sources of national wealth, into two great classes,—the mercantile sect, and the agricultural sect; without noticing the followers of Dr Smith, who hold a middle doctrine, and among whom we conceive by far the greatest portion of truth will be found to lye. As Dr Smith has endeavoured to refute both these sects, he certainly cannot be properly classed in either; yet, entirely to exclude him from among those who have investigated the sources of national wealth, does not seem to imply much discrimination in the outset of a discussion on a subject of political economy. Mr Spence next proceeds to state the well known argument of M. Quesnai on the unproductiveness of manufactures; and in a subsequent

quent page, alludes to the confused and unintelligible attempt of Dr Smith to refute it. Though we are reviewing Mr Spence, and not the economists, it may not be irrelevant to the general question, or to the reflection on Dr Smith, here noticed, to observe, that if the arguments of Dr Smith had been expressly directed against the definition of productiveness given by the economists, as evidently too confined to include all national wealth, instead of against the natural consequences respecting manufactures, which followed from this confined definition, we conceive that they would have been satisfactory; as we are of opinion, that they really do prove, that manufactures are productive of national wealth, independently of the circumstance of whether they do or do not produce a net rent. We allude particularly to the third argument adduced by Dr Smith, \* which has often been controverted by the friends of the economical system; but as to which we agree entirely with the illustrious author, viz. that the real revenue of the whole society is to be estimated, not only by all the food that is consumed, but also, by all the manufactures and commodities of all kinds which are produced during that consumption, or what amounts to nearly the same thing, by the value of all that each individual in the country consumes, which evidently consists, not only in a certain portion of food, but in a certain quantity of manufactures, and other commodities in addition to it. In confirmation of this opinion, we will only make one observation, which to us, we confess, appears conclusive. If the food given to an artificer were, like the seeds committed to the earth, absolutely thrown away, unless they yielded a greater return, we might be disposed to agree with the economists, that the production of a net rent is essential to the increase of wealth; but as we know of no other important use of food but that of being applied in the support of human creatures, and as, in performing this office, it fulfils its appropriate and final destination, we cannot see how a country can be said to be poorer for this consumption; on the contrary, we should say, and we think, that the economists ought to agree with us, that, putting manufactures out of the question, any particular district of country would be called richer on account of its producing a greater quantity of corn, and of being able to support equally well a greater number of human creatures; but if this be allowed, it follows incontestably, that a country is enriched by manufactures, not merely in proportion to the excess of their value above the food and raw materials of which they may be said to be composed, but in proportion to the whole of their value, when fit for consumption, in clear addition to the food consumed during their preparation.

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\* Vol. III. p. 23. 6th Edition.

Mr Spence so far differs from the economists, as to be of opinion, that, in the state of landed property in Europe, which has resulted from the feudal system, manufactures have formed, and must continue to form, the principal stimulus to agriculture. In this, he nearly follows the mode of treating the subject adopted by Dr Smith; and this is the only point in which he appears to us to have differed from the economists with success; but it is only a very partial improvement, as he still retains the opinion, that manufactures are 'no source at all of national wealth,' except in as far as they furnish a powerful stimulus to an increased cultivation of the soil. The general grounds of our entire dissent from this opinion, we have stated in the preceding paragraph; but we cannot quit the subject of home manufactures, without noticing an important error, into which Mr Spence has fallen, on the subject of trading profits.

He asserts roundly, that no addition can be made to the national wealth by the accumulation of profits in the hands of the home trader; and to illustrate this position, or, in the stronger language of Mr Spence, to *demonstrate* it, he takes the instance of a coachmaker, whom he supposes to sell a coach for sixty quarters of corn, which it had cost him fifty to make; and he observes, that if the coachmaker becomes ten pounds richer in consequence of the profitable transfer, the landholder or purchaser of the coach, whoever he may be, will be ten pounds poorer than if he had got it at the original cost; and, consequently, that the national wealth is just the same after the transfer, as before. Taking an individual transaction of this kind after the commodity is made, we might allow the first part of this observation; though the consequence with respect to national wealth would by no means follow, as both parties may fairly be said to have gained, by having obtained what they wanted, in exchange for what they did not want. But, independently of the consideration, we would observe, in the first place, that it is quite clear, the coach would never have existed, if the coachmaker could obtain no profits; and, in the next place, that the ten quarters of corn beyond the original cost of the commodity, and other quarters collected in the same way by similar transfers, perform, in the hands of the master manufacturer, a most important office in the production of national wealth. Various sums which would otherwise be spent as revenue, are accumulated by these means into the form of capital, by which the master manufacturer is enabled to command such a quantity of raw materials,—such a quantity of food and clothing, in the shape of wages to his workmen,—and such a quantity of the necessary machinery for carrying on his trade, as, in the existing state of the market, is best suited to that division  
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of labour, and application of his materials, which will enable him to produce the greatest quantity of commodities at the least cost; by which process, not only future production is facilitated, and manufactures multiplied, but, as a necessary consequence, they come cheaper to the purchaser; and the whole society is decidedly enriched by the greater abundance of consumable commodities produced in it.

If it were not for the establishment of this system of commerce and manufactures which Mr Spence is here attempting to depreciate, and for the skill and dexterity which it engenders, it is perfectly evident that the coach, which is now constructed by a quantity of labour, which can be maintained with fifty quarters of grain, could not have been put together by twice as much labour. If men had not been trained to coach-making by those gainful establishments and that subdivision of labour which constitute the commercial system, it is obvious that it would have taken at least twice as many men, and twice as long a time, to manufacture a coach, as it does now with the benefit of these establishments. There must also have been a proportionately greater waste of materials. If a coach, therefore, be a part of wealth, it is evident, that wealth must be increased by that system of commerce and subdivided labour by which coaches are multiplied with less consumption either of food or materials. The case is precisely the same with every other production of industry; and the multiplication of every thing which contributes to the comfort or delight of human beings, is evidently dependent, in a great degree, on that accumulation of capital, and that perfection of manufacture, which Mr Spence conceives to make no addition to the wealth of a country. For our own parts, we know not whence is derived that proud preeminence which England enjoys in agricultural and manufacturing capital, which enables her to cultivate her lands so well with such few hands; and, with the price of labour at two shillings a day, to contend in the low price of muslins with the natives of India, who work for an eighth part of the sum,—unless it be to the accumulation and skilful direction of the profits derived from the transfers here described; and it is to be sure a most gross inconsistency in Mr Spence, who thinks that we are not enriched by foreign commerce, and that expenditure is the sole duty of the landholder, to treat as unproductive the only remaining source of that capital which makes a part of his definition of wealth.

Mr Spence, however, seems to be of opinion, that there is another far more powerful source of riches to a nation, which Dr Smith has overlooked; and ‘that the extension of the wealth of a society depends on the yearly expenditure of the revenue which the land proprietors derive from the soil.’ It is absolutely necessary,

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sary, he says, that they should spend this revenue; and, 'so long as they perform this duty, every thing goes on in its proper train.'

It must really be a great consolation to the landed gentlemen of this country to hear, that, in spending the whole of their incomes, to which they are generally sufficiently prompted by inclination, they are performing so patriotic a duty; and we doubt not that they will confer some signal mark of their approbation upon Mr Spence, if he succeeds in establishing their very high public deserts on account of this most usual and not very arduous part of their conduct. But without meaning to detract from the merits of a set of men for whom we have the most sincere respect; we would just observe, that in the present state of society, they would not, with us at least, forfeit the fair character which they have hitherto enjoyed, if they were occasionally to lay by a little for younger children when they have large families; nor would they, in our eyes, be guilty of any great crime towards the state, even if so many as were so disposed, and there would be no great danger of their numbers being prodigious, were to be as parsimonious as Mr Elwes. While the greatest part of the land in the country is let in farms, and all the rest is cultivated for profit, and is generally best cultivated where most profits are saved, the parsimony of some landlords would in no respect impede the flow of raw produce into the market for the general use of the society; and the savings so obtained would operate precisely in the same manner on the general prosperity of the country, as the accumulation of the profits of trade before alluded to.

We are perfectly ready to admit, that consumption must exist somewhere, or there could be no production; and that there are limits to the accumulation of capital, though we do not know where to place them: but we are strongly disposed to believe, that production generates consumption, as well as consumption production; and that an increasing capital naturally produces an increased use of consumable commodities, from the greater cheapness of manufactures, the comparative higher price of labour, the improved cultivation of the soil, the more rapid increase of population, and the constant growth of an important class of consumers living upon the profits of stock, and the interest of money. There cannot, in our conception, be a more gross error, than to consider, as Mr Spence does, the land proprietors as almost the sole, or, at least, the principal consumers in the country. They were so perhaps four hundred years ago; but almost every subsequent year has diminished their relative importance in this light. Our landlords at present have not the distribution of much above a  
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fourth part of the value of the raw produce raised in the country; and our readers already know, that we consider the gross revenue of the society as greatly exceeding the gross produce of the soil. We can form no guess at the portion of manufactures consumed in London by our land proprietors; but we should conceive that it was comparatively not very considerable; and that our cotton manufacturers would be more alarmed at a non-consumption agreement among the wives, daughters, and maid-servants of tradesmen and labourers, than among the country gentlemen.

It is very far from being true, that the manufacturer derives the whole of his revenue from the land proprietor. He derives indeed his food, and whatever raw materials he may want of home growth, which, we are most perfectly ready to acknowledge, are the most important, because the most necessary part of his revenue: but for his clothes, his houses, his furniture, and numberless other articles of comfort and convenience, which unquestionably form a part of the revenue he consumes, and often the largest part, he is indebted to other manufacturers. Each manufacturer and artificer becomes a consumer to his brother manufacturers and artificers in different lines; and if history tells true, the states of Holland and Venice, particularly the latter, at the period of their greatest prosperity, experienced all the enriching effects that can arise from a great consumption, without the aid of many land proprietors. Nothing can be more ridiculous than the importance which Mr Spence attaches to the circumstance of fifty landlords becoming parsimonious, which, according to his own calculation, could only occasion a check on agriculture and manufactures to the amount of a million, while he regards as insignificant a check from the stoppage of foreign commerce to the amount of fifty millions, which, in the actual state of things, would operate precisely in the same way, and only be different from the greatness of its extent. We are quite certain that, in those feelings, the manufacturers in our great staples of woollens, leather, iron, &c. as well as cotton, cannot sympathise with him; and, while they would treat with the most perfect indifference the threat of a few landlords to imitate Mr Elwes, they may not be able to contemplate, with the same unconcern, the loss of all the lack-land consumers of Europe or America.

We come now to Mr Spence's main argument against foreign commerce, which we suppose must be considered as the one by which he means to stand or fall, as it is only by the establishment of this argument to the satisfaction of the public, that he can justify his title-page, to which he has called so much attention. A few observations, we think, will be sufficient to show how completely he has bewildered himself on this subject,

in one of the worst parts of the system of the economists,—their doctrine of the exchange of equivalents; and how totally unconscious he seems to be of the true nature of foreign commerce. But, lest we should unintentionally misrepresent Mr Spence's meaning on so important a point, we shall quote the passages in which his principal positions and proofs are advanced; and they will serve as a fair specimen of the style in which the pamphlet is written.

‘As all commerce naturally divides itself into commerce of import and export, I shall, in the first place, endeavour to prove, that no riches, no increase of national wealth can in *any case* be derived from commerce of import; and, in the next place, that although national wealth may, in some cases, be derived from commerce of export, yet that Britain, in consequence of particular circumstances, has not derived, nor does derive, from this branch of commerce, *any portion of her national wealth*; and consequently, that her riches, her prosperity, and her power, are intrinsic, derived from her own resources, independent of commerce, and might and will exist, even though her trade should be annihilated. These positions, untenable as at first glance they may seem, I do not fear of being able to establish to the satisfaction of those who will dismiss from their minds the deep-rooted prejudices with which, on this subject, they are warped; and who, no longer contented with examining the mere surface of things, shall determine to penetrate through every stratum of the mine which conceals the grand truths of political economy.’

After this bold intimation of his intentions, he thus proceeds to establish his positions; inclining, as the reader will see, rather more to that easy and impressive figure of speech called assertion, than to that more difficult and duller one of proof.

‘*Every one must allow*, that for whatever a nation purchases in a foreign market, it gives an adequate value, either in money, or in other goods; so far then, *certainly* it gains no profit nor addition to its wealth: it has changed one sort of wealth for another, but it has not increased the amount it was before possessed of. Thus, when the India Company has exchanged a quantity of bullion with the Chinese for tea, no one will say that this mere exchange is any increase of national wealth. We have gained a quantity of tea, but we have parted with an equal value of gold and silver; and if this tea were sold at home for exactly the same sum that had been given for it, it would be allowed on all hands, that no wealth had accrued to the nation from this transfer. But because goods, bought at a foreign market, and sold at home, have their value considerably augmented by the charge of transporting them, the duty paid to government, the profit of the merchant, importer, &c.; it is contended by the disciples of the mercantile system, that this increased value is so much profit to the nation,—so much addition to the amount of national wealth. Thus, a quantity of tea, say they, which has cost in China 1000*l.*, will, by the charges and profits which have  
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occurred upon it, previous to its exposure for sale in England, have its value augmented to 1500l., and will be sold for that sum at home. Since then the tea cost but 1000l. and has been sold for 1500l., is not this 500l. an addition to national wealth? To this question I answer, *No; certainly not.* There is no doubt but the persons concerned in this transaction have gained a profit, and have added to their individual wealth. The ship-owner has added to his wealth by the freight of the tea; the underwriter by his premiums of insurance upon it: the government has increased the revenue by the duties of custom and excise; and the East India Company has augmented its dividend by the profit gained upon this article. But the question is, from whence have these profits of the ship-owner, the underwriter, the government, and the East India Company been derived? Have they not been drawn from the consumers of this tea? and is it not *as clear as the noon day*, that whatever the former have gained, the latter have lost; that the latter are exactly poorer in proportion as the former are richer; and in short, that a transfer, not a creation of wealth has taken place? If this tea had been sold for 1000l., the bare sum which it cost, would the nation have been poorer than if it were sold for 1500l.? *Certainly not.* In this case, the consumers of the tea would have kept in their pockets the 500l. which, on the other supposition, they transferred to the pockets of the ship-owner, the insurer, &c.: but the national wealth would be neither increased nor diminished.

‘The same reasoning is applicable to all commerce of import. In every case *the value of an article is what it has cost in the foreign market*; and whatever it is sold for more than this, is a transfer of wealth from the consumers of the article to those who gain a profit by it; but in no instance is there any addition to national wealth created by this branch of commerce.’

These are the principal arguments by which Mr Spence controverts the notion of wealth being derived from a commerce of import. The following are his concessions in favour of the commerce of export.

‘If it be clear that no increase of national wealth can be derived from commerce of import, it is on the other hand equally plain, that in some cases an increase of national wealth may be derived from commerce of export. The value obtained in foreign markets for the manufactures which a nation exports, resolves itself into the value of the food which has been expended in manufacturing them, and the profits of the master-manufacturer and the exporting merchant. These profits are undoubtedly national profit. Thus, when a lace-manufacturer has been so long employed in the manufacturing a pound of flax into lace, that his subsistence during that period has cost 30l., this sum is the real worth of the lace; and if it be sold at home, whether for 30l. or 60l., the nation is, as has been shown, no richer for this manufacture. But if this lace be exported to another country, and there sold for 60l., it is undeniable, that the exporting nation has added 30l. to its wealth by its sale, since the cost of it was only 30l.’

Now,

Now, if Mr Spence had undertaken to prove the very reverse of the proposition here maintained, and to show that commerce of import was profitable, and commerce of export not; we should have thought that he had a much more hopeful task in hand. For, to us, on the first glance, it appears inconceivable, how a nation can get paid for its exports but by its imports; and though we have taken Mr Spence's hint, and have 'no longer been contented to examine the mere surface of things,' but have endeavoured 'to penetrate through every stratum of the mine which conceals the grand truths of political economy;' yet, strange to say! our deep-rooted prejudices still remain, and we cannot see on these subjects with the eyes of Mr Spence.

To justify, in some measure, our obstinacy, let us examine his last illustration; and we hope that the remarks to which it will give occasion, will throw some light on the whole passage quoted.

Mr Spence allows, that if an English merchant exports laces or other goods which cost 30*l.* and sells them in a foreign country for 60*l.*, that the profit of 30*l.* is so much addition to the national wealth. But how, we would ask, is this 30*l.* to get home? If it comes in the shape of foreign goods, the whole transaction is immediately altered in the vocabulary of Mr Spence. It becomes a commerce of import, an exchange of equivalents, from which no national wealth can possibly be derived. It is necessary, therefore, that it should come home in the shape of gold and silver; and the inevitable result of Mr Spence's reasonings is, that no foreign commercial transaction can enrich a nation, but the purchase of bullion. This certainly is not the doctrine of the economists; and is one of the instances alluded to at the commencement of these observations, in which Mr Spence retains some of the prejudices which they have so ably refuted. If he had attended to them on this subject, they would have told him, and told him truly, that a balance of trade paid in the precious metals, is the *pis-aller* of foreign commerce,\* the last and most unprofitable resort, when one nation has exported a quantity of goods, and cannot find an equal value of foreign goods that are wanted at home, in return. But this result of Mr Spence's reasonings, is not only contrary to the doctrines of the economists, but directly contrary to his own definition of wealth; which, he says expressly, does not consist in gold and silver, but in 'abundance of capital, of cultivated and productive land, and of those things which man usually esteems valuable.' †

We are astonished that the manner in which Mr Spence states the

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\* *Phifocratie, Seconde partie, p. 344.*

† *P. 9. 2nd edition.*

the instance of the exporting merchant, did not lead him to the true source of the national profit derived from the commerce of import; for, as to the commerce of export, we can only consider it as profitable, because it is the necessary condition of getting imports. A slight alteration in Mr Spence's statement will, we think, explain the matter.

The English merchant exports what cost him 30l., and sells it in a foreign country for 60l. With 30l. of this 60l. he purchases a certain quantity of foreign goods, which his countrymen at home consider as of equal value with the goods exported; and the undeniable evidence of their considering them in this light, is their willingness to give 30l. for them. Here, then, appears to be a fair exchange of equivalents: but, in addition to this, the merchant has got another 30l., which he lays out likewise in those foreign goods which he thinks are most wanted by his countrymen; and these surplus goods flow in to the merchant, and through him to the nation, exactly like a rent paid in kind from a foreign country, which increases by its whole amount the quantity of consumable commodities in the nation which receives it. This view of the commerce of import, has, it must be confessed, every appearance of contributing to national wealth: but all this fair appearance of profit is at once dashed to pieces by Mr Spence, who says, that the goods flowing in, as just described, will be sold and consumed at home; that what the seller gains, the buyer loses; and that, though the merchants may obtain ever so great profits, yet, as they must necessarily be collected from their proportionably impoverished customers, the national wealth cannot possibly be augmented. This is, to be sure, a most distressing argument, if true, from the almost universal manner in which it may be applied; but we conceive it to be quite evident that it involves a most grievous fallacy.

Let us suppose a case, which we hope may happen, though we confess that our fears that it will not, greatly preponderate;—let us suppose that the emperors of France, Russia, and Austria were to send to our fraternity of reviewers at Edinburgh, five hundred thousand quarters of corn, fifty thousand pipes of wine, and ten thousand poods of tallow, as a *slender* testimony of their sense of the benefits which they and their subjects have derived from our critical labours, of which, to use the language of our great bard on a still more important occasion, 'all Europe rings from side to side.' If, after having well lighted our apartments through the medium of one part of the present, and most fully refreshed ourselves with the very seasonable supply of the other two, we were to feel the very natural ambition of being well dressed, as well as well fed, and were in consequence to sell a large part of the remainder for the purpose of improving our coats, and purchasing  
other

other articles of comfort and convenience, would Mr Spence immediately apply his unfortunate doctrine of equivalents, and assert, that though we might be enriched a little at the expense of our foreign friends by what they consumed in kind, yet all that we sold was paid for by the poor Scotch; that what one party gained, the other lost; and that the nation was not a grain the richer. Would it not still be true, whether the goods were sold in the country or not, that the consumable commodities in Scotland were increased by five hundred thousand quarters of corn, fifty thousand pipes of wine, and ten thousand poods of tallow, and that the consequent increased consumption and enjoyment of the inhabitants were entirely at the expense of the illustrious potentates who had sent so handsome a supply?

We really cannot distinguish the national profit derived from the incident here noticed, from that which is derived from the clear profits of a foreign merchant to the same amount, brought home in foreign goods: and the circumstance of their being sold at home, instead of being distributed *gratis*, so far from detracting from the national advantage, would, in our opinion, greatly add to it; as the wish to possess these desirable articles would stimulate many kinds of industry, and the consumable commodities of the country would be increased by much more than the goods imported. If Mr Spence were consistent in the application of his doctrine of equivalents, he would be compelled to say, that no part of the produce of a landed estate which was brought to market and sold, could contribute to national wealth, because an equivalent was always given for it by the purchaser. We have no doubt, that even Mr Spence himself would start at this conclusion; and yet it is certain, that at the end of his pamphlet, when he is speaking of our colonial possessions, he has advanced some positions which, in point of absurdity, do not fall short of the conclusion here noticed. As the mistakes to which we allude belong entirely to the present subject, we will point them out before we quit it, that we may not have occasion to revert to it again.

The economists would have told Mr Spence \*, and he might have seen the point fully and clearly established in Mr Brougham's able *Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*, that colonies ought to be considered as provinces of the mother country, only to be distinguished from them by their want of contiguity. This want of contiguity indeed is, in some points of view, a very important defect, particularly as it subjects them, and

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\* Des colonies sont des provinces de la metropole. Physiocratie, seconde partie. Sommaire, p. 506.



and the capital employed upon them, to be cut off at once from the main body of the empire; but there can be no doubt that, as long as the connexion exists, the national wealth derived from them is of the same nature as that from a contiguous province. The principal part of what Great Britain receives from her West Indian colonies, consists of remittances of rents and profits to the proprietors of West India estates living in England. These rents and profits, of course, greatly exceed in value all that goes from this country in the form of capital; and the balance is sent to the landlords in London, in the shape of sugar and rum, &c. Now we own that our intellectual optics can perceive no essential difference between this transaction and that which would take place in the case of a land proprietor living in London, who might choose to farm an estate which he had near Berwick upon Tweed, by means of an agent, and receive his rents in kind. He might occasionally remit some capital from London, in the shape of improved farming machinery, or of oats or clothing for his labourers, when these articles happened to be cheaper at London than at Berwick; but a large balance, in proportion to the value of his estate and the capital laid out upon it, would evidently be due to him; and the agent would remit it in Berwick smacks (if they were not too much crowded with passengers), in the shape of wheat and malt. But Mr Spence observes, that the sugar and rum would be sold, and the profits collected from the consumers in England.—So would the wheat and malt. Where then is the difference?

On the subject of wealth derived from colonies, Mr Spence makes one of the oddest concessions which we ever recollect to have met with. He admits, 'that if the greater part of our colonial produce were sold with a profit to other nations, and if this profit were drawn either in gold or silver, or in any other wealth, into the mother country, we should then gain an accession of wealth \*.' This, the reader will see, for we quote the author's words, is merely an expression of Mr Spence's opinion, that gold or silver, or any other wealth, is better than colonial produce. Now we really think that this is a question which should be left to the choice and taste of the public; and as we have great reason, from experience, to expect, that, if they were left at liberty, they would employ the gold or silver, or other wealth acquired in the way proposed by Mr Spence, in the purchase of colonial produce, we really cannot see what great accession of wealth could be derived from this very roundabout mode of getting at what they want.

The cultivation of the West India islands, however, by British capital, on account probably of the strong resemblance which it occasions between an English and a West Indian landlord, seems, in a slight degree, to have staggered Mr Spence; and on this subject, he does not appear to us to speak quite in his usual high tone. But as soon as he looks towards the East, all his confidence returns, and he exultingly exclaims, 'No one will pretend that the tea, &c. which we import from it, are raised by British capital; and consequently every one must admit, that whatever may be the profit of the East India Company on the articles they import, the whole of it is drawn from the consumers of these articles, and therefore that the dividends of the East India proprietors, are a mere transfer from the pockets of the community to them.' \*

The first part of this observation we are by no means disposed to controvert. We are far from pretending, that the produce of the East is raised by British capital; but this acknowledgement, instead of detracting from the wealth we derive from India, appears to us to increase the net amount of it. A certain number of gentlemen and ladies living in Great Britain, however strange it may appear at first sight, are in fact territorial sovereigns of a very large part of India. A portion of this territorial revenue, their servants and factors in the East invest in Indian and Chinese goods, to an amount which, in the estimation of the people of Great Britain, is equal to from six to ten millions: and, that their real value in London, whatever they might have cost in the East, is this, is clearly evinced by the voluntary offer of English coin, English bank notes, or English goods; to this amount, which is made to obtain them. It is allowed, that very little, comparatively, is sent out to India; that the balance consequently is prodigious; and if this great balance, flowing in to the country in the shape of consumable commodities, be not an accession to the national wealth, all our ideas on these subjects are at once confounded, and we must go to school again. We would willingly take lessons in political economy, even from Mr Spence, if he would write a little consistently, and in a manner to produce conviction; but, unfortunately, when we attempt to begin his publication again, we stumble upon his definition of wealth, and are at once bewildered in our attempts to reconcile his present assertion, that a great accession of Indian and Chinese goods does not increase the riches of a nation, with a definition of wealth, which makes it consist in the abundance of those things which man usually considers as valuable.

Mr

\* P. 87.

Mr Spence's plan for getting real wealth from India, like his plan for getting it from the West Indies, shows an unusual kind of knowledge of the subject. He says, that 'the only way in which any national profit could be drawn from our East India territories, would be from taxes levied upon the inhabitants there, and transmitted to England.'\* This, we conceive, is exactly what is done at present. Taxes are really levied upon the inhabitants there, and transmitted to England in goods; and the only effect of transmitting them in bullion instead, would be, that the bullion, on account of its greater plenty here, compared with India, would go out again as fast as possible for the goods; and we really are a little at a loss to conjecture, how this double voyage, or the bringing home one commodity instead of another which is more wanted, should at once make our connexion with India profitable, when it was unprofitable before.

Mr Spence, as a kind of corollary to his grand doctrine about commerce of import, indulges himself in a few financial speculations; and we are truly sorry that we cannot compliment him on a greater degree of skill, in this branch of political economy, than in others. He says, that 'the arguments made use of to show that no national wealth is derived from commerce of import, will serve also to show the absurdity of their notions who talk of the importance of such and such branches of commerce, because of the great duties which are levied on them at the custom-house or excise-office. Such reasoners will insist upon the vast value of our East India trade, because of the three or four millions which the public revenue derives from the duties imposed on the articles imported from thence. They do not consider that all such duties are finally paid by the consumers of the articles on which they are laid; and that these consumers are equally able to pay the sums they advance, whether or not they consume the articles on which they are levied.'† He then instances the cases of the consumers of tea and ale; and intimates, that if they were to substitute for them the wholesome beverage of water, they would not only have the same, but a much greater power of contributing to the state in taxes. We would recommend to Mr Spence to improve this hint, and to suggest to his Majesty's ministers the propriety of obliging all people, by law, to confine themselves to mere necessaries, that what they now spend in conveniences and luxuries may be at the disposal of the government. As this is at present a prodigiously large sum, it might answer their purpose completely, and enable them to carry on the war with vigour *ad infinitum*. Yet, somehow or other, we

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shrewdly

\* P. 38.

† P. 41.

shrewdly suspect, that this fund, great as it is at present, would in a few years most rapidly diminish. The same people who are now seen exerting every nerve to obtain tea, sugar, wine, ale, tobacco, &c. would, we are afraid, soon slacken their efforts, when they were convinced by experience that they were never to enjoy these objects of their desire, but were to pay the sum that would have purchased them into the exchequer.

Mr Spence has chosen, as the motto for his pamphlet, a passage from Hume's *Essays on Commerce*. We wish that, instead of fixing his attention upon so small a part, he had read and digested the whole. He would then have learned, that, in the common course of human affairs, sovereigns must take mankind as they find them, and cannot pretend to introduce any violent change in their principles and ways of thinking; that the less natural any set of principles are which support a particular society, the more difficulty will a legislator meet in raising and cultivating them; that that policy is violent which aggrandizes the public by the poverty of individuals; and that, as our passions are the only causes of labour, these must be called forth by adequate incitements, or (except under very peculiar circumstances) industry, and its offspring, production, will infallibly languish.

It is not enough for a chancellor of the exchequer to recommend to his Majesty's subjects to leave off tea and ale, that they may be better able to pay taxes, unless his eloquence in favour of war has power to persuade them to like paying taxes, as well as drinking tea and ale. Nor do we think that Mr Spence will succeed in convincing the good people of England to go without wine, and to heed Birmingham manufactures, unless he can communicate to them the same extraordinary passion for hardware which he himself seems to possess. \* In these matters, as Hume says, we must take mankind as we find them: And though we feel ourselves, in some sort, bound by the office we have undertaken, to enter our protest against any striking depravity in the public taste; yet, in this instance, we are disposed to be silent, and to leave people to their own tastes and judgments in regard to what most contributes to their happiness. To say the truth, indeed, we are ourselves inclined to go with the stream in this particular; and though we abhor excess, we should decidedly prefer

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\* One of Mr Spence's most constant themes, is his strong preference for manufactures of an unperishable nature, compared with those which are speedily consumed, and 'leave not a wreck behind.' This is another of his doctrines, which he did not learn from the Economists. Their system is dreadfully mangled in his hands. He has retained their errors, and rejected their excellences.

prefer a present of a glass of claret, or port, to refresh us after the weary task of reviewing Mr Spence, to the hardest and most everlasting button that was ever constructed. Nor would the consciousness of our being able to hoard such articles to 'an immense amount,' in any degree alter our decision, having neither inclination, nor warehouses, for such a species of hoarding; and having, besides, those dull intellects alluded to by Mr Spence,\* which prevent us from seeing that Sir Richard Arkwright's great fortune arose from his spending his gains in hardware, instead of tea and sugar. We rather think, indeed, that the fact is against Mr Spence in the present instance; and that, if he will take the trouble to analyze Sir Richard Arkwright's capital, divesting himself for a moment of the idea of a circulating medium, he will find, that by far the largest part of it consisted in flour, meal, tea, sugar, ale, gin, rum, tobacco, soap, candles, and wearing apparel as the wages of his workmen, added to a great stock of raw cotton, and as little manufactured cotton as he could help; all articles, these, which in a few years would leave not a wreck, or at least only a rag behind. The other great branch of Sir Richard Arkwright's capital, would indeed be found of a more durable nature—machinery; but its value, we conceive, by no means arises merely from the circumstance of its hardness, but from its power of saving human labour, and of rendering consumeable commodities more abundant and cheaper. We have the greatest possible respect, as our readers already know, for the accumulation of capital, considering it as the great mean of future production, and of future consumption,—but no respect whatever for an accumulation of pots and pans, or knives and scissars beyond the use of the possessor, or the wants of his customers,—for such an accumulation, in short, as would be the result of depriving ourselves of wine, to hoard our Birmingham manufactures. Our difference with Mr Spence, in this respect, we conceive, must arise from the very different opinions we have of the nature of capital, and of the objects of which it is composed.

We intended to have noticed a few other topics in Mr Spence's production, such as his deviation from the economists into a wrong path on the subject of price; † his inconsistency in allowing home

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made

\* P. 55.

† On the subject of price, the economists may boast a superiority over Adam Smith; but we cannot reconcile their just views, in general, on this important point, with the very false doctrine which they apply to commerce, that, *Les prix précèdent toujours les achats, et les ventes.* Physiocratie, Vol. II. p. 259.

made laces to stimulate agriculture, and not foreign wines and teas; his hopeful recommendation to wear more coats than we want; his strange project for a standing navy, &c. &c. But our limits forbid us; and we have already extended this article so much further than we expected, and so much beyond what the size and merits of the pamphlet might seem to require, that we must hasten to a conclusion.

Though a regard to what we believe to be truth, and a sense of the folly of exciting false hopes, have induced us to declare very fully our entire dissent from Mr Spence's opinion on foreign trade, yet we are by no means inclined to be blind admirers of this species of commerce. Every rational political economist considers it as greatly inferior, both in magnitude and importance, to the internal trade of a country; and always places it below its two elder sisters, agriculture and manufactures. But, besides this view of its relative inferiority, in which the Economists, Dr Smith, and almost all modern writers agree, we have a few other objections to it, which we will shortly state.

In the first place, we think that it may be said of it, more peculiarly than of agriculture and manufactures, that it contains within itself the seeds of its own decay. It is scarcely possible for a peculiarly flourishing state of commerce to take place in any country, without such an influx of the precious metals as must occasion a universal rise of prices; or, what comes exactly to the same thing, without a paper currency, which only prevents this influx, by standing at a level a little lower in point of value than would have been the case, if the metals had been allowed to take their natural course; and which, therefore, must have the same, or rather a greater, effect on prices.\* This, we conceive, according to the principles of that admirable illustration of the balance of trade given by Hume, is the natural check to foreign commerce; and it is instructive to observe, that the greater is the industry, the skill, the capital, and colonial richness of any country, the lower will be the value of its currency, or the higher its general prices, before a check to its foreign commerce occurs. To such a prosperous state of foreign commerce, as  
would

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\* With or without the Bank restriction, when, from an unusual abundance of exportable commodities, the current of the precious metals would naturally set strongly into this country, the Bank may increase its issue of notes without any apparent depreciation. But when, by means of this issue, the exchange with foreign countries, from being in our favour, quickly returns to par, the level, in point of value, at which the currency stands, will be at the least fully as low as if the balances had been paid in bullion, and the precious metals increased in quantity.

would naturally have occasioned a great influx of the precious metals, with this influx, checked only by a paper currency attended with rather aggravated effects of the same kind, we are inclined to attribute, more than to all other circumstances combined, that rapid advance of prices which has taken place in this country during the last twenty years, and has occasioned so much discussion. And though, owing to the peculiar advantages we have enjoyed, this cause has not as yet affected our commerce; yet we think, that, proceeding in the same course, it must do so ultimately; and that, for a similar reason, foreign commerce cannot be expected permanently to bring into any country such a rapid accession of wealth as of late years has flowed from it into Great Britain, though there is no natural necessity that the check to it, when it comes, should either be very violent or very sudden.

Our second objection to foreign commerce is, that it is from its nature greatly exposed to external violence; to such checks, in short, as that under which we are apprehensive of suffering at present. And if a nation has habitually conducted itself upon the true principles of acquiring wealth, and has purchased all its commodities where they may be had the cheapest, it may have become dependent upon other countries for some of the most necessary and important articles of its consumption. Under these circumstances, a sudden check to foreign commerce from violent causes, can hardly fail of being attended with the most distressing consequences; and its liability to checks of this kind, forms with us a sufficient reason against pushing it to an excessive extent, and habitually importing articles of the first necessity which might be raised at home.

Our third objection to foreign commerce is, that, as we entirely agree with Hume and Dr Smith, in thinking that nations may be great and powerful without much foreign trade,\* and that the internal commerce of a country is of infinitely greater consequence than its external; we hate to hear our exports and imports talked of as if they were exclusively the barometer of our public prosperity. In particular, we have a great dislike, when any plans are proposed which have for their object to elevate the character of the poor, to give them greater independence, and to endeavour generally to improve their conditions, to hear it immediately ob-

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jected,

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\* There can be no doubt of the truth of Bishop Berkeley's opinion, that a nation with a large and fertile territory might grow richer every year, although surrounded with a wall of brass a thousand cubits high; but it would neither grow rich so fast, nor to such a degree, as if it had the advantage of foreign commerce.

jected, that they may tend to raise the price of labour; that Great Britain will be undersold in foreign markets; and that her vent for woollens, cottons, and hardware will be contracted. We certainly are most ready to acknowledge, that the sale of those articles abroad tends to enrich Great Britain; but we think at the same time, that there are other objects worthy of the attention of Great Britain besides mere riches. When the question is between wine and hardware, we have no hesitation in rejecting the hardware; but if the question were, between wine and an improvement in the condition of the poor, we are confident that we should as little hesitate in rejecting the wine: and in this feeling, we hope that Great Britain and her senators will always sympathize with us.

In these objections to foreign commerce, we trust that Mr Spence will see nothing inconsistent with the remarks which we have ventured to make on his pamphlet; as we evidently object to the great extension of this species of trade;—not because we agree with him in thinking that it is not productive of wealth, but because we think that its great extension is naturally attended with a bad consequence, similar to the excessive accumulation of the precious metals; because we think, that security and independence, with moderate wealth, are preferable to greater riches subject to frequent reverses; and because we think, that the happiness of the lower classes of people ought not to be put in competition with the sale of a few more woollens and cottons.

It is unnecessary to say any thing of the style of this pamphlet. Our readers will see, from the extracts given, that it possesses no very commendable qualities; but it is good enough for the purpose, if the substance which it conveyed were of value.

ART. XII. *Elisabeth, ou les Exilés de Sibérie.* Par M<sup>me</sup> Cottin.  
A Paris. Réimprimé à Londres. 1806.

WE are not, in general, particularly fond of novels founded on fact; but we must make an exception in favour of any thing so well executed as that which is before us. The daughter of a wretched exile in Siberia had the courage and filial piety to undertake and to perform a journey to Petersburg, for the purpose of soliciting her father's liberty. This achievement, worthy of immortality, is the groundwork of Madame Cottin's tale, and we give her no mean praise in saying that she has done full justice to its merits. In one only respect is she unfaithful to her model. She has diminished, in her ideal picture, the dangers which the

true



true heroine actually surmounted, from the fear, as she informs us, of incurring the charge of extravagance. This, therefore, must add one to the many instances, in which the miracles of truth have soared above the level of fiction, and in which imaginary must yield to real virtue.

The character of Elisabeth, as here drawn, is in its general form and feature such, as might, we think, have been expected from the hand of a lady-artist. It is so natural that women should love to make their heroines a little heroic! that they should delight to place female excellence in attitudes noble no less than charming! that, resigning to us the empire of personal, and perhaps of intellectual power, they should still maintain an equal claim to the moral sublime,—to that higher sort of greatness which, like angels, seems to be of no sex!

To those women who have any real elevation of thought, nothing can be more disgusting than the character of a Thalestris. They hate, as much as we do, the vigorous females who appear to constitute the link between the sexes; and will not condescend to write the history of a virago, who is the exact duplicate of her stupid lovers, fights and drubs every one of them whose offers displease her, and bestows her hand only on him who is found to have a stronger and harder one of his own. Their heroine is in a different style. Perhaps she is not particularly distinguished even for that chastened loftiness which may consist with virgin delicacy, the loftiness of a Portia or a Corinne, of *la dame Romaine* or *la Sibylle triomphante*; perhaps she is not even an Elisabeth, innocently, and, as it were unconsciously magnanimous; but is represented as all gentleness and diffidence. Still we shall find her insensibly led through scenes which show her to possess fortitude and disinterestedness and other virtues of the first order; we shall be seduced into respect, where we were desired only to love; with the weakness that solicits protection, we shall find blended, not only all the sweetness that attracts, but much also of the dignity that ennobles it.

We are aware of the numerous exceptions to this rule; but, that it is not therefore imaginary, may appear from a reference to the Delphines and Corinnes of France; and to the Cæciliæ, the Ellenas, and the Belindas of England. In the same manner, the delineations of female excellence by the other sex, often present us with a figure of imperial majesty; but we cannot help thinking that, when they draw after their own notions and conceptions rather than from books, they are more likely to give us an Ophelia or a Desdemona.

Madame Cottin has, in one respect, been particularly happy. Her heroine has been educated in such solitude and inacquaintance  
with

with the world, that her childlike simplicity, and engaging innocence of demeanour, seem perfectly in character, though they are the accompaniments of a heart uncommonly great and noble. There is nothing in her features hard or haughty; nothing that seems to exclaim with one of the heroines of Corneille,—

*Je me fais des vertus dignes d'une Romaine.*

But, indeed, the mind that conceived this character, can best do it justice; and the reader shall therefore be indulged with a trait or two of the representation.

‘ A deux ou trois verstes de Saïmka, au milieu d’une forêt marécageuse, et remplie de flaques d’eau, sur le bord d’un lac circulaire, profond et bordé de peupliers noirs et blancs, habitoit une famille d’exilés. Elle étoit composée de trois personnes, d’un homme de quarante-cinq ans, de sa femme et de sa fille, belle, et dans toute la fleur de la jeunesse.

‘ Renfermée dans ce désert, cette famille n’avoit de communication avec personne; le père alloit tout seul à la chasse, jamais il ne venoit à Saïmka, jamais on n’y avoit vu ni sa femme ni sa fille; hors une pauvre paysanne tartare qui les servoit, nul être au monde ne pouvoit entrer dans leur cabane. On ne connoissoit ni leur patrie, ni leur naissance, ni la cause de leur châtement; le gouverneur de Tobolsk en avoit seul le secret, et ne l’avoit pas même confié au lieutenant de sa juridiction établi à Saïmka. En mettant ces exilés sous sa surveillance, il lui avoit seulement recommandé de leur fournir un logement commode, un petit jardin, de la nourriture et des vêtements, mais d’empêcher qu’ils eussent aucune communication au dehors, et surtout d’intercepter sévèrement toutes les lettres qu’ils hasarderoient de faire passer à la cour de Russie.’  
p. 5, 6.

After a very striking sketch of Siberian scenery, the writer proceeds—

‘ A l’est de cette grande plaine, une petite chapelle de bois avoit été élevée par des chrétiens; on remarquoit que de ce côté les tombeaux avoient été respectés, et que devant cette croix qui rappelle toutes les vertus, l’homme n’avoit point osé profaner la cendre des morts. C’est dans ces landes ou steppes, nom qu’elles portent en Sibérie, que, durant le long et rude hier de ce climat, Pierre Springer passoit toutes ses matinées à la chasse: il tuoit des élans qui se nourrissoient des jeunes feuilles du tremble et des peupliers. Il attrapoit quelquefois des martes zibelines, assez rares dans ce canton, et plus souvent des hermines qui y sont en grand nombre: du prix de leur fourrure, il faisoit venir de Tobolsk, des meubles commodes et agréables pour sa femme et des livres pour sa fille. Les longues soirées étoient employées à l’instruction de la jeune Elisabeth; souvent assise entre ses parents, elle leur lisoit tout haut des passages d’histoire? Springer arrêtoit son attention sur tous les traits qui pouvoient élever son âme, et sa mère, Phédora, sur tous ceux qui pouvoient l’attendrir. L’un lui montrait toute la beauté de la gloire et de l’héroïsme, l’autre tout le charme des sentiments pieux et de la bonté modeste: son père lui disoit ce que la vertu a de grand et de sublime;

sa mère, ce qu'elle a de consolant et d'aimable ; le premier lui apprenoit comment il la faut révéler, celle-ci comment il la faut chérir. De ce concours de soins, il résulta un caractère courageux, sensible, qui, réunissant l'extraordinaire énergie de Springer à l'angélique douceur de Phédora, fut tout à la fois noble et fier comme tout ce qui vient de l'honneur, et tendre et dévoué comme tout ce qui vient de l'amour.' p. 9, 10.

' Elevée dans ces bois sauvages depuis l'âge de quatre ans, la jeune Elisabeth ne connoissoit point d'autre patrie : elle trouvoit dans celle-ci de ces beautés que la nature offre encore même dans les lieux qu'elle a le plus maltraités, et de ces plaisirs simples que les cœurs innocents goûtent partout. Elle s'amusoit à grimper sur les rochers qui bordoient le lac, pour y prendre des œufs d'éperviers et de vautours blancs qui y font leurs nids pendant l'été. Souvent elle attrapoit des ramiers au filet et en remplissoit une volière ; d'autres fois elle pêchoit des corraïns qui vont par bancs et dont les écailles pourprées, collées les unes contre les autres, paroissent à travers les eaux du lac comme des couches de feu recouvertes d'un argent liquide. Jamais durant son heureuse enfance, il ne lui vint dans la pensée qu'il pouvoit y avoir un fort plus fortuné que le sien. Sa santé se fortifioit par le grand air, sa taille se développoit par l'exercice, et sur son visage où reposoit la paix de l'innocence, on voyoit chaque jour naître un agrément de plus. Ainsi, loin du monde et des hommes, croissoit en beauté cette jeune vierge pour les yeux seuls de ses parents, pour l'unique charme de leur cœur, semblable à la fleur du désert qui ne s'épanouit qu'en présence du soleil, et ne se pare pas moins de vives couleurs, quoiqu'elle ne puisse être vue que par l'astre à qui elle doit la vie.' p. 15, 16.

Such were the virtues formed in the depth of Siberian dreariness, as some of the sweetest flowers of spring seem to have been nursed in the bosom of winter. We may add, that with the character of the heroine, that of the composition itself corresponds ; energetic, enthusiastic ;—but nothing can exceed the feminine delicacy that every where shades and refines it. What, indeed, but a dress of the most vestal white would become the saintly figure of Elisabeth ? Our fair author is not one who loves to excite attention by a display of the ignoble or the unholy passions. Unfortunately, these must, in a measure, enter every picture of life and manners ; but it is only when they must enter, that Madame Cottin admits them. They are shown by her, but not so prominently as to mingle with those gentler and more agreeable visions that fill the sight. They come, as flying clouds, to throw a shadow over the current ; not as a miry infusion to sully its clearness. From the beginning of the narrative to its close, the thoughts, the expressions, the descriptions, all are limpid purity.

To this delicacy of principle, which is virtue, the author of Elisabeth adds delicacy of hand, which is taste. Her writing has a great deal of that quality, which, when ascribed to the countenance,

countenance, is called *expression*. It implies, not exactly, strong sensations strongly signified; but nice and sensitive perceptions on every occasion, however common,—and looks that speakingly reflect them: a mind quickly seeing, and as quickly seen; a clear but artless indication of emotions, natural but not vulgar. It is certainly possible for writing to convey the idea of all this, though it may be the production of deep deliberation. No author, however, could so write, who was not well acquainted with human nature; by which is to be understood, not what, by a very complimentary phrase, we call *knowledge of the world*; but only a vivid conception of the genuine feelings of the mind in ordinary situations. This exquisiteness of *tact*, this play of features, belong to the composition of Madame Cottin: perhaps they may fairly be considered as characteristic of the best authors of her sex. In the portraiture of deep and tragic passion, men may possibly excel women; but surely it is a fact, and no fancy, that women understand better, and pencil out more gracefully, those finer and more fugitive impressions which come under the description of *sentiment*. Even the countrymen of Rousseau are apt to recommend some of their fair writers as the best models of the sentimental style. They find in them more truth, nature, gentleness; less of exaggeration and mannerism; sensibilities less morbid, and language refined without bordering on effeminacy.

It would be a very interesting inquiry, whether this power of susceptibility in the female mind, a power made up, as we have mentioned it to be, is original, or formed by circumstances? We certainly do believe it to be in a great measure original; and yet there are many things in the situation of women, in the ground which they occupy in society, that seem to assist nature in the production of the effect described. Their conscious inferiority of personal strength must of itself dispose them to a cultivation of the finer and lovelier feelings; and this disposition is much aided by their exemption from those employments which *hackney* the minds of the other sex, and have a tendency to wear down all the minuter feelings. In consequence, too, of their domestic life, that reciprocation of social kindnesses, which is only a recreation to men, is to women in some sense a business. It is their field-duty, from which household cares are their repose. Men do not seek the intercourse of society as a friend to be cultivated, but merely throw themselves on its bosom to sleep. Women, on the contrary, resort to it with recollections undistracted, and curiosity all alive. Thus, that which we enjoy and forget, keeps their attention and their feelings in constant play, and gradually matures their perceptions into instinct.

To similar causes, the softer sex owe their exquisite acquaintance with life and manners; their fine discernment of those smaller peculiarities of character which throw so much light and shade over the surface of ordinary society. Of the deeper varieties of the mind they know little; because they have not been accustomed to watch its movements when agitated by the vexing disquietudes of business, or ploughed up into frightful inequalities by the tempests of public life. It is human nature in a calm, or ruffled only into gentle undulation; it is the light restlessness of the domestic and the social passions; it is the *fire-side* character of mankind which forms their chief study, and with which, of course, they are perfectly intimate.

Consider also that class of domestic occupations which concerns the care of children. Peace be to those wretched votaries of dissipation, if indeed they can find peace, who, all selfishness, resign their offspring to fortune, apparently not as pledges, but as presents. Of these we say nothing; but with respect to the majority of the middling classes, there can be no question that, either as mothers, or as elder sisters, the female sex are infinitely more conversant with children than the other. Trace the effects naturally produced on their minds by this sort of society, for surely it may be honoured with that appellation. What habits of quick and intelligent observation must be formed, by the employment of watching over interesting helplessness, and construing ill-explained wants! How must the perpetual contemplation of unsophisticated nature, reflect back on the dispositions of the observer a kind of simplicity and ingenuousness! What an insight into the native constitution of the human mind must it give, to inspect it in the very act of concoction! It is as if a chemist should examine

—‘ young diamonds in their infant dew.’

Not that mothers will be apt to indulge in delusive dreams of the perfection of human nature and human society. They see too much of the waywardness of infants to imagine them perfect. They neither find them nor think them angels, though they often call them so. But whatever is bad or good in them, they behold untrammelled and undisguised. All this must, in some degree, contribute to form those peculiarities in the female character, of which we are attempting to follow out the natural history.

The same peculiarities, may, in part, perhaps, be traced up to the system of European manners, which allows to women a free association with the world, while it enjoins on them the condition of an unimpeachable strictness of conduct. However loosely the fulfilment of this condition may be exacted in some countries of Europe, the system is still pretty extensively acted upon; and

it doubtless tends to produce in the sex a habit of circumspection, an alarmed sense of self-respect, and a scrupulous tenderness of that feeling, which is to conscience what decorum is to virtue. But these qualities seem to be intimately allied with delicacy of perception and of mind. In fact, in the western world, *bienséance* has become (if we may use a very hard and workman-like term), the *professional* virtue of the fair, and it is therefore that they excel in it. On the whole, if it should be asked, why women are more refined than men? it may be asked in return, why civilized men are more refined than barbarians? It is society which has polished the savage. It is the task of presiding over the society of society, the more civilized part of civilized life, which has so highly polished, and thrown so fine a finish over the women.

Is it not then wonderful to hear some men wonder, that female minds should be so quick of comprehension on common subjects, and yet so much averse to profound disquisition; so intelligent, so susceptible of impressions, in familiar discourse, and yet, in politics so dull, in metaphysics so tasteless? They wonder at all this as inconsistent; but the wonder and the inconsistency would be, if the matter were otherwise. We are all adroit at that which we have practised; and these sagacious wonderers may as well consider, why many a sage, who has mines of thought and magazines of information sufficient to supply the intellectual commerce of a kingdom, should yet be miserably clumsy and stupid at the retail traffic of ordinary chit-chat; or why many a philosopher who can determine to a minute the curvature of a comet's path, should be utterly unable to curve his own person into a tolerable bow. From these, however, or any of the preceding remarks, it were strange to conclude that women are to be repelled from the severer studies, as if ignorance were the first of female qualifications. The remarks would rather justify an opposite conclusion. Providence has clearly assigned, to the one sex the forensic, to the other the domestic occupations; and before so obvious a difference of destination can be overlooked, not only must all right principles and feelings be abandoned, but the essence of things must almost be changed. Till this crisis occurs, women will be the tutelary powers of domestic and social enjoyment; and so long, if there be any truth in the foregoing reflections, they will retain their present *agrémens*. To embellish their minds, therefore, with an ampler furniture of knowledge, would only confer on them the means of decorating with additional effect their proper sphere; for the muses can never, of themselves, be at war either with the graces or with the virtues.

And yet, after all, there must be an original susceptibility in the female mind, which no education can give, and which hardly  
any

any could entirely destroy. Suppose a country, in which all the feebler and more ricketty males should be carefully culled out, and instead of being committed to the river, as they would have been in Sparta, should be cooped up in drawing-rooms; secluded from public affairs, forbidden the gallery of the House of Commons, devoted to the household deities, and in all respects subjected to those laws of conduct, which opinion has, in this country, imposed on women. There can be no rational doubt, but that this order of beings would make a considerable approach to the female character; but surely it would prove but a sorry concern. They would turn out, it is much to be feared, a mere corporation of tailors; sad men, and worse women. Many of them would scribble novels; but which of them would prove such a novelist as Madame Cottin? Many a tolerable Baucis or Mopsa should we find among them; but which of them would resemble Elisabeth?

The mention of this last name, recalls us from a digression which must have fatigued the reader; and without, therefore, inflicting on him the further detention of a tedious apology, we will abruptly hasten to the discharge of the duty immediately pressing upon us. We are fearful, however, of spoiling the story for him, were we to give a complete abridgment of it; and shall therefore prefer the method of exciting his curiosity by drawing out an analysis of the first part only.

Elisabeth, in infancy, was happy; but, as she advanced in years, her father's melancholy and her mother's tears could not escape her notice. She inquired the cause of their sorrows, and did not understand the reply, when she was told that they mourned for their country. Nothing more was revealed to her, but she became sad. She had, indeed, no griefs of her own; or rather she would have had none, if she had not regarded her parents as a dearer self. She forgot all her innocent pleasures, her birds and her flowers, and was absorbed in meditation. One single thought occupied her abroad, at home, at night, by day: but it was religiously concealed; it filled her mind, but was not suffered to overflow.

‘Oui elle vouloit partir, elle vouloit s'arracher des bras de ses parents pour aller seule à pied jusqu'à Pétersbourg, demander la grâce de son père: tel étoit le hardi dessein qu'elle avoit conçu, telle étoit la téméraire entreprise dont ne s'effrayoit point une jeune fille timide. En vain elle entrevoyoit de grands obstacles; la force de sa volonté, le courage de son cœur, et sa confiance en Dieu, la rassuroient et lui répondoient qu'elle triompheroit de tout.’

But, how execute this daring project? How perform the circuit of half Europe? How find her road without a guide? How  
 traverse

traverse it without a protector? These thoughts held her anxious and hesitating, till at last one avenue of hope seemed to open through the gloom of despondency. Some years before, Springer had been rescued from imminent peril during a bear-hunt, by the son of M. de Smoloff, the governor of Tobolsk, who accidentally encountered him during this dangerous sport. The name of this benefactor was ever afterwards recollected and repeated with enthusiasm in the cottage of the exiles. Elisabeth and her mother had never seen him, but they daily implored heaven to visit him with its choicest blessings. In her present difficulty, Smoloff recurred to the recollection of Elisabeth; he had never been absent from her thought or her prayer, and his idea therefore naturally mixed itself with the designs that absorbed her mind; he had saved her father, and his fancied image therefore entered into the noble visions framed by her filial piety. But how was an interview with him to be procured?

Springer one day did not return to his cottage at the hour promised. His wife and child anxiously awaited, and at length sallied out in quest of him. Elisabeth was better able to support fatigue than her mother, and therefore proceeded farther. Night was already approaching, when the report of a gun, and soon after the figure of a man behind a mass of rocks, caught her attention. 'Is it my father?' she exclaimed. A young and handsome man appeared, and seemed as much overwhelmed with surprise at the meeting, as Elisabeth was lost in disappointment.

It is easy to guess that this youth was Smoloff, and that Smoloff is to be the lover of the tale. Madame Cottin, however, has not by any means overcharged her narrative with the details of the tender passion. The celebration of filial piety was her object, and she never loses sight of it. She has contrived to make this noble species of passion so engaging in her pages, that the garnish of a more romantic feeling is hardly required. She has the art of making her heroine attractive rather by making her lovely, than loved. In truth, the reader himself is enamoured of Elisabeth, and needs not the history of any other attachment, to render her interesting in his eyes;

'Tout Paris pour Chimène à les yeux de Rodrigue.'

From Smoloff, Elisabeth learns that her father has returned to his cottage, and rushes thither into the arms of her parents. Smoloff too, is there, for he had followed her unperceived. We cannot detail the particulars of the interesting interview that ensued; the arguments by which Springer was prevailed upon to grant his youthful guest an asylum for the night; and the respective feelings of all the parties. Elisabeth found no opportunity of disclosing to Smoloff her project and of demanding his assistance; but she



she did not despair. In the morning, Smoloff took his departure, with a declared resolution of repeating his visit. He wished to return, because he loved Elisabeth. Elisabeth wished him to return, because she loved her parents.

Few more interesting scenes can be found, than that which followed; the scene, in which Elisabeth first intimates to her father her great project, and shows him the extent of the treasure which he possessed even in a desert. But we will leave untouched what, to be justly estimated, ought to be fully displayed, and hasten onwards to the second visit of Smoloff.

One of those terrible hurricanes, which are the scourges of a Siberian winter, overtook Elisabeth in one of her walks. The author, who excels in the painting of natural scenery, gives a particularly animated description of this fine subject; but we are constrained to shorten our extract, and will begin at once with our heroine.

• Dans une matinée du mois de Janvier, Elisabeth fut surpris par une de ces horribles tempêtes; elle étoit alors dans la grande plaine des Tombeaux, près de la petite chapelle de bois. A peine vit-elle le ciel s'obscurcir, qu'elle se réfugia dans cet asile sacré; bientôt les vents déchaînés vinrent heurter contre ce frêle édifice, et l'ébranlant jusqu'en ses fondemens, menaçoient à toute heure de le renverser. Cependant Elisabeth, courbée devant l'autel, n'éprouvoit aucun effroi, et l'orage qu'elle entendoit gronder au tour d'elle atteignoit tout, hors son cœur. Sa vie pouvoit être utile à ses parents, elle étoit fière qu'à cause d'eux, Dieu veilleroit sur sa vie et qu'il ne la laisseroit pas mourir avant qu'elle les eût délivrés. Ce sentiment qu'on nommera superstitieux peut-être, mais qui n'étoit autre chose que cette voix du ciel que la piété seule fait entendre, ce sentiment, dis-je, inspiroit à Elisabeth un courage si tranquille, qu'au milieu du bouleversement des éléments et sous l'attente même de la foudre, elle ne put s'empêcher de céder à la fatigue qui l'accabloit, et se couchant au pied de l'autel où elle venoit de prier, elle s'endormit paisiblement comme l'innocence dans les bras d'un père, comme la vertu sur la foi d'un Dieu.' p. 49. 50.

During her absence from the cottage, Smoloff arrived there. It was to be his last visit, for he had sworn this to his father, and Elisabeth was absent! While in anxious expectation he prolonged his stay, the storm arose, and excited in the bosoms of both of the exiles, and of Smoloff, the most disquieting apprehensions respecting her fate.

« Elisabeth, que va devenir mon Elisabeth! » s'écrioit la mère défolée. Springer prit son bâton en silence, et ouvrit la porte pour aller chercher sa fille; Smoloff se précipita sur ses pas; le vent souffloit avec violence, les arbres se rompoient de tous côtés, il y alloit de la vie à traverser la forêt; Springer voulut le représenter à Smoloff et l'empêcher de le suivre; il ne put y réussir: le jeune homme voyoit bien le péril,

mais il le voyoit avec joie, il étoit heureux de le braver pour Elifabeth, car c'est une si grande fortune que de trouver une occasion de montrer sa tendresse et de prouver combien on aime quand n'a pas encore osé le dire. Les voilà tous deux dans la forêt : " De quel côté irons-nous ? " demande Smoloff. " Vers la grande lande, " reprend Springer ; " c'est là où elle va tous les jours, j'espère qu'elle se fera réfugiée dans la chapelle. " Ils n'en disent pas davantage, ils ne se parlent point, leur inquiétude est pareille, ils n'ont rien à s'apprendre ; ils marchent avec la même intrépidité, s'inclinant, se baissant pour se garantir du choc des branches fracassées, de la neige que le vent chassoit dans leurs yeux, et des éclats de rochers que la tempête faisoit tourbillonner sur leurs têtes.

En atteignant la lande, ils cessèrent d'être menacés par le déchiement des arbres de la forêt, mais sur cette plaine rase, ils étoient poussés, renversés par les raffales de vent qui souffloient avec furie ; enfin après bien des efforts, ils gagnèrent la petite chapelle de bois où ils espéroient qu'Elifabeth se seroit réfugiée, mais en apercevant de loin ce pauvre et foible abri dont les planches disjointes craquoient horriblement et sembloient prêtes à s'enfoncer, ils commencèrent à frémir de l'idée qu'elle étoit là : animé d'une ardeur extraordinaire, Smoloff devance le père de quelques pas, il entre le premier, il voit... est-ce un songe ? il voit Elifabeth, non pas effrayée, pâle et tremblante, mais doucement endormie au pied de l'autel ; frappée d'une inexprimable surprise, il s'arrête, la montre à Springer en silence, et tous deux, par un même sentiment de respect, tombent à genoux auprès de l'ange qui dort sous la protection du ciel. Le père se penche sur le visage de son enfant, le jeune homme baisse les yeux avec modestie et se recule, comme n'osant regarder de trop près une si divine innocence. Elifabeth s'éveille, reconnoît son père, se jette dans ses bras et s'écrie : " Ah ! je le savois bien que tu veillois sur moi. " Springer la serre dans ses bras avec une forte d'étreinte convulsive. " Malheureuse enfant, " lui dit-il, " dans quelles angoisses tu nous a jetés, ta pauvre mère et moi ! " " Mon père, pardonne-moi ces larmes, " répond Elifabeth, " et allons les essuyer. " Elle se lève et voit Smoloff. " Ah ! " dit-elle avec une douce surprise, " tous mes protecteurs veilloient donc sur moi : Dieu, mon père et vous. " Le jeune homme ému, retient son cœur prêt à s'échapper. " Imprudente ! " reprend Springer, " tu parles d'aller retrouver ta mère, fais-tu seulement si le retour est possible, et si ta foiblesse résistera à la violence de la tempête, quand M. de Smoloff et moi n'y avons échappé que par miracle. " " Essayons, " répond-elle, " j'ai plus de forces que tu ne crois, je suis bien aise que tu t'en assures et que tu voies toi-même ce que je puis faire pour consoler ma mère. " En parlant ainsi, ses yeux brillent d'un si grand courage, que Springer voit bien qu'elle n'a point abandonné son projet ; elle s'appuie sur le bras de son père, elle s'appuie aussi sur celui de Smoloff ; tous deux la soutiennent, tous deux garantissent sa tête en la couvrant de leurs vastes manteaux. Ah ! c'est bien alors que Smoloff ne peut s'empêcher d'aimer ce tonnerre, ces vents épouvantables qui font chanceler Elifabeth

et l'obligeant à se presser contre lui. Il ne craint point pour sa propre vie qu'il exposeroit mille fois pour prolonger de pareils moments ; il ne craint point pour celle d'Elisabeth, il est sûr de la sauver ; dans l'exaltation qui le possède, il défieroit toutes les tempêtes de pouvoir l'en empêcher.' p. 53—57.

During this visit, Smoloff, in the name of his father, accorded to Phedora and her daughter, what their piety accounted a high privilege, the liberty of attending the service in the church of the neighbouring village of Saïmka. It was to Smoloff, too, a privilege, for he hoped on these occasions to meet Elisabeth. The surprise of Elisabeth at the novelties which her first attendance at this church brought before her eyes, is very well described ; and the piety both of the mother and the daughter is placed in a very pleasing view. But Elisabeth had not yet revealed her project to Smoloff, and a tête-à-tête with him was absolutely necessary for the purpose. She contrived therefore, unobserved by her mother, to appoint a meeting with him for the next day at the little chapel which had already been the witness of so sweet a scene. Smoloff, more enamoured than ever, now securely indulged the belief that Elisabeth returned his attachment. How was it possible to interpret this appointment otherwise ? Could imagination have conceived a design so heroic as that which really prompted it ? It was common for a youthful mind to be susceptible ; but was the filial virtue of Elisabeth a common quality ? One thing only perplexed him, that the open heart of Elisabeth should consent to an interview which was to be concealed from her parents ; but he forgave all to what he imagined her passion. ' Ah ! (exclaims the author), il ne se trompoit pas, et depuis bien des années Elisabeth en portoit une en effet dans son cœur.'

On the appointed morning, love was alert,—but filial piety was still more alert than love. Elisabeth arrived first at the rendezvous ;—but we purposely tantalize the reader by here bringing our account to a period ;—if he has found it interesting, let him peruse that of Madame Cottin. The work retains its excellence to the end. The plot is extremely simple, as, in so short a composition, it ought to be ; no strong stimulatives, no diableries ; no miraculous encounters and escapes. The back ground, too, is very judiciously managed ; an inferior writer might have been seduced to render too prominent the effects produced on the mind of Elisabeth by the new scenes of the south ; we are inclined to think that our author has made enough of them.

The only extract we shall add, is one that can hardly suffer by being detached from the narrative. It is a passage of pure description, and affords a good specimen of the descriptive

powers frequently displayed in this work. We believe it also to have the merit of accuracy ; but we have nothing with which we can compare it, excepting very general recollections.

‘ Pendant deux mois, Elisabeth alla chaque dimanche à Saïmka, s’attendant toujours à y trouver Smoloff. Ce fut en vain, il ne parut plus, et même elle apprit qu’il avoit quitté Tobolsk. Alors toutes ses espérances l’abandonnèrent, elle ne douta plus que Smoloff ne l’eût entièrement oubliée, et plus d’une fois elle versa sur cette pensée des larmes amères, dont la plus pure innocence n’auroit pu lui faire un reproche, car ce n’étoit pas l’amour qui les lui arrachoit. Vers la fin d’Avril, un soleil plus doux venoit de fondre les dernières neiges, les îles sablonneuses des lacs commençoient à se couvrir d’un peu de verdure, l’aubépine épanouissoit ses grosses houpes blanches, semblables à des flocons d’une neige nouvelle, et la campanule avec ses boutons d’un bleu pâle, le velar qui élève ses feuilles en forme de lance, et l’armoïse cotonneuse, tapissoient le pied des buissons ; des nuées de merles noirs s’abattoient par troupes sur les arbres depouillés, et interrompoient les premiers le morne silence de l’hiver ; déjà sur les bords du fleuve voltigeoit ça et là le beau canard de Perse couleur de rose, avec son bec noir et sa huppe sur la tête, qui, toutes les fois qu’on le tire, jette des cris perçants, même lorsqu’on l’a manqué, et dans les roseaux des marais accouroient des bécasses de toute espèce, les unes noires avec des becs jaunes, les autres hautes en jambes, avec un collier de plume. Enfin, un printemps prématuré sembloit s’annoncer à la Sibérie, et Elisabeth présentant toute ce qu’elle alloit perdre si elle manquoit une année si favorable pour son voyage, prenoit la résolution hardie de poursuivre son projet, et de ne compter, pour en assurer le succès, que sur elle et sur Dieu.’ p. 78—80.

*Mais qui en est le but ?* This is the cold question with which criticism usually brings up the rear of its array. To require a *moral* in an epic poem, seems now considered as high critical immorality ; and the same doctrine should, in fairness, be extended to all fictitious narrative. Not that the morality of a publication is of trifling moment, but it is too much to confine a long one to the illustration of some single ethical position, reducible into a terse and emphatic sentence. The innocent objects of written composition are various, and a work of fancy is entitled to the same latitude of choice as the rest. Its author may have conceived some great and heroic character, and may be fired with the wish to personify his conception ; he may have been interested by the recorded state of manners in some distant age or country, and may embody his impressions in writing ; he may wish merely to spend on something tangible the redundancy of his genius or his feelings, to reduce to consistence a thousand volant images

‘ Of love and beauty, and poetic joy  
And inspiration—’

which

which have hovered around him at favoured moments; to fix the fleeting colours of imagination and prolong the life of transient emotions; perhaps he may be content with the soberer purpose of diffusing useful information through an agreeable channel. The action, indeed, of his piece must be one; and it is possible that the whole of this one action may terminate in the exclusive illustration of one moral sentiment; but it is equally possible, and more likely, that it will illustrate two or twenty. These two or twenty we may indeed generalize into one; for there are no two propositions on earth, which this same art of generalisation cannot in some way compound; but where is the advantage of a compound, which must be *repulverized* before it can be turned to any account?

The *moral effect* of a work ought perhaps to be the same with its *moral*; but it is not always so; and, under correction, it forms a far more important object of inquiry. The professed moral of Pamela is 'Virtue rewarded.' Every reader, however, must admit, that the intended effect of the novel is not so much to make women virtuous for the sake of reward (though this may be one object), as to make them in love with the virtue of the heroine, and to excite in them that desire of imitating it, which would live and act, not only in the prospect of reward, but in the very face of punishment. So distinguishable is the tendency of a work from the pithy little adage which may conclude it, that nothing is more conceivable than a most immoral work with a most excellent moral. Novels of this description we have all heard of; and too many of us have read.

This sentiment, that virtue must and will be rewarded, is frequently repeated in Elisabeth; and occasionally, though in enthusiastic moments, in language unwarrantably bold. Now, we are fond of poetical justice; among other reasons, because, like every thing else in poetry, it is an improved resemblance of nature. But indeed, though this may be the moral of Madame Cottin's story, it forms a very slight addition to its moral effect. Such excellence as that of our heroine, must equally touch and affect every impressible mind, whether it is prosperous or unfortunate, whether it illuminates a sphere of rank and fortune, or withers and dies on the banks of the Irtysh. We may add, that the finely pensive remarks in the last page of the book are not exactly in unison with the sentiment before noticed. Here the author professes to speak from painful experience. The moral merit of Elisabeth consists in its general tendency; and this is, to excite the fair reader to imitate the example set forth before her, of piety, resignation, filial duty, and virtuous resolution. These excellences are surely not so common, but that they may admit of a some-

what further diffusion. Neither is it necessary that, to improve by the model of a particular character, we should be placed in circumstances exactly or nearly the same, or that we should have the opportunity of exerting exactly the same qualities. There is a near alliance between goodness and goodnes; and it is much to have our minds intent on the general idea of what is elevated. While multitudes around us live for little else but themselves, it is much to be told of those who can live for others. It is much that those immersed in dissipation and folly, should be made to hear of characters supposed to be formed on a higher standard; and not only to hear, but to love them; to think of them, to dream of them. Example itself is contagious, and

‘ A good man seen, though silent, counsel gives.’

In these views, the merits of such a novel as this are considerable. Happy, if a tenth part of the lumber which is honoured with the name, could be honoured with a tenth part of the encomium.

ART. XIII. *The Carnatic Question considered. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.* 8vo. pp. 104. Evans. London, 1807.

THE late assumption of the sovereignty of the Carnatic by the general government of the East India Company, though one only of the many questionable acts by which our Asiatic empire has of late years been systematically extended, still appears to have been attended with circumstances so extraordinary, as to excite some degree of curiosity in a public at no time very careful of its Indian affairs, and now sufficiently occupied with its domestic concerns. As we highly approve of a curiosity capable of producing effects so beneficial, we take the opportunity of the little work before us to call the attention of our reader to this singular transaction. For the benefit of those who may come new to the subject, we shall premise a very short account of the country and its sovereigns.

The country which is known to Europeans by the general name of the Carnatic, extends from lat. 8' " , to 16' north,

along the sea coast, and embraces a depth of from one, to two hundred miles inland. It contains in all, about forty-six thousand square miles. The great body of the people are Hindoos; although they have long been subjected to the dominion of the Mahometans, in the person of their chief ruler, who is styled Nabob; and, from the chief town in the province, Nabob of Arcat.

cot. There are few countries to which nature has been more favourable in point of climate; and none, certainly, in Asia, can boast of a more civilized, or ingenious race of inhabitants.

The general government of Indostan may be said to consist of an emperor, in the person of the Great Mogul, who resides at Delhi; his lieutenant-governors, or subahdars, who reign over several provinces; and the immediate governors of provinces, or nabobs. The term Nabob (or more properly Naieb), signifies a deputy. A nabob ought properly to hold his commission from Delhi; and if, at his death, a successor has not been previously appointed by the Great Mogul, the soubah has the right of naming a person to administer the nabobship, until the will of the sovereign is known; but a nabob thus appointed by a soubah, is not considered as finally established, until he is confirmed from Delhi. The soubah receives from the several nabobs, the annual revenues of the crown, and remits them to the treasury of the empire. The nabobs are obliged to accompany him in all military expeditions within the extent of his viceroyalty, but not in any without that extent. These regulations were intended to place them in such a state of dependence on the soubahs, as should render them subservient to the interest of the empire, and at the same time leave them in a state of independence, which would make it difficult for the soubah to make use of their assistance to brave the throne.

The constitution of the Mogul empire began to lose its vigour after the death of Aurungzebe, the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan; but since the incursion of the Persians under Thamas Kouli Khan, it has declined more and more; so that, during the last fifty years, soubahs have been seen to maintain themselves in their governments against the will of the throne, and have consequently appointed nabobs under them, with as little regard to its authority. Nabobs, likewise, have kept possession of their governments, in opposition both to the soubah and the throne; and what is more extraordinary in the offices of a despotic state, both soubahs and nabobs have named their successors, who have often succeeded with as little opposition as if they had been heirs apparent of an hereditary dominion. 'The Carnatic is one of the most considerable nabobships dependent on the soubah of the Decan.' (Orme's History, Vol. I. p. 36.)

Such was the constitution of Indostan at the period when Mr Orme wrote his excellent history; and although the lapse of nearly sixty years has rendered the sketch every day less like the original, the principle itself is still recognized. The nabobship of the Carnatic has been vested in the present family for more than half a century. Aneiar ul Deen, the great-grandfather of the present

sent nabob, having been appointed to that dignity by Nizam ul Mulck, in the year 1744, he was succeeded by his son Mahomed Ally, whose attachment to our interests in the various vicissitudes of our fortune, during our long and hazardous wars with the French, laid the first foundations of our empire in the East. After a regular appointment from the Mogul, he was ultimately acknowledged as nabob of the Carnatic by the French, in the treaty of Paris. Since that period, our after-wars with the French, and our long contests with Hyder, and his son Tippoo, gave him fresh occasions of showing such an adherence and fidelity to our cause, as is but rarely witnessed in the history of nations.

The Nabob of the Carnatic, at the period of our early connexion with his family, maintained such an establishment of troops, and a general arrangement of state and dignity, as forms a striking contrast with his present fallen condition. He had at one time in his service an army of twenty regiments of infantry, seven of cavalry, with a due proportion of artillery, all commanded and disciplined by European officers. To possess a place in the Nabob's favour, or in that of his sons, was, in those days, one of the fairest roads to fortune; and his countenance was accordingly courted by the ambitious and aspiring, who had either the talents to be useful, or the address to insinuate themselves into his favour. Nor was his influence confined to the seat of his own government; it extended to Europe; and, if report may be credited, he could at one time have reckoned on the votes of several members in a certain eminent assembly, who, if not his legal representatives, owed their seats to his patronage. Men of the first abilities and connexion, were retained in London, at no mean expense, to forward his interests and defend his cause; nor was there wanting to his dignity as ally of the British nation, any circumstance of ceremony and court etiquette, which might raise that relation in his own eyes, or in that of the neighbouring states. His rights were guaranteed in our alliances with European nations; men of high rank claimed the title of the King's representative at his *Durbar*; and his independency as a sovereign prince, was recognized by a solemn decree of the Court of Chancery.\*

These

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\* In a bill which was brought by the agents of the old Nabob of Arcot, Wallajah, in Chancery, against the English East India Company, in 1791, he was declared by the latter, and recognized by the Court, to be a sovereign prince; and the case was accordingly rejected by the Lord Chancellor, as being the subject of a public treaty betwixt the parties, and, as such, not a matter of municipal jurisdiction. See Vesey junior's Reports, Vol. I. p. 371. and Vol. II. p. 56, 60.



These great and eminent advantages of fortune, carried too commanding an influence not to make his situation an object of jealousy to other powers, who saw, or thought they saw, in his advancement, the foundation of their own downfall. To what extent these suppositions were well founded, is no object of the present inquiry. Nations, like individuals, may pursue the dictates of their own interest to any extent short of actual injury to others. The public law, like the municipal, has its fixed boundaries of right and wrong, up to which, it is wisdom for the party to forward his advancement, and beyond which it is criminal to trespass on the claims of others.

The military establishment of the Nabob was always too great for his revenue, and by various treaties or agreements with our government, his forces were gradually discharged or taken into our service:—an arrangement, it was supposed, beneficial for both parties, as the discipline and attachment of the troops was better maintained from their being in our regular army; and the Nabob, being secure of our constant protection, had nothing to apprehend from any foreign enemy;—least of all, no doubt, from his friends the English, whose interests were now so interwoven with his as to be considered as inseparable. The Nabob gave up his army to us, with the greater portion of his revenues to pay them, and we had only to secure him in the enjoyment of what was left. The general outlines of our relation were as follows. All the large forts in the Carnatic were to be garrisoned by our troops,—the revenues were to be collected, and the general civil government administered by the Nabob's officers. To add, however, to the promptitude of our resources, in time of war the civil government was, in all its branches, revenue as well as others, to be assumed by the Company, and administered by their civil servants. The general amount of the gross revenue of the Carnatic, may be estimated at about twenty-six lacs of pagodas; † the expenses of the collection may be eight lacs. The Nabob paid to us the sum of nine lacs, as his share of the expense of the military force, and also the further sum of six lacs in liquidation of certain debts. When these deductions are made, there will be found to have been no great surplus left for the maintenance of eastern state and dignity.

On the capture of Seringapatam, certain letters were said to have been found amongst the archives of the late Tippoo Sultan, expressive

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† Lord Macartney, in a letter to the Court of Directors, written in the year 1781, speculating on what might be the result of a wise management of the Nabob's countries, rates the revenues, as in times of peace, at twelve hundred thousand pounds a year.

expressive of treasonable sentiments on the part of the Nabob against our government. The circumstances under which these letters were found—how far they were connected with other correspondence betwixt the same parties—or by whom discovered and selected, are points which have never yet been explained to the public. They form in all twenty-one numbers. Of these, however, entire translations have not been given,—extracts only have been translated of some of them; though no reason has been assigned (and it would be difficult perhaps to assign a good one), why particular parts have been thus selected. The fort of Seringapatam was captured on the 4th of May 1799; and an eager examination of papers of the Sultan, is said to have been amongst the first acts of the general's staff after the fall of the place. No indication of any discovery of this sort, however, was made, until the month of April 1800.

One would naturally suppose, that some imperious necessity must have impelled the Governor General to a measure of such severity, as the assumption of the country of one of our most ancient allies; nothing less, it may be supposed, than the very existence of our empire in India being at stake, from the conduct of the Nabob, could have led to the act. What then must our surprise be, when we come to know, that the assumption of the Carnatic had been *previously* resolved upon by his Lordship, on other and distinct grounds of policy, and that the charge of a treasonable correspondence was a new thought, which appears to have suggested itself to his mind, only ten days after he had given orders to Lord Clive, in the event of the death of the Nabob, to deprive his son of the civil and military administration of his principality? (See *Letter from Governor General to Lord Clive*, 26. *March* 1800, Vol. I. 59.)

On this supposed discovery being first made public, the greatest surprise is said to have been indicated by every one in India. The long and rooted aversion which was known to subsist betwixt Tippoo Sultan and the family of the Nabob, as well as the interests of the latter, all militated against the supposition of his ever meditating any such alliance, or connexion. It appeared to every one very unlikely, that the Nabob should ever place any reliance on his ancient and hereditary foe. Mussulmans, it was observed, are no strangers to the political character of their sect, and are therefore backward in placing any reliance on one another; nor do men commit treason, more than any other crime, without reasonable prospects of gain. If ever there was a cruel and perfidious Mussulman, it was the late Tippoo Sultan; and no gain could possibly accrue to the Nabob by expelling the English, whilst the Sultan

was alive, as he must have been certain of ultimately falling a victim to his ambition.

Under these impressions, the truth of the charge is said to have been much questioned by all intelligent persons; it may be proper therefore to examine the evidence with some minuteness. We may premise one or two general remarks. The Governor General makes his accusation against the Nabob under two heads of charge. He maintains, *First*, that it was a breach of his treaty to correspond at all with any foreign power, otherwise than through the medium of the Company: And, *Secondly*, that the correspondence itself was of a treasonable nature.

In reply to the first, it is only necessary to refer to the article in the treaty, which is as follows—'And the said Nabob agrees that he will not enter into any *negociation or political correspondence* with any European or Native power, without the consent of the said Company.' (10th Art. Lord Cornwallis's Treaty, 12. July 1792.) If the correspondence, therefore, turn out to be purely private and complimentary, it is evident that there is no ground for the first accusation, and the whole case will depend on the justice of the second.

From the great consequence that has been attached to this supposed discovery, one would be led to believe that some intended massacre, or some overt act of violence or treachery had been discovered, which it was necessary to ward off by prompt and vigorous measures of retaliation. What then will the surprize of the public be, when they are told, that there is not an expression capable of bearing such an interpretation in any part of the correspondence; nay, that there is not even a single letter from the Nabob or his son to Tippoo Sultan in the whole collection, and but two from the Sultan, one to the old Nabob, and the other to Omdut ul Omrah, his son, written at the time his children were hostages at Madras; a circumstance which naturally led the Sultan to thank the Nabob for his attention to them? In all probability, too, these two letters were, agreeably to the Nabob's custom, reported to Government, though it does not appear that any search has been made at the India House to ascertain this: it is an undoubted fact, that different letters were afterwards, (November 1792), sent by the Sultan to the Nabob, containing much stronger expressions of friendship, than any contained in the two now alluded to, all of which were reported regularly, and laid before Government. This important circumstance, however, does not appear in any of the proceedings of the Commissioners; who, on the contrary, allude to an after correspondence of a hidden and secret nature; and thereby create a most unwarrantable suspicion

sion against the whole transaction. Now, if letters of a stronger tendency were communicated to Government, there could be no reason, surely, for concealing these, if they really were concealed. One part of a man's conduct is to be judged of by another; and we presume upon what we do not know distinctly, from that which is clearly seen.

The old Nabob was at this time a man of nearly eighty years of age; of a temper singularly prudent and cautious: was it likely then that he should enter into plans of hazard and ambition?

‘No! timid counsels wait on hoary hairs,

‘And the last dregs of life are fordid cares.’

The Sultan and the Nabob were indeed followers of the same religion; but whatever the former might have been, the latter was certainly no bigot in that way. But this point we shall have occasion to touch upon in another part of the discussion.

The government in India first assume, as a leading point, that the Nabob intended to connect himself with Tippoo; and they then find the proof of all his acts in that intention. But they assume that as granted, which ought to have been proved.—Where are the letters, or messages, or witnesses, or evidence of any kind?

The case is introduced to the notice of the Governor of Madras in a letter from the Governor General, accompanied by a very long report from the Persian translator, in which he is at great pains to prove the Nabob guilty. Every thing that can make against him is aggravated in the extreme;—every thing that can make for him is reduced and explained away;—and constructions so extravagant and distorted are resorted to, that the gentlemen, in an after report, are obliged to acknowledge their error. No counsel, pleading in the most desperate case, ever tortured his ingenuity so obstinately;—no counsel, who knew the limits of his duty, would ever have tortured it in such a cause. But why was so much labour bestowed to prove the guilt of the Nabob, if it was clearly established by the evidence? If the crime was so apparent as to exclude all exculpatory proof on the part of the Nabob, why were so many words wasted in exposing it? Was the Governor General so slow, as not to comprehend all this, without the arguments of his Persian translator? Was the text so obscure, that so ample a commentary was necessary? There cannot, perhaps, be a clearer proof of the insufficiency of the evidence, than the extreme anxiety which is manifested to make it appear conclusive. Had the letters obviously or naturally borne a reasonable sense, the simple recital of them would have been sufficient. Agreeably to our own law, and to the law of natural justice,

justice, some overt act of treason must be proved by clear and competent evidence, before the meanest subject can suffer from it. 'No man is to be reasoned out of his life and fortune by subtle analogy, and rhetorical aggravations, enhancing misdemeanours into treason. If one might suppose state treasons revived, and founded, as they were anciently, on intemperate words, misdemeanours and dubious offences, who would engage in public business, that values repose, had wealth to forfeit, and dignities to aggravate his fall?' (*Law of Forfeiture.*)

As the report of the Persian translator appears to have made a strong impression upon the mind of the Governor General, it may be proper to examine it with some attention. It begins by stating, that

'Among the records of the late Tippoo Sultan's government, discovered in the palace at Seringapatam, has been found a very voluminous correspondence between the Sultan and his Vakeels Goolam Ally Khan and Ally Reza Khan, who accompanied the hostages delivered by Tippoo Sultan, at the termination of the war 1792, to Madras: from this correspondence, a number of papers have been selected, of which the tendency to fix a charge upon his late highness the Nabob Wallajah, of a breach of the alliance subsisting between his Highness and the Honourable Company, implicate the present Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, as a party therein, and to establish a similar charge against the latter, after his accession to the Musnud. From the contents of these papers, the following facts may be collected.

'1st, That the late Nabob Wallajah maintained a secret intercourse and correspondence with Tippoo Sultan, through the medium of the deputies Goolam Ally Khan, and Ally Reza Khan, above mentioned, for the purpose of forming a connexion with Tippoo Sultan, subversive of the alliance subsisting between his Highness and the Honourable Company, and directly adverse to the British interest in India.

'2dly, That the Nabob established such connexion, and proceeded to act under it, by communicating certain articles of intelligence, of a nature calculated to betray the interests of the Honourable Company, and to favour the sinister designs of Tippoo Sultan against them.

'3dly, That the present Nabob of the Carnatic, Omdut ul Omrah, was a principal channel of communication between his father and the Vakeels, for maintaining the secret intercourse before mentioned; that he cordially united, both on his father's account and on his own, in promoting the objects of it. And,

'4thly, That the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, after his accession to the Musnud, continued to maintain a secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultan, in the same spirit which he manifested in his intercourse with the Vakeels of the Prince, during the lifetime of his father.'

These are the charges: let us see how the proof is made out. The report goes on to say—

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‘ The first indication of the Nabob Wallajah’s disposition to connect himself with Tippoo Sultan, by the ties of political interest, appears in a letter, dated in June 1792, from the Vakeels Goolam Ally Khan, and Ally Reza Khan, to Tippoo Sultan ; in which they give an account of what passed between the Nabob, the Princes and themselves, at an interview which took place soon after their arrival at Madras. After the warmest expressions of attachment to Tippoo Sultan, the Nabob is represented to have reprobated the preceding war, as having been undertaken, by the allied powers, for the subversion of the Mahometan religion. He is represented to have stated, that “ he used,” (pending the war) “ night and day to pray for the Sultan’s prosperity, because the confederacy of the three allies was sent for the subversion of the Mahometan religion. It is obvious,” continues the report, “ from these expressions, that, from the very commencement of the war between the allies and Tippoo Sultan, the Nabob Wallajah wished success to the arms of Tippoo Sultan against the powers with which he was connected by the most solemn obligations of unity and alliance ; and that, by entertaining sentiments so inimical to its interest, he violated the fundamental principles of that alliance. This preestablished fact gives additional force to the open declaration which the Nabob subsequently made,” &c. &c.

This quotation from the report has been given at large, because it affords a curious specimen of the manner in which the inquiry has been conducted, and of the disposition which evidently existed to find the Nabob guilty. He who is hastily judged (says the ancient adage) seems to have been willingly condemned. It is to be observed, that the expressions here imputed to the Nabob, were used at *the first* meeting betwixt the hostages and the Nabob, and in the presence of Sir Charles Oakley, Lord Cornwallis, his interpreter, and perhaps fifty other persons, assembled in full Durbar, for the purpose of witnessing so interesting a spectacle. On such an occasion, what could be expected but the language of ceremony and compliment ? Men do not speak treason in public ; and, whoever is versant in the phraseology of Eastern compliment, will be at no loss to find parallels to the expressions which are said to have been employed. Any other supposition, indeed, seems to be excluded by every one circumstance of the situation. In the first place, the aversion of the Nabob to the family of Tippoo Sultan, was rooted and notorious ; and, in the second place, it was sufficiently known, that the subversion of the Mahometan religion formed no part of the confederacy ; nor was any Mahometan bigotted enough to suppose so. Yet upon this casual and complimentary phrase, which the Nabob may or may not have used, the Persian translator gravely builds a charge of **treason.**

treason. ‘ This preestablished fact, ’ he says, ‘ must give credence to subsequent declarations ! ’ After an assertion so perfectly extravagant, it is surely necessary to weigh, with peculiar caution, every subsequent deduction which proceeds from the same quarter. Without stopping, at present, to consider the competency of a charge of *treason* against a *sovereign prince*, we shall run shortly over the objections which we think may be stated to the decision which has been pronounced and carried into execution. They may be arranged under the following heads. 1st, The gross irregularity of the whole proceedings. 2d, The defects of the evidence, and the inaccuracy of the reports of it, on which judgment was ultimately given. And, 3dly, The palpable injustice and impolicy of the measures which were finally adopted.

I. With regard to the irregularity and vices of the proceedings, we may observe, in the *first* place, that the inquiry was instituted under authority of a letter from Lord Wellesley, addressed to Lord Clive *individually*, without the conjunction, or intended conjunction, of his council; from whom it appears it was resolved to keep the matter secret. And the further orders for the investigation are accordingly issued in the same manner by Lord Clive at Madras, without the apparent knowledge of any person besides that of the two individuals who were ordered to conduct the inquiry. The act of Parliament for the constitution of our Indian governments, has no doubt given large powers to the governors of each of the settlements; and authorized them, in cases of a political nature, to do certain acts on their own discretion, independently of their Council. But then, these acts are all directed to be done in the presence of the Council, regularly assembled, and under certain prescribed forms, none of which have been observed in the present instance. The apology for all this is the necessity of secrecy. This, no doubt, may be sometimes desirable; but there is such a thing as being too secret; and if the consequences of an unwarranted privacy are, as in this case, to destroy the whole evidence of the circumstances under which the most important measures were adopted, it is evidently altogether impossible to listen to such an apology. The Council of Madras were unfit for their stations, if they were supposed capable of divulging any part of the proceedings.

In the *second* place, we must observe, the Nabob was never heard in his defence, nor were any witnesses examined in his behalf. Where a person is charged with the commission of a crime, it is agreeable to every rule of natural justice, that he should be furnished with a copy of the charge against him; and be heard in

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his defence. But the Nabob died, it is said, before he could have been tried. In that case, his crimes should have died with him : and not been visited on the heads of his children and grandchildren to the third generation. But the fact is, the Nabob did not die until the government had been for *two years* in possession of the grounds of the accusations.

In the *third* place, the most important and indispensable of all the witnesses was not examined at all. Though the Nabob was dead, Khauder Newaz Khan was alive, and at Madras. Why was not this man examined? It was he who is said to have written the treasonable letters. If believed innocent, why was not he heard? If supposed guilty, why was not he condemned? He was certainly in one of these predicaments; and, in either case, his conduct should have been inquired into. The whole charge, indeed, rests ultimately on the evidence of this person, as he is said to have been the bearer of all the objectionable messages from the Nabob to the Vakeels. The other proofs go only to establish what it was that was so communicated; and, failing this, they all fall to the ground. If Khauder Newaz Khan denies that he was charged with such messages from the Nabob, there is an end of the question. A proof that wants the support of another, ought not to pass for one. It would be just as reasonable, and more expeditious, to suppose the proposition itself to be true which you wish to prove, as to suppose the existence of another, without which its truth can never be established.

The witness himself was of all others the most accessible. He was living within a few doors of Lord Clive's house at Madras; whilst the others were brought from an opposite and distant part of the country. There is no case that may not be made out this way, if only one half the proof is to be heard, and the other taken for granted. All the circumstances which are stated with regard to this man, seem to have made it more necessary to begin with his examination. 'He was not very opulent,' it seems, 'and desirous of rendering his instrumentality in establishing the friendship and cordiality (betwixt the Nabob and Tippoo) useful to himself, by obtaining a present from the Sultan.' This, at least, is Goolam Ally's account of him; and it evidently suggests a key to the whole of the other evidence, perfectly consistent with the innocence of the Nabob. The only apology we have met with for this extraordinary neglect is, that as Khauder Newaz Khan, and the other guardians of the young Nabob, uniformly declared their total ignorance of any treasonable correspondence between their master and the Sultan, so it would have been in vain to have examined them as to the particulars of it; and that  
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the Nabob, at all events, could derive no benefit from their testimony, as they must have professed mere ignorance of what the other witnesses had sworn to. A more extraordinary plea, we believe, was never set up at the Old-Bailey. If there was in reality no treasonable correspondence, it certainly follows, that the guardians of the Nabob could not explain the particulars; but if a *false* story had been told by the other witnesses, would not their testimony be invalidated by the opposite statement of those who must have been privy to it, if it had been true? *Nemo inveniet falsa*. No man can, by anticipation, contradict the particulars of a fabricated accusation; but when he is interrogated after the first witnesses, he may depose to facts utterly subversive of their testimony, and make the innocence of the accused indubitable. According to any other view of the matter, the guilty alone can bring witnesses to their defence, and the innocent must be convicted.

The same observation applies to a variety of other persons, who are evidently pointed out as necessary witnesses, from the very details of the accusation; and yet no one of them is brought forward or examined by the commissioners. This alone should set aside and discredit their report. Where an essential witness is withheld, the law will presume that he would have gone against the party who had it in his power to examine him, and will reject any inferior proof that is offered in such circumstances. These rules of evidence are the plain dictates of reason matured by experience, and have nothing arbitrary or technical in their conception. They are not just, because they are rules of law; but they are rules of law, because they are just. Their application, therefore, is universal; and their authority as indisputable at Madras, as at Westminster.\*

II. Such was the *exterior* of this proceeding, by which we confiscated the kingdom of the oldest and most faithful ally of our Eastern empire; and by which we deposed a Sovereign Prince on a charge of high treason, with infinitely less ceremony or regularity of proceeding, than would be requisite in sentencing a black drummer to receive fifty lashes by authority of a regimental court-martial. We shall now look a little into the substantial justice of the decision.

One of the principal grounds for suspecting the Nabob's guilt, was an alleged discovery of a secret and treasonable intercourse between him and the Sultan of the Mahrattas, so long ago as the year 1773; and which, it was said, there was reason to think he

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\* Et si quem nos interrogare nolumus, quæ causa nobis tacendi fuerit, existimare debetis. (Cic. pro Fontego.)

had maintained ever after. The documents on which this charge was made, were the following.

Amongst the records of Seringapatam, there was found a letter from one of Hyder Ally's servants, then at Madras, (Mahomed Osman), written to that Prince in the year 1773, giving an account of an interview which he had had with the Nabob, and setting forth the friendly sentiments which he had, on that occasion, professed for his master.

This letter having been sent to Calcutta, and put into the hands of the Persian translator, this ingenious person immediately finds in it a rich mine of treason.

It discovers ' a scene of political intrigue between him (Hyder) and the Nabob, particularly illustrative of the views of the latter, and furnishing a clue to his conduct in the transactions which took place between him and the British Government, not only at that period, but during the whole course of his connexion with the British power.'

After a few other remarks of the same kind, he goes on to say, ' The circumstances, however, the most important, which are disclosed by the documents adverted to, is the intimate connexion which he (the Nabob) appears to have formed with Hyder Ally, at a time when he was supposed, by the British Government, to entertain the most inveterate animosities against him.'—' It is remarkable (he continues) that the expressions alluded to (in this letter), are, in substance, almost the same that he the Nabob is stated to have made use of to Tippoo's Vakeels in 1792-3. And, finally, (he adds) may not this preestablished disposition of the Nabob, by a parity of argument, be supposed to have adhered to him to so late a period as the war which terminated in 1792; and to afford additional credit to the charges exhibited against him, consistently with every rule of reasoning upon the principles and passions of the human mind? These queries can only be answered in the affirmative.'

Thus far the Persian translator. The Governor General sends round the letter of Mahomed Osman to Madras, as a ' curious document, tending to illustrate the character and views of the Nabob.' In its after progress, it is forwarded to England, and laid before the authorities here, as one of the proofs of a treasonable conspiracy. No argument or explanation being opposed to it, the Nabob is naturally condemned, and his country forfeited. The reader will now attend to the sequel. Two years afterwards, the Carnatic question is brought before Parliament; and papers being moved for, it now comes out, from a search amongst the old records of the Madras government, that the correspondence in question was carried on in the year 1773, betwixt Hyder and the old Nabob, *with the full knowledge, and at the particular desire, of the Madras government, who considered it for the interest of the Carnatic that a good understanding should subsist betwixt these*

two powers. (*Vide* papers laid before Parliament by an order of the House of Commons, 16th December 1802, vol. viii: p. 256, &c.)

Such has been the result of the very limited and imperfect inquiry which has hitherto been made into the grounds of a sentence which was carried into effect against a sovereign and his country, before any opportunity of investigation had been afforded. The testimony of the most important witnesses appears to have been withheld altogether, and the import of part of the written evidence to have been totally misapprehended. Let us now see in how far these defects have been compensated by the accuracy of the statements furnished to the ultimate judges in this country, by those who directed and conducted the inquiry.

One of the very few direct charges against the Nabob, in the report of the commissioners, is, that a treasonable discourse of Ally Rezza had been reported to him, and that he made no communication on the subject to the government. An acknowledgment to this effect, they say, was made by Ally Rezza on his examination. Our readers will probably be surprised to learn, that nothing of the kind appears in any part of his deposition. The matter stands thus on the record. In the third paragraph of the report of the commissioners it is stated,

‘ That Ally Rezza acknowledges the intention of his exhortation at the Jummah mosque in Madras, was, to have detached the Mussulmans from their allegiance to the Company; but that the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah was not present at this ceremony. The younger sons of the Nabob Wallajah did, however, attend the mosque on that occasion; and Ally Rezza understood that the Cauzy had made a report on the subject to the Nabob Wallajah himself.’

Now this, our readers will observe, is a report upon evidence; and by referring to the evidence, it appears that it gives not the least authority for saying, that the Cauzy had made a report on the subject to the Nabob. Throughout the whole of Ally Rezza’s deposition, there is not one word that can bear such a meaning.

An error like this, we conceive, discredits and vitiates the whole proceedings. The commissioners were appointed to take the depositions of witnesses, and to transmit them, with an account of their import, to the governor. In the report which accompanies the evidence, and professes to be founded on it throughout, an assertion (in their minds) of the utmost importance, is imputed to one of the witnesses; but when his deposition is looked into, it is found to contain nothing in the least like that assertion. Here, therefore, in the first place, is a charge made without the least appearance of evidence; and, in the second place, a gross and

very suspicious contradiction on the face of the proceedings. The commissioners report, that a witness, whose deposition is engrossed, has said something, which the deposition itself proves he has not said. It is altogether impossible to justify or apologize for such shameful irregularity on an occasion of such importance;—nor will any one venture to contend, that the mere assertion of the commissioners, that such evidence was given, can ever be received, when the record of the whole evidence is produced, and demonstrates the contrary.

From the manner in which this most imperfect inquiry was conducted, we have no other information with regard to it than what is contained in the report of the two individuals selected for making the investigation. If they were guilty of any error or partiality, it can scarcely be expected that they should record it; and yet, from the tenor of their own report, it appears to us to be manifest, that they are chargeable with gross irregularities and omissions, by which the cause of the Nabob may have been incalculably injured. From that report it appears that several important witnesses were examined, whose depositions they have not recorded; that several were not put on oath; and that, throughout the examination, they asked leading questions, and did not scruple to threaten the witnesses with the displeasure of the government.

The Commissioners say, that they examined Goolam Ally Meer Suddoor, the Dewan Purneah, and the Moonshy Hubbeeb Olla; 'but, as their testimony did not establish any fact, they thought it unnecessary to record it.' It might have been unnecessary for the purpose of convicting the Nabob, and yet very essential for establishing his innocency. Their very ignorance of particular facts, might have been a strong proof that they did not exist.

They are ready, they next observe, to swear to the accuracy of the translation. But what does this import, when they neglect to administer an oath to the witnesses themselves? To swear that a witness deposed so and so, when the witness himself was not on oath, cannot supply that omission. Considering the importance of the inquiry, and the delicacy of the subject altogether, all the witnesses certainly ought to have been examined on oath. The difficulty of ascertaining the truth from Indian witnesses, under any circumstances, is known to every one; but without an appeal to their religion, it is never expected.

It would be endless to specify the leading questions which are asked throughout the whole inquiry. The menaces that are resorted to, are equally abundant. Goolam Ally, for instance, is told, that 'the inconsistencies and absurdities of his explanation

tion have established a belief that he is endeavouring to conceal the true meaning, which it remains for him either to remove, or to be answerable on his responsibility to the Company.' And, indeed, the threat of displeasure is repeatedly held out to both witnesses during the inquiry.

It might, no doubt, be proper to warn the witness, at the commencement of his general evidence, of the penalties to be incurred from perjury; but it certainly was highly improper to connect that warning with the answers he had given to any particular question; as the effect of it must naturally be, to give a bias to his further examination on that point.—*Quid est, quæso, says Cicero, judicium corrumpere si hoc non est? Testes, præsertim timidos homines et afflictos, non solum auctoritate deterrere, sed etiam consulari metu, et prætorum potestate?* (Cic. in Ver. Act. Prim. 10.)

These little specimens may suffice to show, with what degree of caution and accuracy the business was conducted by the Commissioners. We are concerned to say, that the proceedings of the Governor General appear to have been at least equally objectionable, and that there is evidence to establish that the ultimate decision of the Court of Directors, was influenced in a great degree by certain assertions made rashly, and, as it appears, without any evidence, by that illustrious person. The gross injustice of dethroning the grandson for the antiquated delinquencies of the grandfather, would probably have held the hands of our Indian avengers, if his immediate predecessor had not been himself involved in the same accusations, and charged in particular with having maintained a treasonable correspondence with Tippoo Sultan *after his father's decease*. Lord Wellesley, in his letter to the Secret Committee, of 9. June 1800, declares that he is satisfied of the truth of this charge; and the Committee, without seeing any evidence in support of it, approve of the assumption of his dominions, on the strength of this asseveration. We apprehend it to be quite clear, that the asseveration was made without any sort of evidence, and, we will be permitted to add, contrary to all probability.

The old Nabob died in 1795; and the Sultan, agreeable to the custom of the country, sent, by two Vakeels, a message of ceremony and condolence. These Vakeels were entrusted with no message beyond this; and were persons (as the Commissioners themselves say) of too mean a rank to have been so entrusted. Their arrival was regularly reported by the Nabob to the Governor, and copies of the correspondence even sent by the Nabob to the then Governor and Governor General. Such are the whole of the admitted facts, as to the *only* communication which is proved to have taken place between the Sultan and the young Nabob, after the death of his father. The

letter of the Governor General to the Secret Committee, is as follows.

‘ My despatch in Council to your Honourable Committee, dated the 23d of April last, will have brought under your view, various important documents relative to a perfidious and dangerous correspondence which subsisted betwixt Tippoo Sultan, and the Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah. The proposed examination announced in that despatch, has since taken place, but not to the extent, or exactly in the manner I desired. It was found that some persons proposed to be examined were dead, or placed beyond the immediate reach of the Commissioners. Notwithstanding the insufficiency of the examination, and the gross prevarication and manifest falsehoods of some of those examined, evidence has appeared to satisfy my judgement, that an intrigue, of a nature hostile to the British interests, had been carried on between Tippoo Sultan, Wallajah, and Omdut ul Omrah. It is also incontrovertibly established, that Omdut ul Omrah employed, or framed with a view to employ, in his correspondence with the late Tippoo Sultan, the cypher, a copy of which has been already transmitted to your Honourable Committee. *It appears that Omdut ul Omrah carried on such a correspondence with Tippoo Sultan, subsequently to the death of the Nabob Wallajah.*’

The Commissioners again in their report say, (p. 23.)

‘ The two vakeels, Goolam Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan appear to have fallen under the displeasure of Tippoo Sultan in a short time after their return from Madras, and never to have been readmitted to his confidence. We have therefore been unable to trace, through their means, the progress of the secret communications of Omdut ul Omrah; but *there is no reason to believe they were not revived* after the confinement of Goolam Ally Khan!’

This, it will be observed, is considerably weaker than the assertion in the close of Lord Wellesley’s letter. But, with submission to both these authorities, it appears to us to be quite manifest, that they proceed equally on a perversion of the rules of evidence; and that it is a little unjust, as well as absolutely illegal, to condemn a person *who is not allowed to prove his innocence*, merely because his accusers see ‘ no reason to believe that he was not guilty!’ This statement alone demonstrates, that there is no shadow of evidence to support this charge against the young Nabob: but we humbly conceive, that when the matter is fully considered, it will be found to have been made against evidence.

A letter (NO. 20.) appears to have been addressed by Omdut ul Omrah to Goolam Ally, subsequent to the death of the old Nabob. This letter is admitted to contain nothing material; and it is accounted for in this way. On the return of Ally Rezza and Goolam Ally to Seringapatam, they were forbid the presence by the Sultan, and confined to their own houses. The

reason

reason of this was (as report says), a suspicion on the part of the Sultan, that they were carrying on some intrigue at Madras prejudicial to his interests, with the Nabob; and in order to discover the extent of it, Tippoo addressed a letter to the Omdut, in the name of Goolam Ally, and signed with his seal. The letter in answer, is the one alluded to. But this, surely, cannot be said to have been carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the Omdut. On the contrary, it affords the strongest evidence that no such correspondence existed. It evinces that the Sultan placed no reliance on the dispositions of the Nabob towards him. And this observation is justified by the declarations of Purneah and another witness, who had the best opportunities of knowing, that 'no affair of moment had been agitated between Tippoo Sultan and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, since the release of the hostages; and they invariably concur in ascribing to Tippoo Sultan a rooted contempt and distrust of Omdut ul Omrah, and his whole family.' (Com. Rep. p. 30.) Nay, the commissioners themselves affirm, that they are satisfied, from the concurrent testimony of the witnesses last alluded to, that the embassy was merely a matter of form on the death of the Nabob Wallajah.

Thus, then, stands the fact as to a secret correspondence having taken place betwixt the Omdut and Tippoo, after the death of Wallajah. No letters can be traced; the only persons ever sent to Madras were not likely to have been entrusted with a secret negotiation. The principal servants of Tippoo agree that no negotiation took place; and they ascribe to their master sentiments inconsistent with any thing of the kind. How then can the Governor-General's assertion be supported, that such a correspondence was actually carried on? There is certainly no evidence for it whatever; and every presumption is against it.

The Governor-General's report, however, it may be easily supposed, was likely to make a very strong impression on the authorities at home. In the vast mass of papers sent from India, every article cannot be minutely examined. It would be endless to discuss over again every thing that had been investigated in India; and therefore, the authorities in Europe must suppose that their servants abroad will do that which it is their duty to do.

To what extent this principle was acted upon on the present momentous occasion, will appear from the letter of the Secret Committee of 4th December 1800, in answer to the despatch already recited from Lord Wellesley. After repeating, almost literally, the substance of that despatch, the Committee goes on—

'Of the degree of criminality on the part of Omdut ul Omrah, substantiated by the late examination, we are unable to judge; the examination not having been yet transmitted to us. But, as the Governor-

*General has declared himself satisfied by the oral evidence which has been collected respecting Omdut ul Omrah, that a due regard for the Company's safety renders it indispensably necessary, that some more certain pledges of his fidelity should be obtained than we now possess, we have no hesitation in expressing our entire approbation of his Lordship's intention to demand from the Nabob the additional security required; of the nature of which, and of the subsequent arrangements, we feel no small degree of solicitude to be advised. The proceedings which have hitherto been reported to us upon this important subject, we entirely approve.*

Here then, we find, that the Nabob was ultimately condemned by the government at home, upon a report of the Governor-General, in which report, one of the leading and main facts was without a shadow of evidence to support it, and in contradiction to every presumption, and every principle of probability.

III. We should now make a few remarks on the palpable injustice and impolicy of punishing the son for the alleged delinquencies of a father who died before being convicted of any offence. The right to punish a foreign sovereign for treasonable practices (if such they can be called), cannot certainly be quite so strong as our right to punish one of our own subjects for the same crime. But even by our own law, when the accused has paid the great debt of nature before conviction, his responsibility to the parent state is supposed to have terminated also; nor are the children required to pay the sufferance of forfeiture for their father's delinquency. 'Nor is it of small advantage to the heir, that the death of the ancestor, before conviction, discharges all proceedings and forfeitures. He can then be attainted only by act of Parliament.' (*Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture, p. 97.*)

Even by the law of England, therefore, such a forfeiture would have been unwarrantable; but no absurdity can possibly be greater than to judge of this case by such principles. Our law of forfeiture arose out of our domestic habits and manners. The attachment which parents feel for their family, was found to be the best tie for securing the duty of the former to the state, by hazarding the forfeiture of the latter whenever that duty was infringed. 'It was fitted of old to the genius of this brave people, who, despising their own lives, were only to be moved by a generous regard to their posterity.' But is it equally adapted to the manners of a Mahometan court, where (as one of their poets affirms) 'the father loves his grandchildren the best, because in them he sees the enemies of his enemy:—an idea which must shock every European mind, but which is nevertheless perfectly descriptive of their state of society.'

It seems also to have been forgotten, that the reason why the property



property of an individual is forfeited by the English law, is, because the lands are all supposed to be held mediately or immediately of the Crown; and the property having been acquired under the government, it is proper that it should revert to the source from whence it flowed. But these relations do not apply to the present case. The Company and the Nabob were joined only by a federal union, which equalized their claims, without conferring on either a paramount authority. Where the union was inconvenient, the federal tie might be dissolved; but neither could assume the property of the other. An urgent and imperious necessity, threatening the existence of a state, will often sink the considerations of equal justice. But was there any such necessity here? A greater security it is said was necessary. Security against what? Not against Tippoo, for he was gone; and as to security against the Nabob himself, what could he do? Had he troops? Had he arms, or money, or credit? No; he had not a single trooper, nor a firelock, nor a thousand pagodas in his chest,—nor credit to borrow half that sum without collateral security. He was poor and peaceable; and every way the most eligible ruler we could have appointed over a nation of Hindoos. But his family has riches and influence: The Booddy Begum, his sister, is rich. Nessum ul Mulk, his brother, is not less so. We have ensured the inveterate enmity of all these persons, and exchanged a secure and substantial power for a nominal dominion, which must be hated and opposed. From a dread of hostility, we have created enemies where we had none before.

A great deal is said, in the report, on the circumstance of a cypher having been used. But is a cypher, then, so uncommon a thing? Is it not used in every *durbār* in India? Do not our residents use it in every letter that is written at these *durbārs*? Or is there nothing besides treason that men may wish to conceal? There are two circumstances, however, which render all this discussion ludicrous. The first is, that in the letters which are most excepted against, the cypher is not used at all. The other is, that it appears to be composed only of eighteen characters, descriptive merely of personal qualities, and utterly incapable of being used for the purposes of political communication.

There is a great deal also, in the report and other papers, about the Nabob having allowed the language of rebellion to be preached in our capital. The foundation of which charge is, that, upon one occasion, some lessons were read, or discourses pronounced, in the mosque, recommending war against Christians. To those who know any thing of Mahometanism, it must be needless to say, that this is one of its leading and avowed principles, and that it would not be easy to read a lesson from the

the Koran, without being guilty of this sort of rebellion. The following texts are taken almost at random. 'War is enjoined you against infidels.' Koran, c. 2. p. 38. 'O true believers! take not the Jews or Christians for your friends.' c. 5. p. 141. 'They are infidels who say verily God is Christ the son of Mary.' c. 5. p. 133. 'Oh true believers! wage war against such of the infidels as are near you, and let them find severity in you, and know that God is with those who fear him.' c. 9. p. 265. 'When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads, until ye have made a great slaughter among them.' &c. &c.

Such passages are read daily in every mosque in Indostan; and they are read without danger, because every man of sense knew that the age of fanaticism, like that of chivalry, is over; and that Mussulman soldiers, now-a-days, fight for pay rather than for faith. A circumstance, pretty well proved indeed, from Mahometans being to be found alike in the service of every state, or prince, of whatever religion, throughout India or Asia. We doubt, indeed, very much, whether there is a single instance on record, of any one sepoy, officer, or other person, having deserted our service, because we were at war with a prince of the same religion which he himself professed. Thus, then, the whole story of preaching the language of rebellion, when examined into, turns out to be only preaching the Mahometan faith; which (like many other exhortations from the pulpit) had little effect on those who heard it.

We have now gone hastily over most of the considerations that bear upon the justice of this most extraordinary proceeding; and few, we believe, will be hardy enough to defend it on this ground; but we know that it has found advocates on the score of policy. For our own parts, we are very much disposed to doubt if there can ever be any sound policy in injustice; but, in the present case, there is no need to refer to such a general maxim. We hold India by the tenure of *opinion* only; our physical strength is as nothing to that of the natives; and our dominion over all these fair countries, is upheld solely by certain opinions and prejudices, which it is the obvious tendency of our present policy to destroy. The mass of the people is kept in order by their attachment to their religion, and to rank and caste, which makes it easy to manage them by the instrumentality of their rulers; and these rulers, again, we have hitherto preserved in alliance or subjection by the fidelity with which we have discharged to them the duties of protectors and allies. By our usurpation of the Carnatic, we have done our utmost to subvert both these principles. We have degraded rank, and violated sanctity; and have availed ourselves of our power to despoil our most ancient ally of his influence and honour.

honours. The dispossessed family, of course, will hate us with a deadly hatred; and the great body of Rajahs throughout the country, will be apt to join in a deadly feud against that power which has only been exerted of late for their destruction. Allowing, for a moment, that they will not carry along with them a great proportion of the people, and that the superior equity of our government should at first render us popular with the lower classes, it is evidently quite absurd to suppose, that we should ever succeed to that influence which was secured to their native rulers by ancient habits, and superstitions more strong than compulsion. A handful of strangers and infidels must speedily be annihilated among a vast nation of independent bigots; and our rule is absolutely at an end, the moment we cease to rule by the help of superstition and prejudice.

It is remarked by Thucydides, as a principle in human nature, that the existing government is seldom liked by the subjects. During the period of the Nabob's government, we were hardly known to the inhabitants of the country, otherwise than as gentlemen, living in the large towns, who spent their money freely; were regular in their payments, and behaved well to their domestics. We had no invidious duties to discharge; and the good we did, made us to be respected. The Nabob's government performed all the invidious duties.—They exacted the revenue, levied the customs, and inflicted the punishments. They were naturally regarded as the oppressors, whilst we were considered as the benefactors of the country.—But how is it now? We have changed places with the Nabob; and our relations of esteem are also changed in the eyes of the natives. A certain degree of severity will always attend the collection of the revenue in India; at least, many years must elapse before a system can be found sufficiently regular, to ensure at once a prompt and easy payment. Is it wise then, to take upon ourselves a task which must naturally render us disagreeable to the inhabitants, especially as it is at least very doubtful, whether we can collect more from the Carnatic than the Nabob did; and, considering the expenses of our judicial system, the balance will not, perhaps, be much in our favour.

Such is the situation into which we have brought ourselves by this rash act of cupidity or ambition. We have been guilty of a great wrong, in order to bring on ourselves a great calamity—and have committed injustice, without any prospect of advancing our worldly prosperity. Such is the aspect of the present and the past.—Before concluding, we may cast a hasty glance to the future. Is the evil which has been done remediable; and how are we to conduct ourselves in the circumstances which have actually occurred?—Very opposite notions are entertained upon this subject; and

and we shall state them very briefly, without presuming to offer any opinion of our own.

It is said, on the one hand, that the country should be retained, because our civil government and internal economy, though necessarily defective, contains within itself a principle of melioration, which no Mahometan government ever does; and because it is believed, that the native princes, if restored once more to their power, would gather wisdom from their misfortunes; and, whilst they appeared to forget the wrongs they had suffered, would only wait for an occasion of revolt. There are many things which ought not to be done,—but, being done, must be adhered to.

On the other hand, the advocates for the restitution of the country affirm, that the permanency and real stability of our empire depends entirely on the degradation of the natives; and that every thing that tends to ameliorate their condition, must sap the foundations of our power. Hence it is thought, that the vesting a proprietary right in the inhabitants, the introduction of equal laws, the overthrow of the ancient families, and every thing else which tends to create a revolution in the habits and manners of the people, will in the end prove fatal to our empire. They regard the security of our government, as a greater object than any little addition to our revenues; and this, they think, would be best produced by governing the natives through the medium of their ancient rulers, and removing ourselves from the invidious duties of being their immediate controulers. They affirm, that the seizure of the Carnatic has disgraced us, in the eyes of all the country powers; and that no confidence will be placed in our government, until it is restored to its rightful owners. *Spoliatus ante omnia restituenus.*

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ART. XIV. *Orders in Council; or, an Examination of the Justice, Legality, and Policy of the New System of Commercial Regulations. With an Appendix of State Papers, Statutes and Authorities.* pp. 114. Longman & Co. and J. Ridgway, London, 1808.

WE have received this interesting and very able little publication, just as we were preparing to close our labours for the present quarter; and have been so much struck with the importance and novelty of the disquisitions which it contains, that we cannot resist the temptation of laying a hasty account of it before our readers.

As a considerable part of the argument is applicable to the question in the precise shape which will assume before Parliament, and regards, therefore, the particular form of the measures

asures lately adopted by the English government, rather than the general views of belligerent, or commercial policy, from which those measures took their rise, we shall pass over this branch of the subject very rapidly; and, referring our readers to the work itself for satisfaction on it, shall bestow our chief attention upon the latter portion of the discussion, in itself quite general, and applicable to the prevalent notions of trade and war, as a system.

The tract is divided into three parts. The first, discusses the question, whether the late Orders in Council are consistent with the law of nations; and endeavours to show, from various considerations, that they are wholly repugnant to it: That they are measures of pretended retaliation against our enemy, whom no one ever considered as a party in the cause; but are in reality directed against neutral nations, whom we have no possible right to injure, merely because our enemy has done so, unless they have first acquiesced in the wrong, and thus made themselves parties to his quarrel: That no time was given for even asking the neutrals, whether they were disposed to yield or to resist,—the French decree of blockade having been explained by the French government in a manner quite consistent with the law of nations, and acted upon accordingly, up almost to the date of our Orders in Council: That even admitting the general plea of retaliation, the act of our government is not in the nature of a retaliating or reciprocal proceeding;—it is not preventing neutrals from direct trade with France, because she would prevent them from direct trade with England, but forcing them to trade with France in a particular way profitable to ourselves, because France would blockade England altogether: That the regulations respecting certificates of origin, are still less like retaliation; and that, in truth, whatever may be the enemy's intention, as to his decree, his power of executing it is confined to the part which is strictly justifiable by the law of nations, viz. the shutting of his ports to certain ships,—all the rest being empty threat and insult, and forming no excuse whatever for our aggressions on neutrals,—whether they resent them or put up with them.

To every one of these arguments we are ready to subscribe; and they appear to us quite decisive of the question, touching the law of nations. But we could have wished that the defence of the Order issued by the late Administration, on January 7. 1807, had been less broadly stated. The arguments by which it is supported, are, many of them, just; and viewing it as an application only (for it is in truth scarcely an extension) of the rule of the war 1756, we must admit, that it rests on the same grounds with this rule. The preamble, too, when it mentions retaliation as the plea for issuing it, very possibly means only to state the motive

for

for using a just right, and not to defend the justice of that right. Moreover, this Order, even as a retaliation, is not without its favourable circumstances; for there were several neutrals at that time beside America; and the measure may have been taken with a view to the majority of cases, leaving to America her exceptions, founded on time not having been given her for acquiescing in, or resisting the French decree; which exceptions, it may be said, were competent before our prize courts. After making all these concessions, we shall not be accused of too much rigour towards the defenders of the Order 7. January, if we add, that they should state more explicitly their avowal, and their defence, too, of the Rule 1756, on which it ultimately, and by their own showing, rests. It is a good argument against the author of 'War in Disguise,' and his adherents, to quote the Rule 1756, when they attack the Order January 1807, which they certainly never will do, unless to accuse it of not going far enough. But what defence of the Order is it to those who deny that Rule? If the rule is fairly avowed, then we are at issue with the supporters of the order upon the rule;—if it is not avowed, or if they fail in maintaining it, then we are at issue with them upon the whole of their order. Unhappily, such *argumenta ad hominem*, are too commonly introduced in discussing great state questions in this debating and eloquent country. Is a great measure to be defended? Its friends never think what are its merits, but who are its opponents; and instead of justifying their conduct to the world, or to the people whose interests it affects, think they do enough, if they throw a sop to the barking animals who are attacking it. 'You did so yourselves;' or, 'You did worse;'—or, 'What would *you* have said had we not done this?' These, alas, are the arguments by which our great statesmen but too often vindicate to their country the very questionable policy which they are pursuing!—To all such topics *we* make one answer. 'It may be your adversaries have done as bad or worse; but what is that to the country? *We* appear for the country, and require, not that you shall *estop* your opponents, by proving them to be worse than yourselves,—this is no comfort to the people,—but that you shall defend your cause on its own merits.' The misery of the system we have alluded to is just this;—that from *defending* measures on the ground of their being justified by former example, or because the adversary's mouth is stopped by his own conduct, the transition is too easy to *adopting* measures with a view to such wretched considerations; or, at any rate, without the salutary dread of an opposition, controuling the executive, upon broad, statesmanlike principles. Are we quite sure that no compromise is made upon the public welfare, in the cabinet as

well

well as in the senate; that measures are never taken, merely lest such a party would cry out on such a false pretence were they neglected; that resolutions are never adopted hastily, and without due consideration of their own merits, because the former conduct of the adversary having disarmed him, no danger of rigid scrutiny in public is apprehended? In a word, is not the country in some risk of *slipping through*, between the two bodies of men appointed to sustain her, while they are busied with their mutual contentions? These reflections, amounting to somewhat more than matter of suspensions, are naturally suggested by the conduct of the argument upon the Orders of January 7th in the tract before us; and though they are connected with the vulgar clamour against all public men, lately too prevalent in this country, we are convinced that they have at least thus much of solidity, that they will either receive the attention of the higher class of statesmen, to whom we allude, or they will raise up a third and powerful party in the nation to the exclusion of all the rest.

Whatever countenance these remarks may seem to afford to the popular doctrines held by certain ignorant and thoughtless persons in the present crisis, we are confident that the next remark, suggested by the branch of the subject now under review, will not be liable to any such misconstruction.

In arguing the question of public law, it would have been advisable in the writer before us, to recollect that there are unhappily many people, who have lately been seduced into a contempt of the whole idea of rights of states, and to whom a measure is rather recommended, by any proof of its repugnance to the law of nations. While such wild and profligate doctrines were only circulated among the ignorant multitude, we were disposed to disregard them altogether; and, accordingly, we argued the neutral question in our last Number upon the old established grounds, satisfied with proving any pretension to be against the public law, in order to prove that it should instantly be abandoned. But since that period, a melancholy change has taken place; and these shallow and pernicious fancies have, unhappily for all Europe as well as this country, rapidly crept upwards in the state, until they have actually reached the very highest places,—are acted upon by our fleets and armies, proclaimed in royal speeches, and openly avowed in national manifestoes. The doctrine which denies that nations have any common laws, and asserts that *Right* should now be read *Alight*, is therefore by no means so contemptible a political heresy as we once thought it; and we regret that the present tract did not undertake a refutation of it, as preliminary to the argument on the justice of the new measures.

The second part of this work is devoted to an exposition of the  
illegality

illegality of the new system, or an examination of the question, Are the late Orders in Council consistent with the municipal laws of the realm? It is proved very satisfactorily, that they are contrary to the whole spirit and practice of the constitution; that they violate the laws most firmly established for the protection of trade, from the Great Charter down to the present times; and that they, moreover, directly infringe a fundamental branch of the Navigation Act. For the proofs of these propositions, we must refer to the Tract itself, and the numerous authorities and statutory enactments which it cites. We shall only extract the concluding passage of this part of the discussion, where the general tendency of such measures in a constitutional view is pointed out.

‘ If a temporary pressure of circumstances had rendered some deviation from a particular law, or even some infringement upon the general spirit of the Constitution absolutely necessary, and Government had, *for the mean while*, and as if sensible of the illegality of their proceedings, issued orders upon the face of them temporary like the emergency; the Parliament in its justice might have granted them that indemnity which they respectfully asked. But here is a new system of Royal enactment—of Executive legislation—a Privy Council Code promulgated by some half dozen individuals (for as such only the law knows them) upon principles utterly repugnant to the whole theory and practice of the Constitution—a full grown Cabinet Statute book, not authorizing any single and temporary proceeding, but prescribing general rules for a length of time; dispensing with the laws of the land in some points; adding to them in others; in not a few instances annulling them. It is an entire new Law-merchant for England during war, proclaimed by the court, not of Parliament, but of St James’s, with as much regard to the competent authorities, or to the rightful laws of the realm, as the Rescripts of the latter Roman Emperor. It is not such a daring attempt as this that should be sanctioned by the Parliament, against whose authority it is levelled.

‘ But the Ministers, should they obtain an Indemnity, may now come forward, and propose to carry their new system into effect by a regular act of the legislature. It will then be for Parliament to consider whether they can by one deed of theirs overthrow the most ancient and best established principles of the British Constitution. The statute may indeed have all the formalities of law—it may supply the solemnity which the illegal orders now want. But repugnant as it must be to the genuine spirit of our Government, men may perhaps look for the substance of the English law rather in those fundamental maxims of our jurisprudence which it will have supplanted. All the proofs formerly adduced to illustrate the unconstitutional nature of the late Orders, form, in truth, insurmountable objections to any measure which may be proposed for erecting them into laws, unless indeed some paramount and permanent reasons of expediency can be urged, for enterprizing so mighty an innovation upon the constitution of the state.’ p. 34—36.



It is not inconsistent with the plan of a literary Journal to give a place among its extracts to remarks upon the general theory and the history of our laws. We transcribe, therefore, one more passage from this division of the argument.

Thus, from the earliest times, the tenderness of the English Constitution, for the trading interests of this country, is remarkably exemplified. They are regarded with more peculiar favour than almost any other subject of legislation. Even in ages when their magnitude was but inconsiderable, every measure appears to have been taken which might promise to cherish or promote them. To say that these endeavours were often fruitless, and very hurtful in their effects, is only to make in this instance an observation suggested by the history of all public transactions; and to regret that, as governments often display less virtue than prudence, so their intentions are sometimes better than their abilities. The efforts of our ancestors may frequently have been injudicious, but their desire was always the same—to promote the commerce of these realms. In pursuing this object, they seem not to have cared how much they encroached upon the power of the Crown, or how little they humoured the prejudices of the people. It is not unworthy of our observation, that, in many respects, their anxiety for encouraging at once both trade and civil liberty, led them to more liberal views of policy than have always marked the commercial legislation of later times. Even in the present day, a man might incur the fashionable imputations of “*not being truly British*,” or of “*indulging in modern philosophy*,” who should inculcate the very maxims handed down from the Barons of King John and his successor. And persons whose knowledge of the English history goes no further back than the French Revolution, or who have only studied the Constitution in the war of words which it has excited, would probably make an outcry about “*the wisdom of our ancestors*,” if one were disposed to repeat some liberal doctrines, ancient even at the date of Magna Charta. If by some of the laws already cited, traders are placed on the footing with nobles, and the great baron’s independence of the king’s prerogative, shared with the merchant; if by a multitude of others, foreigners at amity with the realm are protected and highly favoured; if within the period of our written law certain rights and privileges are secured to alien enemies themselves, and they are in some degree secured from the absolute controul of the Crown—what will the thoughtless persons alluded to think, should it appear that, in the remotest times to which the history of our law reaches, and before the men were born who obtained the great charter of our liberties, all the warlike spirit of the day—all the inveterate hatreds of a military people towards the enemy, and their contempt for peaceful industry, did not prevent them from extending to the persons of hostile merchants the same protection, in the midst of warlike operations, which the sanctity of their functions secured to the priests? It was in those remote times held to be a duty incumbent on all warriors to spare the persons of enemies within the realm, if they happened to be either priests, husbandmen, or

merchants; or as their rude verses expressed it (in a style which some of our wise and classical statesmen may now-a-days deride)

*Clericus, Agricola, Mercator, tempore belli,*

*Ut ovetque, colat, commutet pace fruantur.*

‘ Nor let it be thought mere matter of curious reflection to indulge, upon the present occasion, in such retrospects as these. The remarkable facts which have been stated deserve our most serious attention, as descriptive of the liberal and politic spirit of the Constitution from its most ancient times. They prove that at least a prescriptive title cannot be shown for the narrow-minded views which the little men of this day entertain. They shew that our ancestors held the rights of the people so sacred, and as intimately connected with those rights, the great interests of trade, that they would in nowise compromise them, either to gratify a spirit of national rivalry, or to exalt the powers of the Crown, or to humour the caprice of the aristocracy. For it is a mere epigram to say, as Montesquieu hath done, in allusion to Magna Charta, “ that the English alone have made the rights of foreign merchants a condition of national freedom.” Our ancestors favoured and protected foreign merchants, out of respect to the interests and liberties of England. They knew that no more deadly blow could be aimed at the merchants and people of these realms, than by allowing them an exclusive possession of freedom, while their foreign customers should be placed at the disposal of the Prince. They saw the impossibility of long preserving any such limited system of popular rights; and they saw too, that commerce being in its nature a mutual benefit, the power of the Crown would triumph over the prosperity of the people, as well as over their liberties, the moment that the protection of the Constitution was withdrawn from the merchant-stranger. For this reason it was, that the wise laws which we have cited were continually passed and acted upon in a long, uninterrupted series, from the time when they arose out of those early traditional maxims of our Norman ancestors, down to the reign of Philip and Mary, when the judges, according to their true spirit, declared that the *rights of English subjects* were attacked by injuries offered to *foreign merchants.*’ p. 18—22.

We now come to the third question discussed in the work,—the Policy of the new system. In the present temper of men’s minds, this is perhaps the ground upon which it will be most willingly put by both parties; and many, whom every view of its repugnance to the law of nations, and to the municipal law of the land, might fail to move, or even dispose in its favour, will probably listen with some attention to proofs of its being absolutely detrimental to the country. When they find that we have been violating the rights of foreign states, and breaking through our own constitution, for *nothing*—nay, to our great and manifest injury in point of profit;—that we have been breaking all laws public and municipal, and gained nothing—nay, lost a great deal by it:—they may

may be disposed to review their former contemptuous judgment upon the value of those sacred principles which bind nations and individuals together; and to reprobate as unjust and unlawful, that conduct which they find to be ungainful.

This *third* part of the dissertation begins with clearing the way towards a correct understanding of the new system, by some preliminary remarks upon the confused, and in many particulars contradictory, regulations laid down in the orders of Council. A general statement is then given of their substance,—a sketch of the sum of the changes which they are intended to produce upon the commercial intercourse of the world. This general view is illustrated by the following statement of the case, and the summary to which it leads of the principal points that touch the question of policy.

‘ To illustrate the operation of this new system, let us take the example of an American vessel, and observe what she is allowed and forbidden to do. She may sail with an American cargo to England, and from thence to France, without landing her cargo, if it consist not of cotton or manufactured goods. From France she may return with a French or other restricted cargo, which she must land before she can carry it back to America. The chief exports of America are raw produce; therefore, almost her whole trade with the restricted countries is limited by the necessity of touching at an English port twice, and landing the cargo once: if the American cargo consist of cotton, it must be landed in the outward voyage also, and can only proceed by license. The American may trade directly to and from the enemy’s West India islands; but cannot (on account of the former law) bring their produce to this country; nor, by the Orders, can she carry it to the restricted European ports. She cannot pursue her voyage to and from the north of Europe, by touching at Man, Guernsey or Jersey, either going or coming. But, besides touching there, she must touch at a British or Irish port. It is evident then, that unless for convenience of smuggling, and evading the French decrees, no American will trade to Europe, through Man, Guernsey and Jersey. The American cannot pursue her voyage to or from the south of Europe, by touching at Malta and Gibraltar; but must go first to a British or Irish port, and afterwards return thither.

‘ This illustration comprehends the only material features of the new system, viz. its forcing all the neutral commerce to run through the ports of the United Kingdom; its giving the English government a command of the supply of cotton, and some smaller articles, as brandies, wines, European snuff and tobacco; and its stopping the exportation of all enemy’s West India produce, except cotton, cochineal and indigo, either to this country or to any restricted part of Europe. It is upon these points that the policy of the measure must be tried.’  
p. 41, 42.

The substance of the new regulations being obtained in a sufficiently

ficiently simple and comprehensive form for examining the expediency of the system, and the ground, as it were, cleared for the discussion, the consequences of the intended changes to our commerce, and the commerce of our enemies and allies, are investigated at considerable length, upon the supposition that the whole of our edicts are quietly acquiesced in by neutrals; and then their tendency to irritate those neutrals is separately pointed out. Instead of following the plan of the work, and analyzing its contents minutely, we shall, according to our practice, endeavour to exhibit a view of its substance, after our own way of considering it, and shall intersperse such additional remarks as suggest themselves to us, although they may have been omitted in the work under review. The subject is of infinite importance, not merely to this country at the present moment, but to the whole science of politics, in which, views, of a tendency the most novel, are now industriously propagated, and a great, and, in our opinion, not merely perilous, but fatal, experiment is attempted, by persons under the guidance of the most blind, and extravagant passions with which the rulers of an enlightened people were ever stricken.

France having attempted, or rather threatened to blockade this country, and cut off all intercourse between us and our foreign customers, a prudent statesman would naturally have considered, in the first place, the probable consequences of such a resolution on the enemy's part being enforced. He would immediately have perceived, that the most rigorous execution of this measure could only have cut off our direct intercourse with the parts of the Continent where French influence prevails, leaving us all our trade with neutrals; that is, our trade with America, and with those parts of Europe not overrun by French troops; consequently, he would have concluded, that the utmost exertions of the French government, admitting them to prevail over the proverbial ingenuity of neutral traders, and to prevent our goods from getting in their bottoms directly over to the Continent, could have gone not one step further; and that our direct trade with those neutrals, and, consequently, through their countries, with the countries most subject to the enemy's influence, would still have remained to us. Thus, it would have appeared, that even if France had succeeded in preventing Americans (for example) from carrying over our goods direct to the Continent, she never could prevent them from carrying those same goods from hence to their own ports, and from their own ports to France. No certificates of origin, nor any other conceivable regulation, could have prevented a British cargo from finding its way over by such a route.

Nothing

Nothing but the resolution to give up her whole trade at once, or the possession of fleets sufficient to invest our coasts, and cut off our direct trade with America, could have destroyed our roundabout trade with France. She neither has shown this resolution, nor does she possess those fleets.

The prudent statesman (whose *existence* we are assuming as a bare possibility) would next have inquired, by what means he could diminish most effectually the total amount of the restrictions which the enemy was thus enabled to impose on our commerce. As the roundabout trade was of all others the surest means of defeating those restrictions, he would, at all events, have left that untouched—encouraged it—relied upon it—satisfied that nothing but the destruction of it could ever carry the threats of France into execution. *This* would have struck him at any rate, and he would have laid it down as a matter of course. As little would it have been a question, whether the direct trade, which the enemy prohibited between us and himself, should be encouraged in spite of him, and prohibited on our side, as a measure of retaliation. Whether we should say to neutrals, ‘ You shall not enter here from enemy’s ports, because he won’t allow you to land from our ports ;’ or, ‘ Come here freely, and depart freely ; endeavour, by all means, to evade his restrictions ; and we shall afford you every facility for this purpose.’ This question would not have detained our statesman long ; for he would immediately perceive, that, by adopting the former alternative, he was just playing into the enemy’s hand—confirming his decree—carrying into execution parts of it which he himself could not have enforced—and guarding against evasions of it, which must have rendered it almost nugatory without our assistance. To have encouraged the trade between the enemy’s country and our own, direct by neutrals, would therefore be the next resolution of the reasoning which we are supposing. By leaving the roundabout trade with France untouched, we should have left open a channel of communication with the Continent in spite of her ; and, by promoting all evasions of her decrees against the direct trade, we should have done our best to prevent her from blocking up another channel, much more within her power.

What do the *statesmen*, whose system we are examining, propose to themselves ? They resolve at once to shut up the channel of the roundabout trade, which the enemy could least of all have effected himself ; and they try to encourage the direct channel, which is the most under his controul. They do his business for him, where he most wants their aid, and can the least do without them. Where he is powerful, and may do something in spite of their teeth, they attempt to counteract his regulations. There

are two gates in our field through which we wish to drive our sheep: one of them we can open and shut at pleasure; it leads into the highway, and we have the key in our pockets: the other belongs, half to us, and half to a malicious neighbour, who wishes to prevent us from driving out our sheep at all. What shall we do? The great counsellors of the time, tell us to shut up our own gate by all means—to make it as fast as we can with bolts and bars, so that not a lambkin may get out; and then to go struggle with our neighbour at the other gate, and try to drive our flocks through that passage. It is related, that the Chancellor Oxenstiern said to his son, when he sent him to a congress of statesmen, and the young man was struck with awe at the solemnity of the occasion, ‘Go, my child, and see how little wisdom it takes to govern the world.’

But supposing the prudent statesman, above imagined, had a mind to consider the question of retaliating upon the enemy, let us see how he would reason. He would certainly, in the first place, ask himself, whether, by any conceivable mode of retaliation, he could avoid doing, in great part at least, the very thing which the enemy wishes? Whether, commerce being essentially, and in its own nature, a mutual benefit, he could stop the trade of France, without either immediately or ultimately stinting the trade of England? He would then inquire, which party is likely to suffer most in the contest of self-destruction, in the rivalry of privations and losses? And as it is clear that this must be the party which has most trade—whose trade is most extensive in proportion to his whole resources—whose commerce, in a word, is most essential to his general prosperity—so would it likewise be manifest, that any injury we might inflict on the enemy would be trifling, compared with its expense to ourselves; and that we should damage our own interests so much more than we could injure his, that the utmost we could gain by such a bargain would not be worth the price we must pay.

If, however, retaliation must be resorted to, and if we are resolved to hurt the enemy, cost what it will to ourselves, our statesman would take especial care to see that his measures were really those of retaliation; and if he had the sense of a child, he would be cautious how he mistook *cooperation*, for *retaliation*. Our new system makes exactly this mistake. We attack the commerce of neutrals and allies; and we favour the trade of the enemy. One of the greatest markets, if not the greatest for American commerce, is France, and the rest of the restricted country. We at once obstruct all direct communication between America and this market. One of the best markets of France and the restricted country is England. We not only facilitate, by every  
means

means in our power, the access to this market; but we actually compel all neutrals to drive the traffic of France with her best customers in the shortest and easiest way. American commerce, we say, shall be all confined, round-about and indirect. Hostile commerce—French commerce, shall be easy, direct and open.

In truth it now depends on our enemy, by means of our assistance, whether any, and what commerce, shall be carried on between himself and England. And this we call a blockade of France, which is in truth much liker a blockade of England. In truth, a general and rigorous blockade of France, liable though it be to many of the objections already stated, is at least an intelligible and consistent measure.

‘ It cuts off his foreign trade entirely, although it deprives us of our trade with him; and if commercial distress can ruin him, such a proceeding gives us some chance of effecting his downfall. But the new system is only a blockade of the enemy, if the enemy himself chuses that it shall be so. It can never, by possibility, ruin him, or even materially injure his commerce: for the moment he is pinched, he can relieve himself. He can allow neutrals to enter his own ports, from those of Great Britain; and thus obtain as large a share of foreign commerce as he desires.\* These neutral carriers, it is true, must land and re-ship in England certain cargoes; and many (but not by any means all) of these voyages will be somewhat more circuitous than formerly. An American bound to Bordeaux, must touch at Cork, Falmouth, &c. which is somewhat out of her course; if bound to Dunkirk, Amsterdam, &c. she would probably touch at Cowes from choice, to receive advices respecting the market from London correspondents. Admitting that some considerable inconvenience arises from hence, in all cases on an average; the whole effect is to raise the prices of the neutral goods a little to the enemy, and to lower somewhat the profits of the neutral, without any gain whatever to ourselves. Our friends and our enemies lose each a little, and we gain nothing at all. The obligation to land certain cargoes can do us no more real good. It increases somewhat the loss of the neutral and the enemy, and may enable us to keep a few more customhouse officers. If, indeed, the Orders in Council are followed up by an act of Parliament imposing duties on the goods so landed, then we clearly shall propose to ourselves, not certainly to distress the enemy’s trade, but to profit both by his commerce and that of our friends. Would it not be a much simpler expedient, and answer the very same purpose, to propose that America should pay us a yearly tribute, and to raise it as she best can, either upon her own citizens, or her French customers? If the duty which we mean to lay on is not the merest trifle, we may be well assured that America will not submit to it.’ p. 44—46.

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Upon

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\* ‘ It is confidently reported that some relaxation of the French Decree has already been allowed in Holland, though this does not appear very likely.’

Upon the probable consequences of a colonial blockade, (the only thing like a blockade in the new system) as it applies to the enemy's designs in Europe, the following remarks are quite conclusive.

' This measure is much more plain and consistent with belligerent views than the rest of the plan ; but, when examined, it appears equally shortsighted and unwise. The blockade of the enemy's colonies can only have two objects—to deprive the enemy of certain articles of consumption ; and to increase the demand for those articles in our own market. These objects are, in a considerable degree, incompatible ; for our West India produce commonly finds a vent on the Continent, by supplying the wants of the enemy. But supposing, for argument sake, that both the two ends may be gained at once, let us examine the consequences.

' The French have borne every species of public and private calamity for nearly eighteen years ; they have passed through all the vicissitudes of revolution, from anarchy to despotism ; they have tasted only of war, with its whole train of evils, of which privations have been the smallest ; they have suffered the most unsparring conscription, augmented in rigour as the service of the army became more irksome and dangerous : to all this they have submitted in quiet, with rallying points for emigration in the neighbouring nations, and for rebellion in the heart of their own country. No dangers, no calamities, no private distresses, not even the conscription itself, has ever extorted a murmur of discontent—and we now expect insurrections to break out as soon as coffee and sugar shall become scarce at Paris, or the army shall find tobacco growing dear ! The conscription is at an end, or is become only holiday work ; the armies go out, not to fight, but to revel in triumph, and to amuse themselves with foreign travel : But grocery and snuff are advancing in price, and let Bonaparte look to it ! If he does not speedily make peace on our terms, restore the Bourbons, and give up Belgium, his earthly course is run !—This is the argument.

' But if it be not a waste of time to give such positions as these a serious refutation, let us only consider how little chance any commercial blockade has of being effectually enforced. Every successful attempt of this kind which we make, augments incalculably the temptations to elude our vigilance. If certain drugs, for example, were almost excluded from France by the activity of our cruisers, their price would rise so enormously, that a neutral merchant would find his account in attempting to land a cargo of bark, (necessarily lowered in price elsewhere), though he should lose three fourths in the attempt ; so that we shall in vain continue to wage war against the wretched hospitals of our enemy. To a certain degree the same remark applies in all the other cases. In one way or another the goods will find their way from the places of glut, to those of demand. Their prices may be somewhat enhanced ; and the use of such as are not essentially necessary, will be diminished.

' All the changes of this sort, however, which we attempt to make, and to a certain degree successfully, will take place gradually. The  
stock



stock in hand will be economized in proportion as the further supplies are obstructed, and, instead of producing lasting discontents, or even disgust with the war, among our enemies, we cannot help furnishing the very remedy along with the evil, by teaching them gradually to alter certain habits in themselves indifferent. It would not be so irrational for their rulers to expect that some hatred of England should arise out of this policy; but for us, who have not once excited the least disposition to throw off the French yoke by all our hostilities—who see the French people themselves, not merely un subdued, but even flourishing after all our victories over their trade—for us to think of conquering, by the scarcity of two or three wares, the people whom our greatest captains and innumerable ships have never humbled during years of the most successful naval warfare—surely exceeds the bounds even of popular or party delusion.’ p. 47—51.

The only remaining part of the subject, the effects of the blockade in relieving our own planters, we have already, in treating of West Indian affairs, had occasion to anticipate. Referring our readers to last Number for the discussion, it may be proper merely to add in this place, that such relief is confessedly temporary;—it is bounded by the war; and the produce which it must cause to be accumulated in the hostile colonies, coming over suddenly and in enormous quantities the moment peace is restored, will give even those planters, who have been relieved in the mean while, abundant reason to lament so shortsighted a policy, and to wish that they had wisely had recourse to the only radical cure for the evils complained of—a diminished cultivation of the great staples.

Convinced as we are, that the general view which we have now taken, is sufficient to expose the monstrous errors of the new system; and considering, that the arguments now offered apply to the case of the neutrals yielding implicit obedience, as well as to the more probable supposition of their quarrelling with us, we are the less anxious about examining the last branch of the work before us, which exposes the dangers of the system to our relations with America. One of the most striking parts of the whole folly is, the peculiar time chosen for proclaiming it. The Americans, then the only neutrals, were on bad terms with France;—a month’s delay might have induced them to join us heartily in our hostilities;—and we preclude the possibility of this event by our own act and deed. It is, however, justly remarked in the tract before us, that they are shortsighted politicians indeed, who would prefer the cooperation, to the neutrality of America. Our commerce could only be more injured by one event, than by America quarrelling with France; and that event is,—her quarrelling with England.

It is impossible to close these remarks, without alluding to the  
topics

topics touched upon at the conclusion of this tract,—the gloomy prospects of the country in the present awful crisis. Destined to fight the battles of Europe, with an enemy always upbraided for his want of principle, and his utter contempt of the rights of nations, England has chosen, for the first time, to abandon the high ground on which she has hitherto stood, and to strive with that enemy in the pernicious, as well as despicable race of injustice to unoffending and unprotected states. It is this which forms the worst feature in our present case—this avowal of profligacy, first in our actions, and since, even in our state papers—this regret, which we have now seen expressed in declarations under the Sovereign's name, that we have so long abstained from deeds of violence, and stuck so long to the wreck of public principle;—this it is which may justly terrify us, now that we are preparing for new battles, whether we view it as the sure symptom of approaching downfall, or as a no less certain cause of diffidence in our own courage, and exultation to the enemy.

This nation has always been too fond of war; and has usually gone on fighting, as Mr Hume has observed, for a year or two after the objects were attained, or finally lost, for which it had entered into hostilities. The rancour which has been generated during our present contest with France, and the tone of boastful defiance which has been encouraged in its later periods, have strengthened this national propensity to a degree, which seems to us to border on insanity. But the love of war, we trust, is not, even at the present moment, so strong in the body of the nation, as the love of justice and the dread of dishonour;—and, when they find under what form, and with what consequences, our future hostilities are to be carried on, they may look with less aversion to the cessation of a contest, that threatens, in its progress, to undo the civilization of the world.

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