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FOR
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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1832.

N^o. CXI.

ART. I.—*The Life of Sir Isaac Newton.* By DAVID (now SIR DAVID) BREWSTER, LL.D., F.R.S., 12mo. London: 1831.

IT is a remarkable circumstance in literary history, that more than a century should have elapsed from the death of the greatest philosopher of this or any other country, before any detailed Life of him appeared. Until the publication of Dr Brewster's work, the most considerable biographies of Newton were the *Eloge* by Fontenelle, and the article by M. Biot, in the *Biographie Universelle*, or its translation, with some slight variations, in the *Library of Useful Knowledge*; yet, in this country, biography has been long a favourite department of literature. The absence therefore of any considerable Life of Newton, seems to furnish strong evidence of the indifference to science, which has until lately been general among the merely literary portion of English society. We have been proud of his fame, and peremptory in the assertion of his superiority, but we have little cared to know in what it consisted. Maclaurin's excellent account of Newton's discoveries, furnishes no exception to the truth of these remarks. Though comparatively popular, it is yet addressed to those possessed of some mathematical science, and desirous of a pretty full insight into the details of Newton's investigations.

The consequence of this neglect has been, that little research was made while information might have been obtained, and that the materials for the personal history of Newton are very scanty,

and even those imperfectly known. They are principally to be found in scattered notices, in the *Biographia Britannica*, and in papers still preserved at Cambridge and other places. Even these have been imperfectly searched. The greatest mass of them is in the possession of the Portsmouth family, and has never, we believe, been carefully examined.

The literary history of Newton is better known. His discoveries are their own record, and every work devoted to the history of science necessarily comprises an account of them. They were also the occasion of much controversy at the time of their publication; and although, from Newton's reluctance to produce any thing to the public, some uncertainty still exists as to the precise date and circumstances of some of his investigations, yet the materials for this portion of his history may be considered as pretty full, and they have been carefully examined.

It was however undoubtedly desirable that this portion of literary history should be presented in a collected form, and treated with relation to the discoverer himself. Some of the greatest discoveries of Newton consist of principles not difficult of popular explanation, and abounding in popular interest. The details of science are generally inaccessible or uninteresting to all but the scientific; but hardly any one is indifferent to the general outline of the system of the world, or the fundamental, yet most striking, phenomena of light and colour.

It has been Dr Brewster's object to present an account of Newton's various discoveries, which should be interesting and intelligible to the great mass of readers; a task which was not likely to fall into hands more competent to its execution. It is perhaps to be regretted that a man of Dr Brewster's scientific attainments should have published the first elaborate *Life of Newton* in a shape so nearly excluding refined scientific discussion. But taking the work as we find it, and considering it as written for the class of readers whom it principally addresses, its literary and scientific narrative deserves very high commendation. Dr Brewster is too intimately acquainted with the sciences which owed their first developement to Newton, to introduce any thing materially incorrect into any view of them which he presents; and his account of them is also distinguished by the scarcely less essential merits of great clearness in statement, a popular manner of communicating the results, and a competent notion of the processes of very refined investigations. There are perhaps two exceptions to the general completeness of this part of the work. The nature and value of Newton's chronological theory deserves a fuller and more careful discussion than it has met with. We think also, that Dr

Brewster's own continued attention to optical pursuits, has made him assign rather too great a portion of his work to the history of Newton's optical discoveries; and that the account of the *Principia* is rather meagre in comparison. The great principles, however, of the latter admit of only a short and general statement, unless followed into a good deal of mathematical detail. The experiments and phenomena of the Optics, furnish more matter of popular explanation, and the account given of them is full of interest.

The most important part of the *Life of Newton* is undoubtedly the account of his scientific and literary career; but this may be found elsewhere. The peculiar interest of such a biography will be found in the personal history of the man himself, in the display of his character, and the narrative of those circumstances which have varied in his case the proverbial want of incident of a literary life. The history of Newton is not deficient in these, and his personal character will repay the most attentive study. It would be difficult to find a more admirable combination of temper, simplicity, humility, benevolence, and perseverance; and high moral and religious principle gave to all these qualities their due support and direction.

The biographer of such a man would be unfit for his task if he did not feel an enthusiastic admiration for his subject; but enthusiasm sometimes leads to error and incorrectness, and excessive attachment to the fame of one may occasionally produce injustice to others. We cannot entirely exculpate Dr Brewster from these charges. He has certain theories which he is evidently anxious to support; and we cannot entertain any very high opinion of the accuracy with which he examines any facts which appear to bear on them. We do not impute any intention to mislead; but circumstances, which appear to have a particular tendency, are eagerly adopted, or hastily rejected, as they aid or oppose the author's preconceived notions; and we would not give much credit to his judgment with respect to any fact which should militate against the belief of Newton's labouring under poverty and neglect for a large portion of his life, which should confirm the opinion of his temporary insanity, or which should tend to establish the honesty and fair-dealing of some of his opponents, and especially of Leibnitz. Dr Brewster's bias on these subjects has occasioned considerable misrepresentation; and as these questions are interesting in themselves, and deserve correction in a work likely to continue for some time the standard *Life of Newton*, we propose to examine them in detail.

It has been the fashion lately, in certain quarters, to declaim loudly against the neglect which men of science have experienced

from the government of this country. Dr Brewster appears, at the time of the composition of his *Life of Newton*, to have entertained his full share of this feeling. The book is accordingly full of complaints, expressed with a violence hardly consistent in most cases with good taste, and sometimes very far exceeding all bounds of sobriety in expression. It seems to have been an object with Dr Brewster, to show that Newton himself was no exception to this general neglect. It is true indeed that he received high official station and emolument, but this was due to the only English minister who ever patronised science, and was not given till after a long period of neglect and obscurity.

‘He had now reached the fifty-third year of his age, and while those of his own standing at the University had been receiving high appointments in the church, or lucrative offices in the state, he still remained without any mark of the respect or gratitude of his country. All Europe, indeed, had been offering incense to his name, and Englishmen themselves boasted of him as the pride of their country, and the ornament of their species; but he was left in comparative poverty, with no other income than the salary of his professorship,* eked out with the small rental of his paternal inheritance. Such disregard of the highest genius, dignified by the highest virtue, could have taken place only in England, and we should have ascribed it to the turbulence of the age in which he lived, had we not seen, in the history of another century, that the successive governments which preside over the destinies of our country, have never been able either to feel or to recognise the true nobility of genius.’—P. 246-7.

‘The sages of every nation and of every age will pronounce with affection the name of Charles Montague, and the persecuted science of England will continue to deplore that he was the first and last English minister who honoured genius by his friendship, and rewarded it by his patronage.’—P. 250.

It is rather amusing to find the circumstance that others had received preferment in the church used as an argument that a layman was neglected; but it is more material to observe, that for the sake of treating Newton as neglected, he is represented as in a state of privation; and that this is entirely untrue. The evidence of ‘comparative poverty,’ on which Dr Brewster relies, is an order excusing Newton from making payments of one shilling a week, ‘on account of his low circumstances, as he ‘represented.’—(P. 236, note.) The date of this order is Ja-

* This is incorrect. Newton was still fellow of Trinity College, having received a dispensation from Charles II. to continue in his fellowship without taking orders.

nuary 28, 1674-5, more than twenty years before the time in question; when Newton was only thirty-two years of age, and probably was not in the receipt of the rent of his paternal property. It was after his optical theories had been made public, but they were still the subject of much doubt and controversy; and his other great discoveries, although made, were still known only to himself. Neither from age therefore, nor from recognised distinction, was he at that time entitled to any peculiar consideration. But did his poverty continue after the period of his more established eminence? In 1688, only a year after the publication of the *Principia*, Newton was Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge, and quitted his residence there for London. This might entail no very heavy expense upon him, but it is not the station or act of a needy man. He continued absent from Cambridge during the year 1689, but returned thither in 1690, and continued in almost uninterrupted residence there till 1696, when he quitted it.

Dr Brewster's ingenuity has extracted from these dates proof of Newton's straitened circumstances. 'He was seldom absent from Cambridge, and must, therefore, have renounced his Parliamentary duties. During his stay in London, he had no doubt experienced the unsuitableness of his income to the new circumstances in which he was placed, and it is probable that this was the cause of the limitation of his residence to Cambridge. His income was certainly very confined, and but little suited to the generosity of his disposition.'—(P. 222.) One fact, which Dr Brewster has unaccountably overlooked, puts an end to the whole of this argument. The Convention Parliament was dissolved in February 1689-90, and Newton was not a member of that which succeeded.

But it is not merely that the argument suggested does not apply. There exists evidence that at this time Newton was not in want of money, for we find him refusing a lucrative situation at the Charter-House on that express ground. 'I thank you for putting me in mind of the Charter-House, but I see nothing in it worth making a bustle for: besides a coach, which I consider not, it is but L.200 per annum, with a confinement to the London air, and to such a way of living as I am not in love with; neither do I think it advisable to enter into such a competition as that would be for a better place.'* According to

* (Letter to Locke, dated Dec. 13th, 1691, published in Lord King's *Life of Locke*, p. 222.) And again, in a letter dated June 29th, 1695, Newton speaks of a person of the name of Collins, 'whom I can employ for a little money, which I value not.'—(Brewster, p. 223, note.)

Dr Brewster's account, indeed, this last extract would bear date after Newton's appointment to the Wardenship of the Mint, but this is a mistake.* Montague's letter, offering him that situation, is dated on the 19th March, 1695; but that date corresponds, in the ambiguity of the commencement of the year at that time, to the year 1696, as we should now describe it. The date of Newton's appointment is so stated in the *Biographia Britannica*, and by his nephew, Mr Conduitt; and he appears, by the records still preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, to have resided there during the whole of the year 1695, and for more than half of 1696. Even without this confirmation, the letter as to the Charter-House seems in itself conclusive against the notion of Newton's poverty till his appointment to the Mint. And if the notion is erroneous, it is difficult not to attribute it to some wish to arrive at such a conclusion.

Many of the same facts are again, as it appears to us, perverted with a view to another question, on which Dr Brewster has manifested the same eagerness to force evidence into conformity with a foregone conclusion.

It is certainly a singular circumstance, that after the lapse of nearly a hundred years from the death of Newton, a new and most important incident in his life should for the first time have been brought to light; and that, from the period of its discovery, evidence should have rapidly accumulated, whereby to judge of the nature and character of an affliction, till then unsuspected, but amounting, if full credit be given to the information we now possess, to a temporary derangement of the most powerful among human minds. It was natural that much enquiry should be made into the truth of so startling an assertion. Accordingly, since the first publication of the statement in M. Biot's *Life of Newton* in the *Biographie Universelle*, every thing which could throw any light on the question has been diligently examined; and the whole body of evidence now collected may probably warrant a conclusion in some degree varying from that naturally, and almost unavoidably, adopted by that distinguished writer in a very different stage of the investigation. The earnestness, however, with which the enquiry has been pursued, has not been due merely to the intrinsic interest of the speculation. In con-

* The same mistake of date has led Dr Brewster into the error of considering Mr Montague's election as president of the Royal Society, in November 1695, as a mark of gratitude for the honours conferred upon Newton. The election really took place four months before the appointment of Newton to his office.

formity with the custom long established on such occasions, and perhaps more uniformly acted on at the present than at any former time, the question has not been considered in, or for itself only, but with reference to the imputed objects of the publisher and the propagators of the report, and to the supposed consequences of its reception.

The simple love of truth, for its own sake, is perhaps one of the rarest affections of the mind: there certainly is none for which credit is so seldom given. Accordingly, as the first account of Newton's supposed derangement of mind appeared in the work of a French philosopher, who also ascribed the composition of Newton's theological writings to a period subsequent to this calamity, it was in the regular course to attribute the publication to one of two motives,—a desire to lower the intellectual character of the great English discoverer, or a wish to derogate from the value of an important testimony to the great truths of religion. It was not, however, while the knowledge of the new fact was nearly confined to the scientific world, that these charges were currently made. We believe that most readers then acquiesced in the truth of the statement, and were satisfied that it accounted for a circumstance, which had often been felt to be perplexing, namely, the comparative inactivity of the last thirty-five years of Newton's life.

Dr Brewster indeed is of a different opinion, and represents anxiety as to the religious effect of the report, as arising immediately on its promulgation. In many instances this may have been the case; certainly not at all universally; and many persons, who would as much as any have regretted any evil consequences of the kind suggested, either did not fear them, or thought the evidence too strong to be disbelieved, whatever might be its effect. Little general interest, however, was excited on the question, until the statement was repeated in the *Life of Newton*, published in the *Library of Useful Knowledge*;—a treatise professedly little but a translation from Biot, but which, by its wide circulation, at once gave a notoriety to the report that it would have been long in gaining while it was only to be found in a foreign language, and in one of the fifty-two volumes of the *Biographie Universelle*. Then national and religious feelings were at once brought into action; and many readers would allow of no other doubt, than whether the statement proceeded principally from enmity to England or to Christianity.* It may

* ' A Frenchman's libel on the greatest of English philosophers, in which, *inter alia*, it is insinuated that his mental faculties had lost

not be an improbable conjecture, that the circumstances of the publication added to the violence of the outcry; and that the statement might have been more impartially discussed, had it not come forth under the sanction of a society, which (how far by its own fault, we do not stay to enquire) has certainly incurred the misfortune of exciting in no ordinary degree the alarm of many very excellent, and the enmity of some very well-meaning persons.

The charge of hostility or indifference to the philosophical reputation of Newton, is too absurd to deserve any refutation.* That of an intention to depreciate the value of Newton's theological researches, requires more attention. Dr Brewster in many passages deservedly exculpates M. Biot from any design to injure religion; but a different account must be given of the conduct of a still more distinguished person. We believe it is unquestionable that La Place did attach much importance to the question; and was anxious to establish the fact that Newton's theological works were written at a late period of his life, after his intellect had received a shock, from which, in his opinion, it never recovered. It was not unnatural, that those who heard that the enquiry had been taken up in this spirit on the one side, should enter with something of the feeling of partisans into the controversy on the other. The question seemed one of considerable interest; for if the testimony of any one man could be considered as peculiarly valuable on such a subject, it was that of Newton, alike distinguished by the power of his mind, the purity of his character, and the singleness of his will.

Yet no real importance attaches to the solution of this doubt, which has been considered as so material. The notion that Newton's theological writings were composed in the decline of his life, is not new; and that period has often been represented

their vigour before he thought of writing on theological subjects, has been literally translated, and published as the "Life of Newton," by the Society for the Diffusion of *Useful Knowledge*.—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xlv. p. 57.

* It is, however, curious to see the terms in which Biot, using the words of La Place, speaks of the philosopher, whom they are both accused of maligning. 'Malgré ces défauts inévitables, l'importance et la généralité des découvertes sur ce système et sur les points les plus intéressants de la physique mathématique, un grand nombre de vues originales et profondes, qui a été le germe des plus brillantes théories des géomètres du dernier siècle, tout cela, présenté avec beaucoup d'élégance, assure, à l'ouvrage des Principes, la pré-éminence sur les autres productions de l'esprit humain.'

as one of mental inaction and comparative imbecility. If the value of the works depends at all on the supposed state of the author's mind when they were written, it had been depreciated at least as much before the publication of M. Biot's *Life* as since. We know no passage of more unhesitating contempt for Newton's authority, than one contained in an article on Conti, in the *Biographie Universelle*, published some years before the notion of his temporary alienation of mind had been suggested; but proceeding on the supposition that his theological works were composed during dotage.

In any case, the importance of the dates assigned to Newton's theological writings is exceedingly small. Dr Brewster has satisfactorily established the fact, that the letters 'on two notable corruptions of Scripture' were written, and many at least of the opinions in the 'Observations on Prophecy' matured, before any doubt can exist as to the sanity of the author; but this is utterly immaterial to the question of his religious opinions. The value of the particular works must depend exclusively on their intrinsic merits: the argument as to the authenticity of particular texts, or a particular mode of interpreting prophecy, must be judged by itself, not by the supposed character or wisdom of the writer. As far as the personal character of Newton is concerned, all that we are interested to know is the undoubted fact, that, before the time at which his mind is said to have sunk under exertion or disappointment, he was habitually engaged in the studies of religion, and had prosecuted them to such an extent as to have already acquired the character of 'a most excellent divine,' as well as mathematician and philosopher.

In truth, however, it is but an ill compliment to religion to consider the testimony of any individual, even Newton himself, as of importance to its interests. It is not on such evidence that its reception or authority will ever depend. The practical interest of the question is rather on the side of philosophy; and it may seem of some moment to enquire, at a time when accusations of infidel tendency are frequently brought against physical science, what was its effect on the opinions of its greatest professor. The enquiry assumes additional importance, from the consideration that the founder of a system is more likely to contemplate it in all its bearings and tendencies, than the most distinguished of his followers, who are chiefly engaged in perfecting its processes, and the minute elaboration of its details.

Even in this view, the importance of the question may be very easily overrated. We attribute much less influence to particular intellectual pursuits, than it is the fashion to ascribe to them. Opinions depend much more on individual character, and on the

general temper and tone of feeling of the age, than upon courses of reading, or devotion to any particular pursuit. A particular work will sometimes produce a lasting effect, and determine the character either to good or evil. But we are very sceptical as to the general influence of courses of study not immediately bearing on religious or moral principle. They may indeed occupy the mind too exclusively, but that risk is common to them all. So also are their other dangers and advantages. Whatever be the subject of contemplation,—the vicissitudes of empires, or the revolutions of nature,—the internal constitution of the mind, or the mechanism of the universe,—in each the spirit of scepticism and unbelief will find topics for cavil, the spirit of piety will discover fresh matter of admiration and devotion.

Indeed the history of literature seems to furnish demonstrative evidence that this is so. Religious or irreligious tendencies are found to prevail rather in particular eras than among particular classes. The deep enthusiasm of the times which followed the Reformation in this country, and gave birth to the Commonwealth, long continued to produce its natural effect in a high and serious tone of mind. Statesmen, philosophers, lawyers, and poets, all habitually pursued the study, and spoke the language of religion, and most of those who used their pen at all, consecrated some part of its action to the service of their God. Clarendon, Falkland, Boyle, Hale, and Milton, immediately occur to the memory in such a review: and even the spirit of doubt and error sounds a high toned and enthusiastic note when breathed by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. The feelings of the times were changed, after the return of Charles II. had substituted profligacy for austerity, and levity for seriousness. The habits of the court were indeed too alien from the feelings of the people to become amalgamated with the substance of their thoughts and actions; yet the influence spread wide over all classes. Theology, while it retained its form, almost parted with its spirit; and while absolute infidelity received a formidable extension, indifference to religion became fearfully common among those who had any thing else to attend to. Happily there was a strong under-current: the feelings and principles of better times were not entirely overpowered; but the character of the most distinguished men of the day was changed; and literature and science talked a language, differing indeed from that of the succeeding age in France by a manifest inferiority both in malignity and wit, but resembling it in its cold and heartless style, and in the absence of that continual reference to high feelings and holy affections which had been so remarkable in the preceding age. Even during the period when the infi-

delity imputed to many of the most distinguished votaries of science has furnished matter of charge against science herself, the spirit of the age, rather than of the pursuit, has been in fault. Where is the justice of ascribing the infidelity of particular natural philosophers to the nature of their studies, when a similar spirit was found, about the same time, in Diderot and D'Holbach, in Hume and Gibbon?

When stripped of the adventitious importance which has been attached to it, the investigation of the state of Newton's mind at the time of his supposed insanity loses much of its interest. Yet so remarkable an incident in the history of such an understanding deserves some curiosity for its own sake. We propose therefore to examine into the true state of a question which M. Biot had not the necessary evidence for determining, and which Dr Brewster appears to have been predisposed to determine in one way. His own expressions are, that by reason of 'the consequences of the disclosure of Newton's illness, I felt it to be a sacred duty to the memory of that great man, to the feelings of his countrymen, and to the interests of Christianity itself, to enquire into the nature and history of that indisposition, which seems to have been so much misrepresented and 'misapplied.' (P. 227.) And again, after stating some arguments against the truth of the statement—'but we are fortunately not confined to this very reasonable mode of defence.' (Ibid.) We make no apology, therefore, for considering Dr Brewster as the advocate for Newton's uninterrupted soundness of mind; and in that capacity, while he has faithfully collected all the most important evidence on the question, he has exhibited considerable dexterity in its arrangement. We will adopt a different course, and state the different circumstances which seem to bear on the discussion simply in the order of their occurrence; prefixing merely the passage in Huygens's Journal, from which the whole controversy has arisen, and an extract from the Journal of Mr De la Pryme, a gentleman resident at Cambridge, which has been much relied on as determining it.

'On the 29th May, 1694, Mr Colin, a Scotsman, informed me, that, eighteen months ago, the illustrious geometer, Isaac Newton, had become insane, either in consequence of his too intense application to his studies, or from excessive grief at having lost by fire his chemical laboratory and several manuscripts. When he came to the Archbishop of Canterbury,* he made some observations which indicated

* The words of the original, as given in M. Biot's Life are, *cum ad Archiepiscopum Cantabrigiensem venisset*, and they are accordingly trans-

an alienation of mind. He was immediately taken care of by his friends, who confined him to his house and applied remedies, by means of which he had now so far recovered his health that he began to understand the *Principia*.'—(*Huygens's Journal*. Brewster, p. 223-4.)

'1692, February 3d.—What I heard to-day I must relate. There is one Mr Newton, (whom I have very often seen,) Fellow of Trinity College, that is mighty famous for his learning, being a most excellent mathematician, philosopher, divine, &c. * * * * Of all the books he ever wrote there was one of colours and light, established upon thousands of experiments, which he had been twenty years of making, and which had cost him many hundreds of pounds. This book, which he valued so much, and which was so much talked of, had the ill luck to perish and be utterly lost, just when the learned author was almost at putting a conclusion to the same, after this manner: In a winter's morning, leaving it amongst his other papers, on his study table, whilst he went to chapel, the candle, which he had unfortunately left burning there too, caught hold by some means of other papers, and they fired the aforesaid book, and utterly consumed it and several other valuable writings, and, which is most wonderful, did no further mischief. But when Mr Newton came from chapel, and had seen what was done, every one thought he would have run mad; he was so troubled thereat, that he was not himself for a month after.'—(*De la Pryme's Diary*. Brewster, pp. 228-9.)

We need not take up Newton's history at an earlier period than the year 1688, when he was elected Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge. The Convention Parliament was dissolved in February 1690, and during its continuance Newton appears to have resided principally in London. He did not sit in the following Parliament; and again made Cambridge his principal abode until the year 1696, when he was appointed Warden of the Mint, and returned to London. During his attendance on Parliament however, he had become intimate with many persons of distinction; and a wish seems to have been entertained to find some appointment for him which might keep him in the metropolis. For this purpose his chief dependence appears to have been on Lord Monmouth, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, and on Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, an early and constant friend, to whom

lated by M. Biot, and Dr Brewster has followed him, the Archbishop of Cambridge. The translator for the Library of Useful Knowledge has avoided this mistake by a bold conjectural emendation,—'having made observations before the *Chancellor* of Cambridge.' There can be no doubt, however, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was the person intended. Newton was in London when his illness was most severe.

he was finally indebted for his appointments in the Mint. Some of these circumstances have been already mentioned, but it is material to the understanding of part of the subsequent letters, that they should be shortly collected together.

The attempt to find Newton some appointment seems to have been continued during the whole of the year 1691. In letters to Locke, published by Lord King, which bear date September 26th, and November 14th, 1690, we meet with very warm expressions of gratitude to Lord Monmouth; and we have already made an extract from a letter of December 13th, 1691, in which he declined a situation offered to him at the Charter House. Whether his indifference to this proposal had relaxed the exertions of his friends, it would not now be easy to discover; but a period of dissatisfaction on Newton's part succeeded. On the 28th January 1691-2, he wrote from Cambridge to Locke in these terms. 'Being fully convinced that Mr Montague, upon an old grudge which I thought had been worn out, is false to me, I have done with him, and intend to sit still, unless my Lord Monmouth be still my friend. I have now no prospect of seeing you any more, unless you be so kind as to repay that visit I made you the last year,' &c. (*Lord King's Life of Locke*, p. 219. *Brewster*, p. 237.) And again, in a letter of February 16th, 1691-2, requesting Locke to prevent the publication of his papers 'on two notable corruptions of Scripture,' he says, 'I am very glad my Lord Monmouth is still my friend, but intend not to give his lordship and you any farther trouble. My inclinations are to sit still. I am to beg his lordship's pardon for pressing into his company the last time I saw him. I had not done it, but that Mr Paulin pressed me into the room.' (*Brewster*, p. 275.)

We need not minutely pursue Newton through the year 1692, though Dr Brewster has entered into much detail concerning the whole of that period. We find him in a letter to Locke, of May 3d, continuing some observations on miracles already entered upon in that of February 16th; and at a later time, discussing with much care some of Boyle's experiments. Besides these evidences, which Dr Brewster has not noticed, of his continued attention to his usual pursuits, he was engaged in the course of the year in a mathematical correspondence with Dr Wallis, and occupied himself in the month of June with observations upon some remarkable haloes.

We now arrive at an epoch to which particular importance has been attached. Mr Boyle had founded a lecture 'for proving the Christian religion against notorious Infidels;' and Bentley was appointed to deliver the first course of Sermons.

The latter discourses of the series were devoted to an exposition of the evidences of a Providence, from the constitution of the world, as explained in the *Principia*. The last was preached on December 5th, 1692; and *after* it was preached, Bentley transmitted some questions to Newton as to points on which he required farther information. Newton returned an almost immediate answer, dated on December 10th; and this was followed by other letters, on the 17th January, and the 11th and 25th February, 1692-3.*

After this time we have no traces of Newton's state of mind or feeling till the month of September 1693, when he unquestionably laboured under a very serious indisposition, which, whether it amounted to temporary insanity or not, seems for the time to have produced the utmost depression of spirits, and materially interfered with the sound exercise of his understanding. No other account, as it appears to us, can be given of the following letters:—‘SIR, Some time after Mr Millington had delivered your message, he pressed me to see you the next time I went to London. I was averse; but upon his pressing consented, before I considered what I did, for I am extremely troubled at the embroilment I am in, and have neither ate nor slept well this twelvemonth, nor have my former consistency of mind. I never designed to get any thing by your interest, nor by King James's favour, but am now sensible that I must withdraw from your acquaintance, and see neither you nor the rest of my friends any more, if I may but leave them quietly. I beg your pardon for saying I would see you again, and rest your most humble and obedient servant, IS. NEWTON.’ (To Mr Pepys, September 13th, 1693. Brewster, p. 232.)—‘SIR, Being of opinion that you endeavoured to embroil me with women, and by other means, I was so much affected with it, as that when one told me you were sickly and would not live, I answered, “’Twere better if you were dead.” I desire you to forgive me this uncharitableness; for I am now satisfied that what you have done is just, and I beg your pardon for my

* The order of the third and fourth of these celebrated letters is inverted in all the publications of them; the letter of February 11th, which purports to have been written as a final supplement, being placed, probably on that account, as the fourth. It is obvious, however, in reading the letters, that it refers only to the first and second, and that the remaining letter was written in answer to one from Bentley requesting a speedy reply, and probably received after Newton considered the correspondence at an end.

‘having had hard thoughts of you for it, and for representing that you struck at the root of morality, in a principle you laid in your book of ideas, and designed to pursue in another book, and that I took you for a Hobbist. I beg your pardon also for saying or thinking that there was a design to sell me an office, or to embroil me.—I am your most humble and unfortunate servant, IS. NEWTON.’ (To Mr Locke, September 16th, 1693. Brewster, p. 238.)

Mr Pepys, on the receipt of Newton's extraordinary letter, wrote to Mr Millington, the gentleman named in it, to enquire as to the existence of any ‘discomposure in head, or mind, or both.’ Mr Millington's answer, dated September 30th, furnishes some remarkable circumstances, though only part of it need be extracted.

‘I was, I must confess, very much surprised at the enquiry you were pleased to make about the message that Mr Newton made the ground of his letter to you, for I was very sure I never either received from you or delivered to him any such; and therefore I went immediately to wait upon him, with a design to discourse him about the matter, but he was out of town, and since I have not seen him, till, upon the 28th, I met him at Huntingdon, where, upon his own accord, and before I had time to ask him any question, he told me that he had writ to you a very odd letter, at which he was much concerned; added, that it was in a distemper that much seized his head, and that kept him awake for above five nights together, which upon occasion he desired I would represent to you, and beg your pardon, he being very much ashamed he should be so rude to a person for whom he hath so great an honour. He is now very well, and though I fear he is under some small degree of melancholy, yet I think there is no reason to suspect it hath at all touched his understanding, and I hope never will.’ (Brewster, p. 234, 5.)

It may be collected probably from this letter that, whatever had been the character of Newton's disorder, it had by this time much subsided; and the same conclusion will follow from the letter which he addressed to Locke on October 5th,* in reply to a most kind and friendly answer to the melancholy letter of September 16th.

‘SIR, The last winter, by sleeping too often by my fire, I got an ill habit of sleeping; and a distemper, which this summer has been epidemical, put me farther out of order, so that when I wrote to you, I had

* There can be no doubt that Newton's letter was in answer to Locke's. There must however be some mistake in the date of one of them, if this be so; for they both bear date October 5th, Newton's at Cambridge, Locke's at Oates, his seat near High Laver in Essex, about 40 miles distant from Cambridge.

not slept an hour a night for a fortnight together, and for five days together not a wink. I remember I wrote to you, but what I said of your book I remember not. If you please to send me a transcript of that passage, I will give you an account of it if I can.—I am, your most humble servant, IS. NEWTON.' (Brewster, p. 240.)

From this time we may probably consider Newton's health of body and mind as re-established. The letter itself, though marked by the singular circumstance of his having forgotten those circumstances which had given him so much pain not three weeks before, has no features of querulousness or incoherence; and we soon find him restored in some measure to the prosecution of his former studies, and ready to attend to scientific research, and to answer scientific enquiries. In November 1693, he corresponded with Pepys on a mathematical question of probability; and from September 1st, 1694, for several years, he was in communication with Flamstead, for the purpose of farther verifying his lunar theory by comparison with the observations of that great astronomer.

It is unnecessary to advert to the later occupations of Newton's life, as any notion of a permanent affection of mind must already be completely disproved; but there is a remarkable passage in Mr Conduitt's narrative, which deserves notice, as it shows a complete return, in appearance at least, to all his former habits. 'At the University he spent the greater part of his time ' in his closet, and, when he was tired with his severer studies of ' philosophy, his relief and amusement was going to some other ' study, as history, chronology, divinity, and chemistry, all which ' he examined and searched thoroughly, as appears by the many ' papers he has left on those subjects. *After his coming to London*, all the time he had to spare from his business, and the ' civilities of life, in which he was scrupulously exact and com- ' plaisant, was employed in the same way; and he was hardly ' ever alone without a pen in his hand, and a book before him; ' and in all the studies he undertook, he had a perseverance and ' patience equal to his sagacity and invention.'—(Turnor's *History of Grantham*, p. 163.)

We have spoken of Dr Brewster's dexterity in marshalling his evidence. The term will not appear misapplied, when we mention that he decides the question against the insanity of Newton, on the evidence merely of Huygens's journal, and De la Pryme's diary; on certain general considerations of improbability, and the comparison of some particular dates; without even mentioning the letters to which we have referred, and especially those of September 1693. When he has arrived at his conclusion, he gives the letters in question, to show 'the real nature

'and extent of the indisposition to which Huygens's statement 'refers.' Even in the argument from dates, he attaches far too great weight to the evidence of particular writings, from an over strict and erroneous interpretation, as it appears to us, of the passages in Huygens and De la Pryme, from which he argues.

Huygens's journal speaks ambiguously of the exciting cause of Newton's supposed derangement. It is said to have arisen, 'either in consequence of his too intense application to his 'studies, or from excessive grief at having lost, by fire, his 'chemical laboratory, and several manuscripts.' Dr Brewster adopts the latter suggestion exclusively, and much of his argument as to the general improbability of the statement is drawn from the inadequacy of this particular cause.

'The unbroken equanimity of Newton's mind, the purity of his moral character, his temperate and abstemious life, his ardent and unaffected piety, and the weakness of his imaginative powers, all indicated a mind which was not likely to be upset by any affection to which it could be exposed. The loss of a few experimental records could never have disturbed the equilibrium of a mind like his. If they were the records of discoveries, the discoveries, themselves indestructible, would have been afterwards given to the world. If they were merely the details of experimental results, a little time could have easily reproduced them. Had these records contained the first fruits of early genius—of obscure talent, on which fame had not yet shed its rays, we might have supposed that the first blight of such early ambition would have unsettled the stability of an untried mind. But Newton was satiated with fame. His mightiest discoveries were completed, and diffused over all Europe, and he must have felt himself placed on the loftiest pinnacle of earthly ambition. The incredulity which such views could not fail to encourage, was increased by the novelty of the information. No English biographer had ever alluded to such an event. History and tradition were equally silent, and it was not easy to believe that the Lucasian professor of mathematics at Cambridge, a member of the English Parliament,* and the first philosopher in Europe, could have lost his reason, without the dreadful fact being known to his own countrymen.'—224-5.

It is not merely in these general reasonings that Dr Brewster has been led into erroneous argument, by the assumption that the loss of the papers was the exciting cause of Newton's depression of mind. His reasoning as to the earlier writings on which he relies, turns entirely on the same supposition; for he

* We have already pointed out the mistake on which this argument is founded.

fixes the commencement of the imputed insanity by the date of the fire, which he collects from De la Pryme's Diary; and the cogency of his argument from the employments of the earlier part of the year 1692, depends entirely on the correctness of this date, which does not correspond with that given by Huygens. Again, the importance of the letters to Pepys about chances depends mainly, and that of the correspondence with Flamstead in 1694 entirely, on the assumption that Newton is represented by Huygens as only beginning to understand the *Principia* in May 1694, the date of the entry in his journal. It is plain that such an interpretation cannot be relied on. The report of Colin is evidently a vague one; but the discovery of which he spoke probably preceded his departure from England, of the date of which there is no trace; and it is not unlikely that the circumstance did not come to the knowledge of a Scotchman, as he is described, until some time after its occurrence. Dr Brewster indeed conjectures that Colin was a Bachelor of Arts of the name of Collins, whom Newton afterwards employed in his calculations; and this would give a higher authority to the details of his report than they would otherwise seem to deserve. There is, however, no evidence whatever of the identity of the parties, except the similarity of the names; and it is, in other respects, unlikely that they were the same. In June 1695, Newton mentions Collins as a Bachelor of Arts whom he could employ for a little money. (Brewster, p. 223, note.) In May 1694, therefore, he must have been a very young man;—not very likely, since his pecuniary circumstances were such that he was to be paid for the honour of assisting the great philosopher, to be abroad at all, nor, from his youth, to be in communication with Huygens. If he were so, he would be more likely to be known as a member of the University where he had received his education, than as a Scotchman; nor is the circumstance itself, that he was a Scotchman, very probable before the union of the two kingdoms. If known indeed to Huygens as a Cambridge man, he would hardly fail to be so described on a question of Cambridge anecdote.

Omitting many of the circumstances above detailed, and which we have mentioned only to deprive them of that importance which has been attached to them, there seems to be enough of unquestionable evidence to lead us to a conclusion somewhat different from any hitherto formed. It is clear, from Newton's own letters, that in September 1693 he had suffered for a year under a disorder, which in some degree affected his mind. 'I am extremely troubled at the embroilment I am in, and have neither ate nor slept well this twelvemonth, nor have my former

'*consistency of mind*;'—an obscure expression, undoubtedly, but which clearly points to some mental affection. It might be only great nervous depression,—it might in some stage of its career assume a more formidable character. In the letter of October to Locke, Newton again refers the beginning of his illness to the preceding winter; but in neither letter does he allude to the loss of his papers, or refer his sufferings to any such cause. In the candour and openness of his nature, such an omission is almost conclusive. It was very easy for Colin to confuse the two stories; or to conjecture, what he does not assert, that they were connected.

According to the dates given by both these letters, the disease must have had its origin before the composition of the letters to Bentley; and perhaps there may be reason to suspect that it had rather an earlier date than Newton himself was aware of. At least, the letter to Locke, of January 1692, shows a tendency to suspicion and dissatisfaction, very little consonant with the general calmness of Newton's temper; and apparently the more unreasonable, as attaching to the conduct of an excellent and constant friend; and the letter of the following month shows some disinclination to society, and jealousy as to the construction which might be put upon his demeanour there, which hardly correspond with his character as described by Mr Conduitt. Though studious and retired, he was not reserved or recluse; and these letters were written after he had removed from Cambridge, and had mixed, during his Parliamentary career, with many of the great and noble. The indications, however, which they present would be of little moment, unless they corresponded rather closely with those afforded at a time when the disorder was at its height.

We do not, however, attach much weight to the letters of January and February 1692. At a later part of that year the disease must, from Newton's own statement, have been in existence; and it is clear, from the letters to Bentley, which must have been written during its progress, that it did not, during its earlier stages, impair the vigour or soundness of his reasoning powers, however it might interfere with his happiness, or irritate his temper. We cannot mark its advance; but we have Newton's own authority for considering it to have been aggravated by the intervention of some epidemic disorder in the summer of 1693; and the effect seems to have been a short paroxysm, during which neither his memory nor his reason were proof against the assault to which they were exposed. Erroneous fancies and feelings crowded upon him—a message from Pepys, which was never sent or delivered;—a notion that Locke had

endeavoured to embroil him with women,—an imagination peculiarly absurd, when considered with reference to the character of both the parties;—a wish for absolute retirement and seclusion;—a belief that there was a design to sell him an office, itself not an unremarkable reference to the events of a season, during which the first seeds of disease were perhaps sown.

Less weight is to be given to the opinions which Newton expressed about the moral tendency of Locke's great work, for they were only those very generally entertained at the time; but they are not to be left out of the account, for they seem to have differed from his more habitual judgment; and, as we have already noticed, though the subject of humble apology in September, they were forgotten early in October. At that time indeed, Newton, whatever had been the nature of his disease, was probably convalescent; but forgetfulness of what has been said or done during a season of mental disorder does not unfrequently accompany convalescence. That there had, before then, been a time during which his mind had so far yielded to the effects of long continued exertion, and the additional pressure of immediate bodily illness, that on his recovery he might naturally be very careful not again to expose himself to the danger of the like suffering, seems to us a conclusion hardly to be avoided.

We had rather use this result to explain the comparative inaction of Newton's latter days, than draw from that inaction an argument in support of the conclusion itself. But their connexion is too close to be altogether neglected; and the careful examination of the dates at which the foundation of Newton's different works was laid, only makes the absence of any new career of research more remarkable. Not only did his application to theological study exist before his illness, but his works connected with it were then in a state of forwardness or completeness. The *Chronology* was composed at Cambridge; probably before 1693, for he ceased to reside there in 1696. His cessation from any new course of mathematical invention or discovery has long been the subject of surprise. Yet his habits of life continued apparently unaltered. His time indeed was less at his own disposal; the duties of office and of society claimed a larger portion of it; but enough remained for him, who at the early age of twenty-four, had laid the foundation of his wonderful discoveries in optics, physics, and mathematics, to open other fields of investigation, had he still ventured on that patient and laborious application of his whole mind to the gradual evolution of a theory, to which, and not to sudden conjecture or intuition, he uniformly attributed the success of his re-

searches.* Dr Brewster indeed says that 'Newton was satiated with fame' (p. 225); that 'the ambition of fame is a youthful passion, which is softened, if not subdued, by age;' that 'Newton was invested with all the insignia of immortality; but, endowed with a native humility of mind, and animated with those hopes which teach us to form a humble estimate of human greatness, he was satisfied with the laurels he had won, and he sought only to perfect and complete his labours' (p. 245.) The love of fame is perhaps as much displayed in care for the completion and perfection of the great works already achieved as in the undertaking of new toils; and so far as it is evinced by eagerness in the assertion of his own claims to priority and originality of discovery, it appears to have been at least as strong in the latter as in the earlier part of Newton's life. The argument, however, has singularly little application to Newton, on whose career the love of distinction had unusually small influence. Fame was at all times much less tempting to him, than the contentions which might follow it were fearful. During the most active part of his life, it was with the utmost difficulty that his friends could prevail on him to allow the publication of his discoveries; a reluctance attributable principally to his aversion to controversy; but in part, perhaps, to that singular modesty which led him, as Mr Conduitt tells us, to compare himself to 'a boy playing on the sea-shore, and diverting himself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before him.'

So easily indeed was Newton deterred from the pursuit of fame, that we find him in 1672, in consequence of the bickerings occasioned by his theory of light, declaring his intention 'to be no farther solicitous about matters of philosophy;' and in 1675, saying that he finds it 'yet against the grain to put pen to paper any more on that subject:' and the publication of the *Optics* was delayed till 1704, lest, if it took place during Hooke's lifetime, it should become the occasion of renewed disputes. Even when he had determined on the publication of the

* The well-known story that the fall of an apple led Newton to the discovery of the theory of gravitation, is no exception to the truth of this account. It merely turned his attention to a particular part of the subject, but patient thought worked out the principles on which it was to be explained. Dr Brewster (p. 344, note) says, that there is no authority for the story; it is however referred to as a known fact by Mr Conduitt.—Turnor's *History of Grantham*, p. 160.

Principia, he was anxious to suppress the third book, and assigned as a reason that 'Philosophy is such an impertinently litigious lady, that a man had as good be engaged in lawsuits as have to do with her. I found it so formerly, and now I can no sooner come near her again but she gives me warning.' Yet this indifference to fame, when combined with the disquiet attendant upon it, failed to turn him aside from those studies in which he delighted for their intrinsic interest. Activity was the natural state of his mind, research its favourite occupation. No degree of vexation or disappointment prevented his continual application to the pursuits in which he was absorbed. The love of quiet could conquer the appetite for fame; but the quiet was retirement from the contests of publicity, not from the exertions of investigation. Why, then, were these exertions intermitted, at a time when all his pursuits remained apparently unchanged? If we believe that he had learned from experience to fear the effect of overstrained exertion continued for a long period, a motive is at once suggested sufficient to account for an unwilling abstinence. But no less cogent reason seems adequate to explain so great and sudden a change in the real habits of a life so little altered in its apparent tenor.

We have been led into so much detail on this question, that we can allow but little space to the consideration of others. There is however one, which, from the excitement it occasioned at the time, and the feeling of partisanship which is still connected with it, requires some attention in any notice connected with the Life of Newton. We refer to the celebrated controversy about the doctrine of Fluxions and the Differential Calculus. Little doubt is now entertained as to the independent right of each claimant to the fame of his invention. The priority of Newton is beyond dispute; but there is little more question as to the complete independence of Leibnitz's discovery. But the passions which raged so fiercely, while these points were unsettled, left behind them an agitation which has not yet entirely subsided; and the personal conduct of the contending parties is still a topic of discussion, when the subject on which they disputed is at rest.

A dispassionate review of the real facts will perhaps leave neither party completely free from blame, though very little will attach to Newton. But it will vindicate each from much obloquy which has been cast on him by the supporters of the other, and show that there was very little to condemn in either, long after the epochs from which blame has been imputed. The zeal of injudicious friends on each side seems to have taken umbrage where no offence was intended; and the principals at length learned

to construe the conduct of their respective opponents in the sense originally affixed to it by less worthy commentators.

Nothing can be more free from suspicion than the earlier intercourse between Newton and Leibnitz. Adopting the fashion of that time, or perhaps of an age a little earlier, Newton, who was never prompt to communicate discoveries which he had not brought to that perfection in which he desired to produce them, announced to Leibnitz his possession of a new method of calculation, and the subjects to which it was peculiarly applicable, but concealed the statement of the method itself in an anagram. It has never been pretended that Leibnitz deciphered the anagram; but it has been said that the announcement of the existence of a method applicable to the subjects in question was enough to set him upon the track of the discovery. Such a belief does not appear to us well founded; if it were, the honour of the invention would hardly be worthy of so much contention as it has occasioned. But there seems to be no reason for doubting the truth of Leibnitz's answer, in which he informed Newton that he had himself already discovered a similar method, and communicated its nature most frankly and freely.

At this time, and long after, each of the two inventors might be unaware of the exact date of the discovery by the other; but neither appears to have had any suspicion that the discoveries were not perfectly independent. Newton, who had kept his method to himself for some years, and knew that at the date when he first possessed it, Leibnitz was not twenty years old, might be nearly sure that he was the first; but neither imagined that the other had received any assistance from himself. On Newton's part, this very clearly appears from the celebrated scholium in the *Principia*, which has been a good deal misrepresented or overstrained on both sides. In that great work, the immortal author seems to have been scrupulously careful to give due honour to all those who had been on the same track of discovery with himself. The manner in which he speaks of Wren, Hooke, and Halley, with reference to the law of gravitation, is well known; and the same spirit led him, when publicly announcing his discovery of Fluxions, to give his due share of credit to Leibnitz. After stating his own communication to Leibnitz, he gives this account of that philosopher's answer. 'Rescripsit Vir Clarissimus se quoque in ejusmodi methodum incidisse, et methodum suam communicavit, a meâ vix abludentem, præterquam in verborum et notarum formulis, et ideâ generationis quantitatum.'

It seems impossible to doubt that at this time Newton believed Leibnitz to be an independent discoverer; and accordingly, M.

Biot treats the passage as 'eternalizing the rights of Leibnitz, 'by recognising them in the *Principia*.' This is giving too much weight to it. The controversy as to priority and invention had not then begun; and Newton's belief as to the independence of Leibnitz's discovery, entertained at a time when he had no particular reason to doubt or investigate it, cannot be conclusive on the question; though it is undoubtedly a very important testimony in favour of his rival.

The first public suggestion of plagiarism on Leibnitz's part, proceeded many years after (in 1699) from Fatio de Duillier, who spoke in positive terms of Newton's priority, and threw out at least a suspicion that Leibnitz, 'the second inventor,' might have borrowed something from the other. Dr Brewster, in his willingness to find Leibnitz in the wrong, says that the remark of Fatio 'by no means amounts to a charge of plagiarism, for 'Leibnitz is actually designated the *second inventor*.' It is not a charge certainly, for he only suggests the question as a matter for farther enquiry; but it is for enquiry into a suspicion of direct plagiarism, and cannot be tortured into any thing less, by any narrow interpretation of the word inventor. No recrimination, however, was excited by this publication. Leibnitz was contented with asserting his own rights without discussing Newton's, and referred to Newton's scholium, among other evidence, in support of them. In estimating the weight to be attributed to that scholium, it is not immaterial to observe that it was retained in the second edition of the *Principia*, which was published in 1713, long after Leibnitz had made this use of it. The only alteration was the addition of the words, 'et idea generationis quantitatum,' which were not in the first edition. The change proves that the passage did not pass without observation, but was deliberately retained after the use made of it was known. Indeed it is not improbable that the alteration was made in direct reference to the next stages of the controversy, in which the two systems had been treated as very nearly identical, and the difference of principle involved in them had been apparently overlooked.

The publication of Newton's Optics in 1704 is an epoch from which an angrier tone of feeling prevailed. The editor of the Leipzig Acts, whom Newton believed to be Leibnitz, in reviewing the treatise on the Quadrature of Curves, published with the Optics, entered into a comparison of the method of fluxions with the differential calculus; and used some expressions which may very probably have been misinterpreted, but which occasioned a great ferment in England. Dr Brewster (p. 202) calls it 'a sentence of some ambiguity,' and immediately proceeds to

say that 'there can be no doubt' that it contains a charge of plagiarism against Newton. The passage is of sufficient importance to be extracted. It is as follows: 'Pro differentiis igitur Leibnit-
'zianis D. Newtonus adhibet, semperque adhibuit, fluxiones,
'quæ sunt quam proxime ut fluentium augmenta, æqualibus
'temporis particulis quam minimis genita; iisque tum in suis
'Principiis Naturæ Mathematicis, tum in aliis postea editis,
'elegantè est usus; quemadmodum et Honoratus Fabrius in
'sua Synopsi Geometrica motuum progressus Cavallerianæ me-
'thodo substituit.'

The whole argument for treating this as a charge of plagiarism against Newton is drawn from the fact that Fabri had decidedly pillaged Cavalieri. To us it seems very questionable whether the inference is legitimately deduced. Comparisons do not usually run on all-fours; and the writer might well mean merely to illustrate the resemblance between the two systems, without at all considering whether the circumstances under which it existed in the two cases were similar or unlike. The object was to point out the correspondence of the methods. The absence of any intention to charge Newton with plagiarism, seems to be confirmed by a minute examination of the wording of the passage. It is in other respects complimentary in expression; and the contrast of the words 'adhibet' in the case of Newton, and 'substituit' in that of Fabri, seems rather to favour the notion that, if the writer had Fabri's plagiarism at all in his mind, he was willing by the terms he adopted to exclude the imputation of a similar proceeding to Newton. This conjecture is much strengthened by the insertion of the words, which otherwise have very little meaning, 'adhibet, semperque adhibuit.'*

* The same construction is given to the passage, and the same arguments used to support it, by Leibnitz himself, in his second letter to the Abbé Conti. The arguments will speak for themselves; but as Leibnitz's veracity and fair-dealing have been called in question, it may be worth while to mention that the passage in the text was written before examining the correspondence with Conti, and from the mere inspection of the statement complained of, as extracted by Dr Brewster. Newton was not satisfied with the explanation, which he thought inconsistent with the expressions *igitur* and *quemadmodum*. We do not feel the force of the difficulty. At all events, Dr Brewster, who mentions Newton's suspicion that Leibnitz wrote the review in the Leipzig Acts, ought to have mentioned the construction which Leibnitz himself affixed to it. It is material evidence in any case; but if he was the author, (and the manner in which he speaks of the passage, with full knowledge that he had been accused of writing it, gives

However this may be, it was not Newton who first took umbrage at the review. Keill thought it behoved him to interfere and assert Newton's rights. In Dr Brewster's phrase, 'as the representative of Newton's friends, he could not brook this base attack upon his countryman.' He accordingly asserted Newton's undoubted right to the invention of fluxions, and retorted the supposed charge of plagiarism on Leibnitz. 'The same calculus was afterwards published by Leibnitz, the name and the mode of notation being changed.' Keill's letter was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and Leibnitz naturally was offended, and called, although in very courteous terms, for a retractation. Keill then put forward as his justification the passage already quoted from the Leipzig Acts; and it is said that Newton, and other members of the Royal Society, agreed in understanding it to imply an accusation of plagiarism. Contemporary construction is never to be neglected in ascertaining what was really intended by a writer. In this instance, however, it is a construction formed after the question had been raised. It therefore is not the independent belief of the parties referred to, but only their assent to an interpretation suggested to them. In the result, Keill was authorized to explain and defend his statement; and he did so by asserting, not that Leibnitz had known the details of Newton's method, but that he had seen letters containing 'indications of it sufficiently intelligible to an acute mind, from which he derived, or at least might derive, the principles of his calculus.'

Dr Brewster thinks that Leibnitz ought not to have been offended with this statement; that it makes no distinct assertion that he derived his principles from the letters of Newton, or that he had them not before; that it is a mere statement of opinion as to the degree of facility with which the method might be divined from the letters; that this was an opinion which Keill or any other person was entitled to maintain; and that the dispute therefore should have been allowed to terminate here. Considering the circumstances of the publication, and the discussions

some confirmation to that notion,) he was undoubtedly entitled to the benefit of his disavowal of the obnoxious meaning which had been attributed to it. 'C'est une interprétation maligne d'un homme qui cherchoit noise; il semble quel'auteur des paroles inséré dans les Actes de Leipzig à voulu y obvier tout exprès par ces mots, *adhibet semperque adhibuit*: pour insinuer que ce n'est pas après la vue de mes différences, mais déjà auparavant, qu'il s'est servi des fluxions. Et je défie qui que ce soit de donner un autre but raisonnable à ces paroles, *semperque adhibuit*.'—Horsley's *Newton*, vol. iv. p. 600.

which had preceded it, this seems rather singular doctrine. Dr Brewster perhaps thinks that a literary controversy ought to be conducted after the model of those battles *ubi tu pulsas ego vapulo*. And accordingly he speaks in very severe terms of Leibnitz's conduct in attempting to return the blow that he received, and is very indignant at the want of civility with which he speaks of Keill. Indeed, his indignation prevents him from discovering the true meaning of the expressions which he censures. 'He branded Keill with the odious appellation of an upstart, and 'one little acquainted with the circumstances of the case.' (Brewster, p. 205.) The word upstart would certainly be an offensive expression; but the rest of the phrase is as little uncivil as any which could be adopted by a person who denied the truth of the writer's assertions. But the whole passage is mistranslated. Leibnitz describes Keill under the terms, 'homine docto, sed novo, et parum perito rerum ante actarum cognitare;'—a learned man (a qualification entirely omitted in Dr Brewster's version), but coming late into the field, and little qualified to take cognizance of matters occurring before his own time. It is very true, that *novus homo* may sometimes mean an upstart, but it is difficult to account for the utter neglect of the context displayed in so rendering it in this passage.

Another charge is better supported. Leibnitz, in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, dated December 19th, 1711, declared, that in the review in the Leipzig Acts, 'no injustice had been done to 'any party, but every one had received what was his due.' Dr Brewster, acting on his interpretation of that passage, treats this as an adoption by Leibnitz of the charge of plagiarism against Newton. If we are right in our view of that passage, it is not absolutely so; but Leibnitz must have known that the passage had been so interpreted, and, if he did not mean to adopt it in that sense, he ought to have explained the construction which he himself put upon it. He did not, and here was the first fault, as far as we can see, in his conduct;—a fault not sufficiently repaired by his subsequent denial of such an interpretation in his letter to Conti.

We do not propose to enter minutely into the later history of the controversy. From this time forward Leibnitz's conduct was marked with much of heat and intemperance, and parts of it would deserve yet stronger reprehension. He had perhaps some cause of complaint connected with the publication of the *Commercium Epistolicum*; but this is no justification of his own course. We find him dealing about charges of malicious falsehood against the editors of that collection; eagerly adopting and obstinately persisting in an opinion of Bernoulli's, that Newton

had formed his calculus after having seen Leibnitz's; and accusing Newton himself of want of veracity, and of principles amounting to materialism, and injurious to the interests of religion. We do not suppose that these charges were made insincerely; but it is impossible not to attribute them to the wilfulness of prejudice and hostility. The last accusation is peculiarly odious, when we recollect that it was repeatedly made, and that the slander was introduced into Leibnitz's correspondence with the Princess of Wales, apparently for the purpose of injuring Newton in her estimation. It is also singularly offensive, when we remember Newton's declaration to Bentley, of which Leibnitz indeed was ignorant, 'When I wrote my treatise about our system, I had an eye upon such principles as might work with considering men for the belief of a Deity, and nothing can rejoice me more than to find it useful for that purpose.'—*Letter to Bentley*, Dec. 16th, 1692.

It is with a very different feeling that we turn to the conduct of Newton. He was naturally earnest in the assertion of his own claims; but there was scarcely any thing undignified or illiberal in his conduct. The only material exception seems to exist in the anxiety which he manifested in his letter to Conti, and his notes on Leibnitz's reply, to identify the principles of the differential calculus with those of Barrow's method of tangents. M. Biot indeed dwells much on some passages in which Newton treats the celebrated scholium in the *Principia* as intended to establish the priority of his own discovery, and not to recognise the independence of Leibnitz's invention. With the opinion we have already expressed as to the importance of that passage as a testimony, we certainly cannot but regret that Newton, in insisting on interpreting it as a claim upon his own part, should have at all disavowed its bearing in favour of his rival also. But we see no reason whatever to doubt his assertion, that his principal object was to assert his own priority. It is to be observed that this was the only question in which he was personally interested: the independence of Leibnitz's discovery could not prejudice his fame, and he accordingly treated it in general as a matter of indifference. 'Whether Mr Leibnitz invented it after me, or had it from me, is a question of no consequence; for second inventors have no right.'*

One step indeed taken after Leibnitz's death, may seem to require a more considerable deduction to be made from the praise due to Newton's general candour and temper; but it is not

* *Notes on the Letters to Conti*, Horsley's *Newton*, vol. iv. p. 616.

quite certain that he concurred in it. In the third edition of the *Principia*, published in 1725, under the superintendence of Dr Pemberton, the scholium was omitted. Pemberton was in frequent communication with Newton with respect to the edition, and perhaps it is not likely that he would have ventured on such an alteration without authority. Yet we would fain believe that Newton, who appears to have prevented Cotes from making any personal attack upon his rival, who retained the passage in the edition of 1713, long after the use made of it was known, and who had subsequently, in the notes on Leibnitz's letter to Conti, referred to it as containing a claim on his own behalf, was not a party to its subsequent suppression. Dr Brewster indeed sees nothing to blame in the omission. 'He was justified in withdrawing a passage which had been so erroneously interpreted, and so greatly misapplied,' p. 216. 'He was bound either to omit it altogether, or to enter into explanations which might have involved him in a new controversy,' p. 218. We cannot concur in these observations. We have already explained the manner and degree in which the passage appears to bear upon the question between the parties. Whatever was its weight, Leibnitz was entitled to the benefit of it. If misinterpreted, the error might have been exposed, or the sense which the author intended it to bear, explained. But the attempt to withdraw it seems to us both undignified and unfair; and we would readily suppose, either that Newton had no part in it, or yielded, in almost the extremity of old age, to the persuasions of those about him, equally zealous with himself for his reputation, but less scrupulous as to the means of asserting it.

Our notice of Dr Brewster's work has consisted principally of dissent. Yet we think highly of its general value. But the merit of the book, and its probable popularity, make it important to refute any material errors which it contains. This is especially necessary wherever these errors affect the character of other distinguished votaries of science. Dr Brewster's zeal for Newton's glory sometimes renders him unjust to others. This is the case, in a very remarkable degree, with respect to Lord Bacon. The opinion that Newton's mind was in any degree formed or guided by the precepts of the *Novum Organum*, is offensive to his biographer; and his attempt to disprove it has led him into a very disparaging view, both of the value and the effects of the Baconian Philosophy. His arguments are not devoid of plausibility, and are stated with considerable force of style; but his notions are eminently unsound and illogical, and they are expressed in a tone of arrogance, and of confident assertion contrary to fact, not a little calculated to lessen our

respect for his judgment, and our belief of his competency as a historian of science.

His attack on 'the pretensions of the Baconian Philosophy' opens as follows: 'The method of investigating truth by observation and experiment, so successfully pursued in the *Principia*, has been ascribed by some modern writers of great celebrity to Lord Bacon; and Sir Isaac Newton is reported as having owed all his discoveries to the application of the principles of that distinguished writer. One of the greatest admirers of Lord Bacon has gone so far as to characterise him as a man who has had no rival in the times which are past, and as likely to have none in those which are to come. In a eulogy so overstrained as this, we feel that the language of panegyric has passed into that of idolatry; and we are desirous of weighing the force of arguments which tend to depose Newton from the high-priesthood of nature, and to unsettle the proud destinies of Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler.' (P. 333.) We must pause a little to consider this beginning; for it affords a specimen of that vagueness of statement, and of that declamatory style in which the whole discussion is conducted. Who, we would ask, are the 'modern' writers here referred to; and what are those arguments of theirs which militate against the claims and the fame of either Newton, Copernicus, Galileo, or Kepler? By the term 'modern,' Dr Brewster probably means recent writers, and has more particularly in view Mr Dugald Stewart, Professor Playfair, and Sir J. Herschel.* Any opinion regarding the history of philosophy that comes to us sanctioned by three such names, is assuredly favourably recommended; and Dr Brewster would have done well, by mentioning those to whom he opposes himself, to enable his readers to judge what is due, in the matter of authority, to the disputants on either side. But, is the view which these eminent writers

* It is very evident, though Dr Brewster does not name the idolatrous admirer, that he refers, in the above statement, to the following remarkable passage of Professor Playfair's *Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science*:—'Bacon is destined, if, indeed, any thing in the world be so destined, to remain an *instantia singularis* among men, and as he has had no rival in the times which are past, so is he likely to have none in those which are to come. Before any parallel to him can be found, not only must a man of the same talents be produced, but he must be placed in the same circumstances, the memory of his predecessor must be effaced, and the light of science, after being entirely extinguished, must be again beginning to revive. If a second Bacon is ever to arise, he must be ignorant of the first.'

have taken of the services of Lord Bacon peculiar either to themselves or their age; or have they advanced any thing in behalf of the author of the *Novum Organum*, incompatible with the claims of those illustrious men whom Dr Brewster has thought himself called upon to defend? Was Maclaurin, the faithful expositor of Newton's discoveries, less ardent in his admiration of Bacon, or less ample in his acknowledgments of the utility of the Inductive Logic, than the 'modern' writers above-named? Or, to go farther back—Was Gassendi, the biographer of Copernicus, and the contemporary of Galileo and Kepler, less a champion for Bacon than those recent extollers whom Dr Brewster represents as unsettling, by their undue admiration of him, 'the proud destinies' of greater men? No enlightened assertor of Bacon's claims, as the father of the Inductive Logic, ever insinuated any thing calculated to disparage these memorable discoverers. His admirers have only represented him as the first professed expounder and systematizer of those rules of philosophizing which were fortunately followed by some philosophers who never had made them a particular object of investigation. It detracts nothing from the peculiar merits of Bacon, that they succeeded without his express aid; and it detracts nothing from theirs to say, that his labours shed a new, a surer, and a more animating light over that path of enquiry into which the force of their inductive genius instinctively led them to enter.

Dr Brewster's argument may be stated as consisting of two parts. He contends, in the first place, that experimental enquiry had been recommended, and successfully followed, by several philosophers preceding Bacon; and, in the second place, that among those who succeeded him there is nowhere to be found any grateful admissions of his services. There is some truth, but a much larger portion of misapprehension, error, and mistatement in these views. The subject, if fully treated, would require a long dissertation; but we must limit ourselves to a few of the observations and facts which occur to our minds.

The first argument is expressed as follows:—'The necessity of experimental research, and of advancing gradually from the study of facts to the determination of their cause, though the groundwork of Bacon's method, is a doctrine which was not only inculcated, but successfully followed, by preceding philosophers. In a letter from Tycho Brahe to Kepler, this industrious astronomer urges his pupil "to lay a solid foundation for his views by actual observation, and then, by ascending from these, to strive to reach the causes of things;" and it was no doubt under the influence of this advice that Kepler

‘ submitted his wildest fancies to the test of observation, and
‘ was conducted to his most splendid discoveries. The reason-
‘ ings of Copernicus, who preceded Bacon by more than a cen-
‘ tury, were all founded on the most legitimate induction. Dr
‘ Gilbert had exhibited in his treatise on the magnet, the most
‘ perfect specimen of physical research. Leonardo da Vinci
‘ had described in the clearest manner the proper method of
‘ philosophical investigation; and the whole scientific career of
‘ Galileo was one continued example of the most sagacious
‘ application of observation and experiment to the discovery of
‘ general laws.’

In what is here set forth by this new sifter of ‘ the pretensions
‘ of the Baconian Philosophy,’ there is nothing approaching to
originality. Dr Brewster has merely followed a remark of
Hume’s, contained in the well-known passage where he com-
pares Galileo and Bacon, and some similar observations of
Fabroni and Biot, in their respective Lives of Galileo,* and of
Venturi, in his Essay on the works of Leonardo da Vinci. We
are not aware of its having been ever denied by any one, that be-
fore Bacon wrote, there were some examples of successful experi-
mental enquiry, and some casual recommendations of that meth-
od of philosophizing. Bacon himself has said as much; he
was not ignorant either of Aristotle’s observations in Natural
History, or of Gilbert’s experiments in Magnetism; and some
of his contemporaries, to whom he submitted the outline of his
plan, told him, like Dr Brewster, that in proposing the method
of experiment, he proposed nothing altogether new. The re-
marks and the logic of all Bacon’s opponents have been very
much alike. Here is their syllogism: Lord Bacon recom-
mended enquiry by observation and experiment; but there
were men before his day who practised that method of en-
quiry; therefore the world was in nought indebted to Lord
Bacon. But have those far-seeing logicians overlooked no-
thing in their first proposition? Is it founded on a full
induction of all that is included in Lord Bacon’s perform-
ances? Is it not, on the contrary, eminently defective in this
essential point? Admitting all they have urged as to prior
exemplifications of what Bacon enjoined, we may still ask, is
there no distinction between the prosecution, in some few in-
stances, of observation and experiment to a successful issue,
and the deliberate and detailed exposition and enforcement of

* *Vite Italorum qui sæculis 16 et 17 floruerunt*, tom. 1.—*Biographie Universelle*, tom. 16.

the Inductive, as the only method of legitimate enquiry?—between the occasional and general statement of a great principle, and the establishment of its paramount authority as a universal rule and condition of all sound philosophical investigation?—between transient recommendations of experiment, and the authoritative revelation of its power illimitably to extend and multiply the field and fruits of human knowledge? Who can be mentioned among the predecessors or contemporaries of Bacon, as having, like him, drawn the principles of the Inductive method from the nature of the human understanding—as having, in the most explicit manner, chalked out the steps by which we are to proceed in the discovery of truth, so as to ascend securely from the simplest laws of nature to the loftiest generalizations of her agency—as having classed the errors and prejudices by which we are apt to be misled in our philosophical enquiries—and as having attempted to weigh and assort experiments according to their value as helps to discovery? ‘It has been attempted by some,’ says a truly philosophical and excellent writer,* ‘to lessen the merit of Bacon’s great achievement, by showing that the Inductive method had been practised in many instances, both ancient and modern, by the mere instinct of mankind; but it is not the introduction of inductive reasoning, as a new and hitherto untried process, which characterises the Baconian Philosophy, but his keen perception, and his broad and spirit-stirring, almost enthusiastic, announcement of its importance, as the alpha and omega of science, as the grand and only chain for the linking together of physical truths, and the eventual key to every discovery and every application.’ It is on *this* account, as the same very competent authority observes, that Bacon, ‘though his own actual contributions to the stock of physical truths were small, is justly entitled to be looked upon as the great reformer of science.’

Dr Brewster seems unable to perceive the utility of that body of rules and precepts, and that animated assertion of their fruitfulness, for which we are indebted to the *Novum Organum*. He thinks it enough to deprive Bacon of any peculiar merit—‘to unsettle his proud destiny’—that a few had struck into that avenue to science which he first laid open to the universal knowledge of mankind, then, for the most part, ignorant of its existence, and of the grand results to which it was calculated to lead.

* Sir J. W. Herschel's *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*, p. 114.

Was it, then, of no importance to the cause of truth, and the progress of genuine science, that the world should be possessed of the Method of Bacon, when its attention and admiration were so soon to be challenged for the opposite Method of Descartes? Though this great genius proclaimed with a loud voice, that facts are as nothing towards the establishment of principles, and that all perfect science must be founded on the deduction of effects from causes, we are still, it seems, to hold, that Bacon's delineation and enforcement of the contrary, as the true course of scientific procedure, was trite and valueless! If Kepler was so much indebted to the advice of Tycho, to take facts as his guides in the search after causes, as to be thereby led to his 'most splendid discoveries,' how much must not the world generally have been indebted to Bacon, who administered that advice so much more earnestly, largely, and methodically? Dr Brewster cites the letter of Tycho for one purpose, but does not seem to have seen its value for another of far more importance. What he overlooked did not, however, escape the sagacity of Maclaurin; for that eminent philosopher long ago noticed the letter in question, not to discredit Bacon, but to show how much such precepts as he delivered were calculated to accelerate the progress of science.

The preceding line of observation might be greatly extended; but we must stop here, in order to reserve space for some notice of the second branch of Dr Brewster's argument, in which he assumes a still more triumphant tone, and in respect to which, also, we hope to be able to satisfy our readers of his imperfect knowledge of the ground upon which he has ventured to tread with so confident a step. 'Having shown,' says he, 'that the distinguished philosophers who flourished before Bacon were perfect masters both of the principles and practice of Inductive research, it becomes interesting to enquire whether or not the philosophers who succeeded him acknowledged any obligation to his system, or derived the slightest advantage from his precepts. If Bacon constructed a method to which modern science owes its existence, we shall find its cultivators grateful for the gift, and offering the richest incense at the shrine of a benefactor whose generous labours conducted them to immortality. *No such testimonies, however, are to be found.* Nearly two hundred years have gone by, teeming with the richest fruits of human genius, and no grateful disciple has appeared to vindicate the rights of the alleged legislator of science. Even Newton, who was born and educated after the publication of the *Novum Organum*, never mentions the name of Bacon or his system, and the amiable and indefatigable Boyle treated him with the same disrespectful silence.'

This is strongly and boldly said ; but, unfortunately for Dr Brewster's credit as a historian of science, his statement is pregnant with error, and inconsistent with fact. In part, we must confess ourselves unable to discover Dr Brewster's meaning ; for he says, that ' no grateful disciple has appeared to vindicate ' the rights of the alleged legislator of science,' almost in the same breath in which he complains of the exaggerated pretensions set up for Bacon, by some ' modern writers of great celebrity.' Does he mean, that all vindicators of recent date are to be discounted, and that we must search farther back in the history of science, if it is wished to produce any competent witnesses in the cause of Lord Bacon ? What, then, will he say of Maclaurin and Pemberton—of D'Alembert and Gassendi ? The first two were professed expounders of Newton's discoveries, and ranked, besides, in the list of his personal friends. Now, Maclaurin describes Bacon as, in an especial manner, ' the founder ' of Experimental Philosophy ;' and tells us, ' that his exhortations had a good effect, and that Experimental Philosophy had ' been much more cultivated since his time than in any preceding period.' Pemberton's work, which was perused before its publication by Newton himself, is prefaced with a view of the *Novum Organum*, in which Bacon is commemorated as the first promulgator of the true method of science. D'Alembert offers the richest incense at ' the shrine' of Bacon, by an elaborate panegyric, in which he styles him ' the greatest and most ' universal of philosophers ;' and Gassendi, after largely explaining the Inductive Method, in his Treatise on Logic, characterises it as a great and heroic undertaking for the regeneration of philosophy. Had Dr Brewster practised a little of that inductive caution, which is as necessary in the history as in the processes of science, he would have found a multitude of proofs running through the whole of the two hundred years, which he has specified as producing none, of pointed acknowledgments of Bacon's merits, and of the beneficial effects of his precepts and exhortations. We could fill many pages with such proofs ; but we shall content ourselves with the mention of those furnished by three of the earliest and most eminent of that great experimental school which was embodied by the formation of the Royal Society. Hooke particularly distinguishes ' the incomparable Verulam as being the first who had any thoughts of ' an art for directing the mind in physical enquiries ;' Dr Wallis states, that the cultivation, in England, of ' the new ' philosophy,' was to be dated from Bacon's time ; and Evelyn tells us, in a loftier tone, that it was Bacon ' who emancipated ' and set free philosophy, which had long been a miserable captive, and which ever since made conquests in the territories of

'nature.' Dr Brewster has greatly deceived himself. The disciples of Bacon have not, it would appear, been quite so forgetful of, or ungrateful to, the immortal founder of the Inductive Logic, as he so confidently and complacently represents them.

But we must not forget his special and exulting reference to the 'disrespectful silence' of Newton, and of the 'amiable 'and indefatigable Boyle.' The first certainly does not expressly name Bacon; nor was it his habit to mention any writers but those who had in part preceded him in his discoveries, or those whom it was necessary to cite in support of a particular fact. But though Newton does not mention Bacon, it would be absurd, on that account, to doubt either his own acquaintance with the *Novum Organum*, or his obligations to those logical instructions which it had diffused throughout that school in which his mind was formed. Newton, in fact, followed the *Novum Organum* even in its misuse of terms. Thus, he applies the word *axiom*, in the sense peculiar to Bacon, to the laws of motion, and to certain fundamental principles of optical science. Mr Stewart's observations on this point are quite decisive, and leave nothing to be added.* With respect to Boyle, we are really sorry to find a man of Dr Brewster's name and character speaking so confidently of the 'disrespectful silence' of an author, whose works teem not merely with allusions, but with the most pointed references to the writings of Bacon, and bear unquestionable proofs of their influence on his philosophical views and pursuits. We are not, indeed, acquainted with any averment of the kind so utterly and ludicrously unfounded. In every one of the six portly quartos which contain the writings of Boyle, the name and 'proud destiny' of Bacon are frequently commemorated and honoured. Thus, to take a few examples: in his treatise on the 'Mechanical Origin of Heat and 'Cold,' he tells us, that Bacon was the 'first among the moderns 'who handled the doctrine of heat like an experimental philosopher;' in his 'Considerations touching Experimental Essays 'in general,' he mentions, that he had made considerable collections, with the view of following up Bacon's plan of a Natural History; in his 'Experiments and Observations touching Cold,' he extols Bacon 'as the great ornament and guide of the philosophical historians of nature;' in his 'Excellency of Theology,' he says that Bacon was '*the great restorer of physics, and had 'traced out a most useful way to make discoveries;*' and in his essay on the 'Usefulness of Experimental Philosophy,' he states, that it '*was owing to the sagacity and freedom of Lord Bacon*

* *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. ii. chap. iv.

'that men were then pretty well enabled both to make discoveries, and to remove the impediments that had hitherto kept physics from being useful.' So much for the 'disrespectful silence of the amiable and indefatigable Boyle!'

We have now shown, we think, that in that branch of his argument in which he has followed those who have attempted to lower Bacon's claims by citing some prior instances of inductive enquiry, Dr Brewster has, like them, wholly overlooked the peculiar and paramount merits of the *Novum Organum*; and that, in the other branch of it, where he so loudly asserts the absence of all proofs of homage to, and acknowledgments of, its author's agency in accelerating the progress of genuine physics, his failure has been equally signal and surprising. It gives us pain to say so. We are well aware of Dr Brewster's great merits, and esteem them highly. He does not require our commendations; but it would have been more agreeable to ourselves had we, on the present occasion, found less ground for censure, and more for praise. With one or two exceptions, he is the only man of science of any considerable name, who has laboured to detract from the glory of the great reformer of philosophy; and we must be permitted to express some doubt, whether his mind has been habituated to the course of enquiry and study best fitted to lead to a sound and adequate estimate of the nature and importance of Bacon's share in that reformation. We are, upon the whole, thankful to him for his *Life of Newton*; but we greatly fear that we never should be able to thank him for any life of Bacon which he could produce. That subject, indeed, opens a wider and more varied field of enquiry than even the one irradiated by the immortal glories of the *Principia*; and it is devoutly to be wished, that the desideratum which it presents may be ultimately supplied in a manner worthy of the theme, and honourable to our literature.

ART. II.—1. *Gedichte*; von Ludwig Uhland. *Fünfte vermehrte Auflage*. (The Poems of LUDWIG UHLAND. The Fifth enlarged Edition.) Stuttgart and Tubingen: 1831.

2. *Reisebilder*; von H. Heine. *2te Auflage*. (Pictures of Travel; by H. HEINE. 2d Edition.) Hamburg: 1830.

A VOLUME of short and unpretending lyrics, which, almost without an allusion to political events, or to any of the great questions which of late have been agitating Europe, and which, without the aid of those mysterious pneumatic processes—that 'windy suspiration of forced breath'—by which almost

any book may be puffed for a time into temporary notoriety, has already reached a fifth edition in its own country, may fairly be regarded in these prosaic times as a curiosity not unworthy of the notice of a British Review. At least, such a distinction is rather a rare one among ourselves, as any one will perceive, who endeavours to recollect how many of the works of our best poets of the present century, with the exception of Byron's, and some of the earlier ballad romances of Sir Walter Scott, have reached this consummation; for after tasking our memory with a view to enlarge the catalogue, and to ascertain their numbers, we fear we must answer with the messenger in *Bombastes*, 'As near as we can guess—we cannot tell!'

The truth is, however, that this same prosaic aspect of the time may, in the case of Uhland, in some measure account for the phenomenon of the five editions. In Poetry, as in Political Economy, the rate of wages naturally rises with the diminished supply of effective labour; and when a man of real talent withdraws himself, or studiously keeps aloof from the tumultuous arena of political life or controversy—content, in the more sequestered path of poetry, to find fit audience, though few, and to exchange the rapid but evanescent popularity of the one, for the more gradual, but more enduring distinctions of the other, his merit, as Johnson observes of a nobleman appearing in print, is likely, to say the least of it, to be 'handsomely acknowledged;'—rated at its full value, if not a little overrated, by those for whom poetry still retains its interest. In summer, while all is verdant and vigorous about us, the holly and the laurel are apt to be overlooked; higher trees overtop them—brighter shrubs overpower their quiet green; but when autumn strips the trees, and even 'the one red leaf, the last of its clan,' which has so long quivered at the top of the tree, yields at last, and drops down the wind, with what delight does the eye rest on their hardy and perennial verdure, which acquires a new beauty from its contrast with the leafless dreariness of surrounding objects!

To some extent, no doubt, this may have been the case with the reputation of Uhland. In the more meridian lustre of German literature, he probably would have attracted less attention. Placed beside the commanding spirits of Schiller and Goethe, in the full vigour of their powers, his might have seemed dwarfed by the comparison. But the star of Schiller had sunk beneath the horizon before he appeared, and that of Goethe, though still bright,

'Toward heaven's descent had sloped its westering wheel.'

Twilight was visibly settling down on the poetical hemisphere of

Germany, while only a few smaller stars glimmered through the coming darkness. It was like the approach of night in some large town, where the 'good men and true' have left the streets; but still from blind alleys, or haunts whose tenants outwatch the Bear, comes at times the sound of boisterous song or tippy revelry; or here and there some serenade, breathed from a cracked guitar, startles the ear of night. No wonder, if at such a time such strains as those of Uhland, ascending from some sequestered seat, breathing of devotion and tender feeling, yet manly and simple as the olden time, should have found many listeners, and, like a monument on which the traveller stumbles in the wilderness, have derived a charm from the silence and obscurity under which they were encountered, which they would scarcely have possessed had they been heard in daylight, or beside the echo of a more commanding lyre.

It would be very unjust to Uhland, however, to suppose we mean to insinuate, that he owes his reputation merely to the want of competition. Speaking in an *avoirdupois* point of view, we suppose the quantity of verse manufactured during the last twenty years in Germany, has been pretty much the same as during the twenty that preceded them. Laying aside the stage, which, from its immediate wants and immediate returns, always finds a tolerable supply, the day-labourers for almanacks and periodical publications, who, more accommodating than the Israelites of old, are always ready to deliver in their tale of bricks to their editorial Pharaohs, even without any straw to make them of,—continued to do their spiriting gently as ever; nor, so far as we can see, does the *Mess Catalogue*, which may be considered as a sort of price-current of the verse market, or official return of the poetical exports and imports of the country, exhibit any decline in the number of 'Occasional Poems,' 'Fugitive Pieces,' 'Stray Leaves,' 'Lyre Tones,' 'Love Glances,' and similar wares, manufactured by responsible business-like people,—with the rhymes warranted, if required, and the whole, if not too roughly handled, fit to keep in any climate. So much the reverse, indeed, that we see the Germans have latterly taken to reviewing their literary as they do their military forces, in companies; no less than fifty-six enterprising young men rank and file being despatched in a single article of a late miscellany which happened to fall into our hands.* For a time, too, many of these poetical ventures, aided by the strenuous blasts of reviewing, seemed far more likely to be wafted with a fair wind

* *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung.* June 1832.

down the stream of popularity, than these unassuming and unassisted poems of Uhland's. Shortly, however, it was found, that those crazy little vessels were not seaworthy; they, with their supercargoes, as well as the Reviewing Craft, which had rashly taken them in tow, were visibly seen wavering in their course, then taken aback, as some statelier vessel passing them took the wind out of their sails; and at last dropping with an accelerated motion down the stream of neglect, till, in the course of a year or two, the future Schiller or Goethe, with the Aristarchus who had volunteered, or perhaps been paid for his convoy, were to be found by any one whom curiosity, chance, or compulsion might induce to visit that slumberous region, moored side by side, or lying high and dry in the Haven of Oblivion.

Fortunately the work of a man of genius, even though it may be of a comparatively trivial nature, neither requires these aids, nor can be materially advanced by them. In nothing more certainly than in the final award of poetical reputation, does the opinion of the judicious few direct and determine the opinion of the misjudging or inconsiderate many. It is fortunate, that be the direction of popular taste what it may,—whether it may be directed in the main to the fierce encounters of polemical or political warfare, or prying either into the secrets of physical science, or the more subtle mysteries of the mind, or working among the ruins of the past,—there are never wanting a sufficient number to listen to and appreciate a strain of genuine poetry. Let its voice be ever so still and low—its subject, to use the expressive epithet of our German neighbours, 'stone old'—old, in fact, as the heart itself—and hackneyed, if human feelings ever could be so to human beings—and yet let it be but imbued with the real essence of poetry, and even among the most unobservant crowd, it shall go hard but there will be found some who, as Milton said of the prospects of his great epic, 'would not willingly let it die.'

In such cases we may truly apply the scholastic maxim, *Tres faciunt collegium*: the two or three thus gathered together, and speaking neither from personal partiality nor interested feelings, form a nucleus of opinion round which that of the public at last winds itself, till the mass acquires extent without, as well as strength and a firm resting-place within. We have seen what we may call the Muse's progress illustrated by a homely example. We remember an old flute-player who used regularly to wend his way down the Champs Élysées while the evening diversions of that gay and childish scene were at their height. At first, though his flute discoursed most eloquent music, in comparison with his rivals of the Grimaldi and Katterfelto

school, he was decidedly unpopular. 'No one bade God speed 'him.' Every one seemed to be in the vein of Yorick, 'prede-termined not to give him a single sous.' But as he went on, his prospects gradually brightened; now and then a few of the lovers of music, deserting the more noisy amusements of Elysium, would gather round him; gradually his suite swelled into something like a crowd, till at last, before he reached the Place Louis XV., he had entirely shorn his noisy or particoloured competitors of their beams. The juggler, deserted by his audience, vanished like his own cups and balls; the tight ropedancer slackened his ineffectual gambols; the Parisian badaud left the gigantic hobby-horse or flying dragon on the which he had been airing his person, to swell the triumph of music; till at last there remained only 'the long hollow valley of Bagdad,' with long faces among the proprietors of Seesaws, and empty benches in the Region of Roundabouts.

Such has been pretty much the case with these poems of Uhland, who, though stoutly elbowed for a time by the legerdemain men on the one side, and the Kraftmänner or strong men on the other, has gradually made his way in the course of the last fifteen years into a wide and steadily increasing popularity. His poems were published as far back as 1815, but were mainly indebted (as many a one has been to the good offices of an inferior master of the ceremonies) for their more general introduction to the public, to the success of two of the author's dramatic pieces, Ernest Duke of Swabia, and Lewis the Bavarian, works which, though 'highly respectable,' as the phrase is, were truly of inferior ability to the work for which they were the means indirectly of bespeaking favour, or at least attention. And now since Goethe, the *ultimus Romanorum*, the last link in literature between the present century and the preceding is gone,—and when William Schlegel has exchanged poetry for philosophy, and Tieck has abandoned it for novel-writing and dramatic criticism, Uhland seems—we think almost by general consent—to stand at the head of the lyric poetry of the day.

The volume to which we are now alluding, consists almost entirely of ballads or short lyrical pieces, many of them not exceeding a few lines in length, but almost all of them containing some slight or more finished picture of natural scenery or mental emotion, many of them strongly pathetic or touching, and all of them adorned by a manly and captivating simplicity. This union of feeling with a plainness that moves us more than eloquence, is particularly the characteristic of his ballads.

In no country, with the exception of Spain, has the ballad been more cultivated than in Germany. We mean not the

rude song of feudal times, (for the poetry of the Minnesingers was seldom narrative, and rather resembled the amatory casuistry or monotonous love complaints of Provence) but the modern ballad in which merely the leading characteristics of the old are preserved—such as its dramatic movement, leaping like the theatre from scene to scene, leaving the mind to fill up the intermediate links; its light and rapid touch, which dwells on nothing minutely, but paints by a few strokes thrown in here and there,—tints of summer verdure and sunlight, hues of tempest and carnage, disposed with seeming artlessness, but real art; its popular and half antiquated style—(for to be wholly antiquated is to be only half intelligible)—its simple childlike character; its melody, its monotony. And yet so difficult in reality is that which might at first sight appear so easy, that we can only name four German poets who have, in our opinion, decidedly succeeded in this department—Bürger, Goethe, Schiller, and Uhland.

We are aware that there are many others who enjoy a traditional reputation in Germany in the ballad line; and that some, such as Tieck, the Schlegels, and Count Stolberg, may very probably be mentioned as unjustly excluded—curtailed of their fair proportion of merit as members of the guild of northern Trouveurs. We cannot say, however—all things considered—that we are disposed to make an exception in their favour. In the ballads of the Count—to begin within the peerage—there is great straining but little strength, much show of depth and feeling, but no substance. They remind us of those castles in fairy tales, which, seen at a distance, seem wrapt in a glow of fire, but on coming near, the blaze is found to be a fire without heat, a flickering meteoric gleam. In those of Tieck a more genial glow is doubtless perceptible; they are not without a mild, sustained, and natural warmth, but not enough to rouse the blood, or set the languid current of feeling in action. Tieck has, in fact, given undue weight to the mere musical element in his ballads, to the visible impairing of their force and strength; they are all soft gentle strains, laboured into a lulling music like the continued sound of a waterfall,—such as might be breathed in the Castle of Indolence or the House of Sleep. Schlegel, again, does not want fire, but it is a fire not natural but borrowed. In poetry his is one of those minds, great only by its power of putting on, like successive dresses, the modes of thinking and expression of others—‘as if his whole vocation were ‘endless imitation;’ hence, as a translator he is admirable, but in his original poetry, particularly in his ballad writing, we recognise little that can be considered as remarkable, with the ex-

ception of an exquisite tact of versification, and a style a little too ornate perhaps, but generally of rich and classic beauty. If indeed we were disposed to add to the names we have already mentioned any other, it would probably be that of Müller (Mahler Müller, as he is generally called), in whom, we are inclined to think, more of the genuine spirit of the ballad is to be found than in any of those to whom we have here alluded.

To return, however, to those whom we have described as succeeding where so many have conspicuously failed, the palm, we have little doubt, would be generally awarded to Schiller. Bürger's ballads, forcible, vulgar, but in themes of superstition often most powerfully impressive, are all pitched on one barrel organ key. Where he attempts a higher flight, as in *Leonardo and Blandine*, it has almost the ridiculous effect of an oratorio on the hurdy-gurdy. Goethe again, whose taste preserves him from this error, and whose more plastic mind enables him to vary his tone with his theme, errs perhaps too much on the opposite side. If Bürger be too violent, too theatrical, too noisy, Goethe addresses himself too purely to the fancy, is too tranquil himself, too indifferent about touching the feelings of others, too much a Greek in short, for any thing so Gothic in its origin and essence as the ballad. Schiller appears to have steered a happier mean: classical and contemplative like Goethe in the *Burgschafft* (*Damon and Pythias*), the *Ring of Polycrates*, the *Cranes of Ibycus*, he can emulate Bürger's force in the *Diver*, and his simplicity without his vulgarity in the *Toggenburg*; while in such poems as the *Fridolin*, and the *Fight with the Dragon*, there is a union of pure taste with deep feeling and exquisite beauty and picturesqueness of diction,—a religious inspiration, harmonizing beautifully with the romantic character of the ballad, for which we should seek in vain in either of his rivals.

Uhland's ballads unite many of the excellences of his predecessors. Like Bürger, he knows well the capabilities of the old ballad style, with all its quaintness, its repetitions, and inversions, but a purer taste preserves him from those unintentional travesties into which Bürger is perpetually falling. For the rest he more resembles Goethe than Schiller. The deeply meditative and brooding spirit, and strong feeling of the latter, he does not attempt to cope with; yet he seems aware too, that Goethe's ballads (models as they are in point of grace, fancy, and a bounding elasticity of style) hang too purely in a world of imagination, and that a stronger substratum of emotion is necessary as a support to this play of the fancy; and hence in his ballads he has tried to interweave with the latter a gentle vein of feeling, sometimes warming into passion, but oftener dying away in ac-

cents of mournful remembrance and regret. It is time, however, to let Uhland speak for himself; and perhaps the following translations afford a tolerably characteristic idea of his style.

‘ THE MINSTREL.

‘ WHAT stranger hies through the castle garden,
Stealing alone by the pale star-light;
Do the opening arms of love await him,
Shall he taste its joys or pangs to-night?
It is the Minstrel—see he lays him
Down by the grass of the castle towers,
Where they beetle o’er the lonely valley,
And with harp and song his descant pours.

‘ “ O! listen from thy lofty lattice,
Lady fair, to the well-known chime,—
And let a gentle dream enfold thee,
A dream of childhood’s rosy time.
I came when evening bells were ringing,
Ere morning breaks far hence I’ll be,
And the hall where my infant footsteps wander’d,
O never more in sunshine see!

‘ “ When in those halls with torches blazing,
Thou satst enthroned, I came not nigh,
I sought thee not in bower or banquet,
When lordly dames and knights were by:
I knew, by sights of joy surrounded,
Thou couldst but call for measures light;
Thou couldst not hear love’s sad complaining,
Thou couldst not heed love’s ancient right.

‘ “ Thou envious day, delay thy breaking,
Bloom out ye branches dark and hoar!
In childhood’s old enchanted region
Let me lie down and breathe once more:
I’ll bed me deep in the dewy grass,
Till she, my love, come gliding over,
A fairy child with lightsome tread,
To strew with flowers her childish lover.

‘ “ The days of youth are gone for ever,
But sweet remembrance cannot die,
It glitters still like a heavenly rainbow,
That spans a sad and solemn sky.
I shun thy sight—lest aught should make
Thy form less bright than memory bore it:
I only ask thee—beats thy heart
When thoughts of childhood rise before it?”

‘ The Minstrel ceased his mournful measure,
 All underneath the castle wall ;
 But soft he hears the casement rustle,
 And a glittering gem on the grass let fall.
 “ O take this ring and think upon me—
 Think still of childhood’s days so dear,
 Take this ring—a costly jewel
 Glitters on it—and a tear !” ’

How gracefully and tenderly is a common thought embodied in the lines entitled

‘ THE PASSAGE.

‘ MANY a year is in its grave,
 Since I crossed this restless wave ;
 And the evening, fair as ever,
 Shines on ruin, rock, and river.

‘ Then in this same boat beside
 Sat two comrades old and tried,
 One with all a father’s truth,
 One with all the fire of youth.

‘ One on earth in silence wrought,
 And his grave in silence sought ;
 But the younger brighter form
 Passed in battle and in storm.

‘ So, whene’er I turn my eye
 Back upon the days gone by,
 Saddening thoughts of friends come o’er me,
 Friends that closed their course before me.

‘ But what binds us, friend to friend,
 But that soul with soul can blend ?
 Soul-like were those hours of yore,
 Let us walk in soul once more.

‘ Take, O boatman ! thrice thy fee,
 Take, I give it willingly ;
 For, invisible to thee,
 Spirits twain have crossed with me.’

It is in this gentle, yet never overstrained melancholy, that the charm of these little pieces rests. There is no dwelling on the subject for the sake of effect ; the idea is always rather indicated by a glimpse, than studiously turned in all its different

lights. Often, for instance, a story which, in the hands of the penny-a-line school of poetry, would have filled a canto, is condensed by Uhland into a stanza or two; a single situation is chosen, but it is one denoting many foregone conclusions. Take, for instance, a trifle entitled

‘ THE DREAM.

‘ Two lovers through the garden
Walk’d hand in hand along,
Two pale and slender creatures,
They sat the flowers among.

‘ They kiss’d each other’s cheek so warm,
They kiss’d each other’s mouth ;
They held each other arm in arm,
They dreamt of health and youth.

‘ Two bells they sounded suddenly,
They started from their sleep ;
And in the convent cell lay she,
And he in dungeon deep.’

We shall conclude our extracts with two specimens of Uhland’s manner, one tinged with the somewhat mystical tone of Schiller’s earlier ballads, the other more resembling the light, free, and fanciful touch of Goethe. There seems to us something original and touching in the first, in the picture of the old grey-haired monarch looking down from his palace tower upon his slumbering realm, feeling how

‘ Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown ;’

and sighing for his release from the cares of earth, and a nearer communion with those lamps of heaven which are brightening above his head.

‘ THE KING UPON THE TOWER.

‘ They lie beneath me,—grassy height
And lowly vale, in calm repose ;
Both slumber-seal’d ; the breeze of night,
No sound of sorrow hither blows.

‘ I cared and toil’d for others here ;
I drank the sparkling wine with pain,—
But night is come ; heaven’s lamps grow clear,
And my sad heart can breathe again.

‘ Thou golden volume, writ i’ the sky,
 How gladly would I read in thee !
 Ye wonder-tones, half-heard on high,
 Methinks your music calls on me.

‘ My hair is grey, and dim my gaze,
 My sword is rusting on the wall ;
 I’ve ruled through long and troubled days,
 O, when shall I have rest from all !

‘ O, welcome rest ! O, weary night !
 Why wilt thou hold me here so long ?
 Let me behold a brighter light,
 And listen to a fuller song !’

‘ THE HERDSMAN’S WINTER SONG.

‘ O winter, weary winter,
 How narrow seems the earth !
 Thou coop’st us in the valleys,
 By the little cottage hearth.

‘ When by my loved one’s cottage
 My weary way I pace,
 I look to the half-shut lattice,
 But she scarcely shows her face.

‘ Or when, with heart loud beating,
 At last I venture nigh ;
 She sits beside her mother,
 And dare not lift an eye.

‘ O Summer, gentle Summer,
 How spreads the world around !
 The higher we climb the mountain,
 The wider grows its bound.

‘ Thou stand’st on the cliff above me,
 I call to thee from below,
 And Echo bears the message,
 That only thou shouldst know.

‘ And when my arms enfold thee
 On the mountain top so free,
 We see the world beneath us,
 And who is there to see ?’

We have associated with Uhland, perhaps more from a principle of contrast than any thing else, some other lyrical poems, written by one who has lately acquired a rather questionable

political notoriety, by the violence with which he has espoused the principles (if such they may be called) of the French party in Germany, and advocated the cause, not of constitutional changes, but of sweeping and sudden revolution; and with this view has been directing, in company with Börne, Wit-Dörng, and other literary bravoos of Germany, much virulent abuse against the institutions, the great men, and even the national character, of the country. The fruits of the association seem to have been any thing but favourable either to his morality or his intellect. One by one his imagination, his humour, and his power of writing,—all of which unquestionably he possessed in a high degree,—seem to be taking leave of him; till at last, in his latest work, (*Nachträge Zu den Reisebildern*,—Supplement to the Travelling Sketches,) his originality of speculation has degenerated into mere paradox or audacious impiety, his strength and freshness of style into fantastic or startling *hardiesses* of expression, his pathos into a prolonged whine, his humour into convulsive, and almost demoniacal grimace. Our extracts, however, shall be taken from an earlier volume,—nearer the fountain-head, and before the stream had been troubled by political violence, or polluted by the still baser alloy of personal interest. Even in his best works there is a want of finish, and often of taste, but these are generally redeemed by a quick sensibility, a rapid and powerful style, of sketching, and that air of nature and truth in the whole, which reconciles us to so many defects of detail.

In these little lyrical compositions of Heine, in general, only a single incident, scene, or emotion, is attempted. Continuous feelings, elaborate groups, successive incidents, he seems seldom to attempt. But give him some little section of the panorama of life to depict, some passing emotion, the memory of some almost forgotten feeling, to call up, and it is wonderful with what brevity, and what truth, he places it before us. He never lingers, but dashes off a sketch, and passes on at once to the next. His topics are drawn in general from humbler life;—the life of the cottage, the forest, and the mountain. In his rapid verses, we catch glimpses of family gossips round the evening fire, discussing the wonders of the far East, and ‘the dangers of the sea;’ the stolen interview in the fisher’s hut; the whispered conversation in the cottage, while the parents are dozing in the old carved chair, and the moon comes peering in unwelcomely through the immemorial pines; and the tales of witchery, told under the shadow of the haunted Brocken, into which, as the midnight hour arrives, even the conversation of love dies away. Of the superstitions of the country, and

the way in which they blend with the feelings of the peasantry, he avails himself with great effect. Now it is the voice of the Water Nixies, which startles two lovers, faintly heard through the wreathing mists upon the lake; the fairy of the Lorely Rock, with her siren song, lures the poor boatman of the Rhine to his fate; the spectre bridegroom looks in upon his perjured mistress from the churchyard under her window, and grinning and fiddling in the pale moonlight, invites her to the dance of death; the old and long-buried clergyman, stands in his door 'in his habit as he lived,' to warn back his profligate son and daughter about to plunge into vice and ruin. All these scenes are touched with a light but steady hand; to a prosaic eye they might seem dim, vague, and meagre; but viewed in the light of kindred feeling, a thousand details seem to grow upon the eye, and start into life, from the truth and knowledge of effect with which every touch of light and patch of shadow, and figures and objects dimly distinguishable in the darkness, had been thrown together by the pencil of the poet. The style simple even to homeliness, the artless movement of the versification, add much to the effect of the original, but interpose formidable difficulties to the translator. The specimens which follow are extracted from a series of short poems in the first volume of the *Reisebilder*, entitled *Die Heimkehr* (The Return).

‘ THE VOYAGE.

‘ As at times a moonbeam pierces
Through the thickest cloudy rack,
So to me, through days so dreary,
One bright image struggles back.

‘ Seated all on deck we floated
Down the Rhine’s majestic stream;
On its borders, summer-laden,
Slept the peaceful evening gleam.

‘ Brooding at the feet I laid me
Of a fair and gentle one,
On whose placid, pallid features,
Play’d the ruddy-golden sun.

‘ Lutes were ringing, youths were singing,
Swell’d my heart with feelings strange;
Bluer grew the heaven above us,
Wider grew the spirit’s range.

‘ Fairy-like beside us flitted
 Rock and ruin, wood and plain ;
 And I gazed on all reflected
 In my loved one’s eyes again.’

‘ THE EVENING GOSSIP.

‘ We sat by the fisher’s cottage,
 We look’d on sea and sky,
 We saw the mists of evening
 Come riding and rolling by :
 The lights in the lighthouse window
 Brighter and brighter grew,
 And on the dim horizon
 A ship still hung in view.

‘ We spake of storm and shipwreck,
 Of the seaman’s anxious life ;
 How he floats ’twixt sky and water,
 ’Twixt joy and sorrow’s strife :
 We spoke of coasts far distant,
 We spoke of south and north,
 Strange men, and stranger customs,
 That those wild lands send forth.

‘ Of the giant trees of Ganges,
 Whose balm perfumes the breeze ;
 And the fair and slender creatures,
 That kneel by the lotus-trees.
 Of the flat-skull’d, wide-mouth’d, Laplanders,
 So dirty and so small ;
 Who bake their fish on the embers,
 And cower, and shake, and squall.

‘ The maidens listen’d earnestly,
 At last the tales were ended ;
 The ship was gone, the dusky night
 Had on our talk descended.’

‘ THE TEAR.

‘ The latest light of evening
 Upon the waters shone,
 And still we sat in the lonely hut,
 In silence and alone.

‘ The sea-fog grew, the screaming mew
 Rose on the water’s swell,
 And silently in her gentle eye
 Gather’d the tears and fell.

‘ I saw them stand on the lily hand,
 Upon my knee I sank,
 And kneeling there, from her fingers fair
 The precious dew I drank.

‘ And sense and power, since that sad hour,
 In longing waste away ;
 Ah me ! I fear, in each witching tear
 Some subtle poison lay.’

One word before we close this article. If any of our readers should be of opinion that works of far greater poetical ability and force than Uhland's, even in the department of lyrical poetry, have within the same period appeared in our own country, which have excited little attention, and hardly reached the honours of a second edition, we entirely concur with them, and the inference we would draw from it is certainly not very favourable to the existing state of German poetry. There is much of the passive feeling of poetry at this moment among our German neighbours, but singularly little of vigorous and active feeling—capacity of enjoyment in abundance, but not of production. The stream of German poetry which some sixty years ago burst out with such force from the barriers which had restrained it, and rolled along its rocky channel with such impetuosity and conscious power, has now indeed covered a vast surface, and spread into the likeness of a sea ; but it has lost in depth what it has gained in diffusion. And though to him who merely glances his eye over the surface, there may at first sight appear something striking in its vast surface, and the immediate objects on the bank may be reflected in its waters with some soothing and natural hues, yet to those who can ascend above and look down upon it, its general shallowness and monotony are evident ; the eye pierces into no translucent depths stretching away ‘ a thousand fathoms down,’—into no sparry caves where water-nymphs may knit their locks of amber : the shadows of the eternal mountains, the azure of the illimitable sky, find no reflection in that muddy mirror ; the lazy waves, sluggish as those of the Dead Sea, are scarcely curled by any vivifying breeze ; while, in place of those monsters of the deep, or those Pierian swans, with which imagination had peopled its waters, we see nothing but amphibious creatures of the tadpole species, or at best some Triton of the minnows, disporting themselves among the miry reeds and osiers dank that border its margin.

ART. III.—*On Political Economy, in Connexion with the Moral State, and Moral Prospects of Society.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. Glasgow: 1832.

THIS is a work on a very important branch of political philosophy, written by a very celebrated and excellent man, for whom personally we entertain all the respect and esteem which is so justly due to his genius and his character. Rising as far above the rest of his order, in our national church, in the activity of his intellectual pursuits, and in noble ardour in the cause of science, as he does in that shining eloquence for which he is so famous, it is impossible that such a work, proceeding from his pen, should be viewed otherwise than with that consideration which all well constituted minds readily yield to high talents and generous purposes. It is because the work before us is sure to find readers and admirers, that, often and much as the subjects which it embraces have already been discussed in this Journal, we feel ourselves called upon to notice it particularly. Our unfeigned regard for the author makes us truly sorry that our notice must be chiefly in the way of dissent. But let us not be misunderstood at the commencement. If there be much in Dr Chalmers's book which we cannot approve, there is much also that is deserving of high commendation, and there is nothing that is not worthy of careful study. It is characterised by great originality of thought, and vigour of style, and displays throughout a spirit of genuine philanthropy. Had Dr Chalmers been more thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the science, his work would perhaps have been less valuable. It might not have been so much alloyed with questionable doctrines; but it might have lost in power what it would have gained in correctness. In its present state, it is eminently fitted to divert the public attention to the investigation of the leading circumstances which determine the condition of society; and though those who engage in this important department of study with due care and deliberation, may find that many of Dr Chalmers's conclusions have been formed from a too hasty review of the facts before him, and without paying sufficient attention to others, they will be forward to acknowledge the good he has done by exciting the public to study such subjects. Most of his speculations are far removed from the common beat. They are not unfrequently solid, and are always ingenious. And while the reader's attention is arrested by the novelty of the author's views, and his power of illustration, he is led to reflect

on the momentous topics under review; and to enquire whether the reasonings be as solid as they are striking. It is in this—in its tendency to draw attention to questions of paramount importance, that have hitherto attracted too little notice—that we conceive the merit of the present publication principally consists. Many subjects of the greatest practical interest, that have been either passed over, or but very imperfectly and cursorily noticed, by most moralists and economists, will henceforth occupy a prominent place in their researches; and we do not think that we are too sanguine in anticipating that much new light will in consequence be thrown on the mechanism of society, and we hope, also, on the causes which influence its happiness.

I. Though apparently desultory, one leading idea pervades Dr Chalmers's work. He lays it broadly down in the first chapter, that all the miseries that afflict the labouring classes are the result of their own errors and misconduct; that 'there is no possible help for them if they will not help themselves;' that 'it is to a rise and reformation in the habits of our peasantry, that we should look for deliverance, and not to the impotent crudities of a speculative legislation.' Dr Chalmers never, for an instant, loses sight of this principle. It is, in his estimation, the 'one thing needful.' With it, all will be right; without it, all will be wrong. Amendment, he contends, can come from no other source; and he endeavours to show that it is idle to seek in national economy, in a repeal of taxes or of restrictions on trade, in emigration, or in any such 'futile' devices, for that real and permanent improvement which can originate only in the 'diffusion of sound Christian education.'

Of the importance of education, none can be more deeply impressed than we are. We have over and over again attempted to show, that good education is at once the best security for the public tranquillity, and for the permanent improvement of the mass of the people. We, therefore, cordially concur with all that Dr Chalmers has said in its favour; and we hope that the day is not far distant when a system of parochial education will be established in England; when knowledge will be brought home to the door of the poor man; and when, besides being instructed in the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, every man, how humble soever his situation, will be made acquainted with the duties enjoined by religion and morality, and the circumstances which determine his condition in society. It is a disgrace to England, that, in a matter of such deep importance as the instruction of the people, she should be so very far behind. In this respect she is not only inferior to Scotland, but

to Prussia, Bavaria, the United States, and many other countries. And yet, considering the great and growing influence which the people of Britain exercise over the legislature, it is of the last consequence, both with a view to the good government of the country, and the private interests of individuals, that the mass of the people should be well instructed—that they should be trained to distinguish between appearances and realities, and to submit to a temporary inconvenience for the sake of an ultimate good.

While, however, we agree thus far with Dr Chalmers,—while we admit the superior importance of education, and are most anxious that it should be universally diffused,—we do not admit that it is the *only* means by which the condition of society can be improved. Good education will do a great deal, but we deny that it is omnipotent. Exclusive altogether of the state of education, there are many circumstances that powerfully influence the condition of society; that may, on the one hand, render the situation of the labouring classes tolerably prosperous, even though education be in a great measure neglected; and that may, on the other hand, reduce the best educated people to a very depressed condition.

The error of Dr Chalmers has arisen from his laying too much stress on the principle of population, as explained by Mr Malthus. Neither the repeal nor abolition of the most burdensome taxes or regulations, nor the discovery of new machines and processes for reducing the cost of production, can, in his estimation, be of any real service. They may enlarge the field over which population is spread; but it is impossible they should have any considerable or lasting influence over the condition of the people. Unless the principle of increase be controlled by the greater prudence of the poor, resulting from their better education, every thing that may be done for them will be as dust in the balance, or will injure rather than improve their situation. ‘The additional food that may have been created, will be more than overborne in the tide of an increasing population. The only difference will be a greater instead of a smaller number of wretched families—a heavier amount of distress, with less of unbroken ground in reserve for any future enlargements—a society in every way as straitened as before, yet nearer to the extreme limit of these resources than before—in short, a condition, at once of augmented hardship and diminished hope, with all the burden of an expensive and unprofitable scheme to the bargain.’—(P. 39.)

It is obvious, however, that these results can take place only

on the supposition that the population is instantaneously, or at least very speedily, adjusted according to variations in the supply of food and other accommodations. But this is very far indeed from being the case. It is always an exceedingly difficult matter to change the habits of a people as to marriage. That they are influenced by external circumstances, no one doubts; but there is a *vis inertiae* to be overcome, that always prevents them from changing to the extent that circumstances change. Suppose that in consequence of legislative enactments, or of any other cause, wages in Great Britain were generally doubled: nobody believes that this would double the marriages next year; and though it did, the population could not be doubled for very many years; and a period of eighteen or twenty years would have to elapse before the stimulus given by the rise of wages could bring a single additional labourer into the field. It is clear, therefore, that during all this lengthened period, the labourers would enjoy an increased command over the necessaries and conveniences of life; their notions as to what was required for their comfortable and decent support, would consequently be raised; and they would acquire those improved tastes and habits that are not the hasty product of a day, a month, or a year, but the late result of a long series of continuous impressions. Did the supply of labour adjust itself, like the supply of most commodities, proportionally to every variation of demand, these results would not follow; and Dr Chalmers would be right in ridiculing all expectations of 'extrinsic assistance.' But every one knows that the very reverse is the case—that the population cannot be speedily increased when wages rise; and that time is afforded for the formation of those improved habits that are of such essential importance.

Dr Chalmers appears to have formed too limited an idea of education. As far as we can discover, he seems to consider it as confined to instruction derived from books or masters; but so sagacious an observer should not have shut his eyes to the education of circumstances—an education that is, if possible, still more important than the other, and has the most powerful influence over the character. He quotes with approbation a paragraph from a tract of Mr Perronet Thomson, in which it is stated, that 'a labourer in Ireland will live and bring up a family on potatoes; whereas a labourer in England will see the world unpeopled first.' This is true; and had Dr Chalmers investigated the causes of so extraordinary a discrepancy, he would have materially modified many of his conclusions. The higher standard of necessary subsistence in England, is not, most certainly, owing to the superior *education* of the Eng-

lish labourers, using that word in the sense in which it is commonly understood; for, speaking generally, the Irish poor are quite as well instructed as the English, and probably better. The fact is, that it results entirely from the different *extrinsic* circumstances under which the population of this and the sister island have been placed. Had the English been, for centuries, as much oppressed and misgoverned as the Irish, we venture to affirm that they would have been quite as debased.

Without, therefore, undervaluing education, we at the same time contend that extrinsic circumstances have a material and *lasting* influence over the condition of society; that though 'the crudities of speculative legislation' may not raise the 'standard of enjoyment,' it may be raised by judicious legislative enactments; and that, however well a people may be instructed, their condition is always powerfully influenced by the conduct of their rulers. Were an oppressive tax, or an injudicious law or regulation repealed, Dr Chalmers would say that the benefit thence resulting must be immaterial; inasmuch as population will forthwith expand to the increased limits of subsistence. Were this true, it would afford a convenient excuse for every species of abuse. Fortunately, however, we do not labour under any such incurable fatality. We are acted upon as well by external circumstances, as by the monitor within. Were a repeal of the Corn Laws, the introduction of an improved system of Cropping, or of some new and more powerful Manure, to occasion a fall of twenty or thirty per cent in the price of bread, we doubt very much whether the ratio at which population is at present increasing would be sensibly affected. But supposing it were, *half a century* at least must elapse before wages could be proportionally reduced through such an increase; and the population being accustomed, during all this interval, to an increased command over the necessaries and enjoyments of human life, would have their 'standard of sufficiency' raised, and 'would utterly refuse to multiply upon their former diet.' Let us not, therefore, attempt to make the theory of population a scapegoat for the errors of blundering legislators. It is not so mechanical a principle as Dr Chalmers would seem to suppose. It is influenced, no doubt, by 'a moral and Christian education;' but it is also powerfully influenced by good laws and wise government. Were England or France invested with the government of Portugal or Asia Minor, does any one doubt for a moment that the condition of their inhabitants would be vastly improved, even though schools and colleges were utterly proscribed?

But not satisfied with theory, Dr Chalmers appeals to facts. He contends that notwithstanding all the extraordinary improvements in agriculture and manufactures that have been made

during the last half century in England and Scotland, the population, instead of advancing in comfort, have rather retrograded. 'Has the increase,' he asks, 'of food, wrought out any sensible increase on the average sufficiency of families? Have not the absolute plenty in the land, and the relative poverty of the people who live in it, kept pace, the one with the other?'

Now, we are at direct issue with Dr Chalmers on this point. We contend, that instead of being stationary or retrograde, the condition of all classes, but particularly of the labourers, has been vastly improved since the American war, and especially during the present century. About the middle of last century, when those habits of virtuous self-denial, and of 'large preparation' for marriage, which Dr Chalmers has so deservedly eulogized, were most prevalent, the people of Scotland were comparatively poor and ill-provided with necessaries and conveniencies; and though poor-rates were then comparatively unknown, *mendicity was ten times more prevalent than at present*. In fact, were we desired to specify the people which had made the most rapid advance from rusticity and poverty to civilisation and affluence during the last sixty or seventy years, we should certainly point to the people of Scotland. We shall subjoin a few extracts from works of unquestionable authority, to show what the condition of Scotland really was before the introduction of those improvements, which Dr Chalmers tells us have merely widened the field of distress.

The following statement, extracted from the statistical account of the parish of Meigle in Strathmore, written by the late Rev. Dr Playfair of St Andrews, may be considered as applying to the whole surrounding district:—

'Since the year 1745, a fortunate epoch for Scotland in general, improvements have been carried on with great ardour and success. At that time the state of the country was rude beyond conception. The most fertile tracts were waste, or indifferently cultivated. The education, manners, dress, furniture, and tables of the gentry, were not so liberal, decent, and sumptuous as those of ordinary farmers are at present. *The common people, clothed in the coarsest garb, and starving on the meanest fare, lived in despicable huts with their cattle.*

'The half-ploughed fields yielded scanty crops, and manufactures scarcely existed. Almost every improvement in agriculture is of late date; for no ground was then fallowed; no pease, grass, turnip, nor potatoes were then raised; no cattle were fattened! and little grain was exported. Oats and barley were alternately sown; and during seven months of the year the best soil was ravaged by flocks of sheep, a certain number of which was annually sold and carried off, to be fed on richer pastures.

‘ The inactivity and indolence of farmers were astonishing. When seedtime was finished, the plough and harrow were laid aside till after autumn ; and the sole employment of the farmer and his servants consisted in weeding the corn-fields, and in digging and carrying home peat, turf, and heath for winter fuel. The produce of the farm was barely sufficient to enable the tenant to pay a trifling rent and servants’ wages, and to procure for his family a scanty subsistence.’

In the Highlands the situation of the inhabitants was, if possible, worse. The writer of the statistical account of the united parishes of Lochgoilhead and Kilmorish in Argyleshire, referring to the state of the people about 1760, observes :—

‘ Indolence was almost the only comfort they enjoyed. There was scarcely any variety of wretchedness with which they were not obliged to struggle, or rather, to which they were not obliged to submit. *They often felt what it was to want food.* The scanty crops they raised were consumed by their cattle in winter and spring ; for a great part of the year they lived wholly on milk, and even that, by the end of spring and the beginning of summer, was very scarce. To such an extremity were they frequently reduced, that they were obliged to bleed their cattle, in order to subsist some time on the blood (boiled) ; and even the inhabitants of the glens and valleys repaired in crowds to the shore, at the distance of three or four miles, to pick up the scanty provision which the shell-fish afforded them. They were miserably ill-clothed, and the huts in which they lived were dirty and mean beyond description. How different from their present situation ! They now enjoy the necessaries and many of the comforts of life in abundance ; even those who are supported by the charity of the parish feel no real want.’

The southern counties presented the same picture of sloth, poverty, and wretchedness. The late Rev. Mr Smith, in his Agricultural Survey of Wigton and Kirkeudbright, published in 1810, gives, on the authority of persons ‘ now living,’ the following details with respect to the state of husbandry, and the condition of the people towards the middle of last century.

‘ Estates appear to have been broken down into very small farms ; or where these were large, they were held in common by two, three, or even four different tenants, who divided the labour and produce in a proportion corresponding to their rent. These, when in tillage, were sometimes *run-rigg*, when each had his proportion allotted ; sometimes the whole was ploughed, sowed, and reaped in common, and the produce divided on the field, barn, or barn-yard. Houses or sheds for the whole cattle of the farm never entered into their conception. Their cows were, indeed, not uncomfortably lodged ; very often under the same roof with themselves, and sometimes without any intervening wall, or partition. Their houses were commonly wretched, dirty hovels, built with stones and mud, thatched with fern and turf ; without chimneys ; filled with smoke ; black with soot ; having low doors, and small

holes for windows, with wooden shutters, or, in place of these, often stopped with turf, straw, or fragments of old clothes.

‘The principal object of tillage was to afford straw for the winter support of the few cattle which the pasture (if such it could be called) maintained in summer. As they always overstocked, this was a difficult task; and the poor starved animals, before the return of spring, were reduced to the greatest extremities. Through mere weakness often they could not rise of themselves. It was a constant practice to gather together neighbours to lift the cows or horses, or to draw them out of the bogs and quagmires into which they were tempted by the first appearances of vegetation.

‘Nothing but the frugal, penurious manner in which the peasantry then lived, could have enabled them to subsist and pay any rent whatever. Their clothing was of the coarsest materials; their furniture and gardening utensils were often made by themselves; their food, always the produce of their farms, was little expensive, consisting chiefly of oatmeal, vegetables, and the produce of the dairy; if a little animal food was occasionally added, it was generally the refuse of the flock, *unfit to be brought to market.*’—Pp. 38—43.

At this period, too, mendicity was extremely prevalent; and the labours of the peasantry during harvest were every now and then interrupted, by the necessity of carrying crippled beggars from one farm to another.

Such was the state of the south of Scotland before those improvements began, which, according to Dr Chalmers, are good for nothing but to enlarge the sphere of pauperism. But we are bold to say, that the contrast between the savages that formerly occupied Kentucky, and its present civilized inhabitants, is hardly greater than the contrast between the farmers and labourers of the south of Scotland in 1770, and those of the present day. The labourers are now universally well fed and well clothed; their cottages are comfortable; and they are all in the enjoyment of luxuries that formerly were never tasted even by rich proprietors. At the same time, too, that mendicity is almost entirely unknown, poor rates have been introduced only in a very few instances, and are, in all cases, exceedingly moderate. At present, indeed, we believe, there is not a parish in the whole province of Galloway assessed for the support of the poor. Now, this great and signal advance has been in no respect owing to the more general diffusion of ‘Christian education.’ The peasantry of 1760 were, in this respect, quite on a level, or rather, we believe, very superior to the peasantry of 1832. The melioration has been wholly owing to extrinsic causes—to improvements in agriculture and the arts. The change in the circumstances under which the people have been placed, has effected a total change in their habits; and they would as soon think of selling

themselves as slaves, as of living and multiplying after the fashion of their ancestors of last century.

The change in the Lothians and central districts of Scotland has been equally striking. Mendicity was exceedingly prevalent in the Lothians about 1760—1770, and even later. Mr Robertson, in his *Rural Recollections*—a work that ought to be read by every one wishing to acquire an accurate idea of the improvements of Scotland since 1765—mentions, that at the period referred to, hardly a day passed during which farmhouses were not visited by beggars, and hardly a week without some of them getting a night's lodging in the barn. But there, as elsewhere in Scotland, mendicity is now almost entirely unknown. Assessments for the poor have indeed been introduced into some parishes; but they are inconsiderable in amount, and, if any, are but a trifling deduction from the advantages derived from the suppression of mendicity.

The vast improvement that has taken place in Scotland is, indeed, too obvious to be disputed, and may be evinced in many other ways. We have the best attainable authority for saying, that we are considerably within the mark, when we affirm that the produce of the country has been increased *sixfold* since 1770; and as the population has not quite doubled in the interval, it follows, that at an average each individual is now enjoying more than *three times* the quantity of useful and desirable articles that were enjoyed by his ancestors subsequently to the Seven Years' War. Mr Robertson mentions that a small field sown with wheat in the vicinity of Edinburgh, in 1727, was so great a curiosity, that strangers flocked from a distance to see it! (p. 267.) Even so late as the American war, the wheat raised in the Lothians and Berwickshire did not exceed a third or a fourth part of what is now raised in them; and in other parts of the country it was hardly known as a farm crop. Indeed, taking the whole country at an average, we are convinced that the quantity of wheat raised in Scotland at present, is *ten times* greater than the quantity raised in 1780. At that period no wheaten bread was to be met with anywhere except in the large towns; and even in them it was only used by the wealthier classes. At present the case is widely different. The middle and lower, as well as the upper classes in towns and in many villages, use only wheaten bread; and even in farmhouses it is very extensively consumed. As respects the consumption of butcher's meat, the contrast with any former period is still more striking; and the improvement in dress and houses is too palpable to admit of any doubt whatever.

In England the improvement during the last half century has not been so great; partly because (notwithstanding their very inferior education) the English in 1770 were greatly in advance of the Scotch; and partly because of the injudicious alteration of the Poor Laws in 1795, and the consequent mixing up of rates and wages in some of the southern counties. But even in England there has been a decided change for the better. In 1758, Mr Charles Smith, the well-informed author of the tracts on the Corn Trade, taking the population of England and Wales at six millions, estimated that 3,750,000 were consumers of wheat, that 739,000 were consumers of barley, 888,000 of rye, and 623,000 of oats. Every one is aware how wide of the mark these proportions would be if applied to the present period. It is admitted on all hands, that the produce of wheat in England and Wales has more than trebled since 1760; and, of the whole population of that part of the empire, there is not certainly at present an eighth part that does not use wheaten bread. As respects the consumption of butcher's meat, the increase has been equally great. In nothing, indeed, has the influence of improvement been so strongly evinced as in the change that has taken place in the quantity and quality of the cattle brought to market. At an average, the animals now sold in Smithfield weigh more than double what they weighed in 1710.* The annual supply of butcher's meat in England at present, is, at the very least, from four to five times as great as at the commencement of last century; and the great improvements have all been made since about 1765, or since Bakewell and Culley directed their attention to the selection and crossing of breeds.

Among other facts that attest the improved condition of the people of England since 1770, the extraordinary diminution in the rate of mortality is one of the least equivocal. In 1780, the deaths in England and Wales amounted to about 1 in 40 of the population, whereas at an average of the five years ending with 1830, they do not exceed 1 in 54!† And it will be observed, that this extraordinary improvement began before the introduction of vaccination; nor can there be a question, that it has been principally owing to the meliorations that have taken place in the diet, dress, and habitations of the poor, and to their greater cleanliness and sobriety. Nor is this the only decisive circumstance to which we may appeal in proof of the improved condition of the English poor. At what other period could they, or

* McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, Art. Cattle,

† Remarks prefixed to last Census, p. 15.

would they, have lodged *fifteen* millions in Savings' Banks? And at what other period were 1,200,000 of them enrolled in Friendly Societies? It is known to every one, that though wages have declined since the peace, they have not declined to any thing like the extent to which prices have declined; and that the condition of the labourers has been decidedly improved. That particular districts may be pointed out, where, owing to the abuse of the Poor Laws, the poor have been degraded, is no doubt true. But we are not to confound an accidental inflammation of the hand or the foot with a consumption. We hear only of the few who are distressed, but the well-being of the majority is not on that account the less certain. It is fortunate, too, that the disease is not so deeply rooted as not to be capable of being exterminated; and that if the Poor Laws be replaced nearly on the footing on which they stood in 1795, the abuses by which they are at present infected will speedily disappear: there will be nothing to counteract the onward progress of the country.

It is clear, therefore, that the experience of England, and still more of Scotland, during the last half century, is altogether inconsistent with Dr Chalmers's theory. The 'relative poverty of the people' has not 'kept pace with the absolute plenty in the land.' On the contrary, the latter has shot far a-head of the former. The people have acquired new and improved habits; the standard of necessary subsistence has been raised to an extent that in 1760 would have been deemed all but impossible; and 'the mighty enlargement in our means of subsistence' has been accompanied with a more than corresponding enlargement of the comforts and enjoyments of all classes, but particularly of the labourers.

And such, we are glad to say, is not the case in Great Britain only, but generally throughout the continent. The condition of the people has every where been vastly improved during the present century. In France, this advance has been astonishingly great. M. Peuchet, the ablest of the French statistical writers, says,—'Il se mange aujourd'hui plus de pain, plus de viande en France qu'autrefois. L'homme des campagnes, qui ne connoissoit qu'une nourriture grossiere, une boisson peu saine, à aujourd'hui de la viande, du pain, du blé, du vin, du bon cidre ou de la bière. Les denrées coloniales se sont repandues aussi dans les campagnes depuis l'augmentation de la richesse des cultivateurs.' If we turn to Russia, Prussia, and Germany, the change for the better is even more striking than in France; and while the numbers of the people are increasing, their comforts and enjoyments are increasing still more rapidly.

But we can appeal to evidence that Dr Chalmers will probably regard as more conclusive than any previously produced, to prove that the late extraordinary increase of the means of production here, and on the continent, has had a powerfully beneficial influence over the habits of the people. Instead of the proportion of marriages to the population having increased, it has *materially diminished* during the last half century; and this decrease has not, in England at least, been accompanied by any increase of illegitimate births. In England, in 1760, the ratio of marriages to the population was as 1 to 116; in 1780, it had declined to 1 in 118; during the *five* years ending with 1810, it was as 1 to 122; and during the *five* years ending with 1830, it was as 1 to 129.* Here, therefore, is evidence not to be gainsaid, that the prudential habits, as well as the circumstances of the people, have been signally improved; and that they are very far indeed from increasing with the 'reckless improvidence' we have been taught to believe. In fact, the increase of population in Britain, during the last thirty years, is ascribable as much to the increased longevity as to the increased multiplication of the people.

In France, similar results have taken place. According to Necker, there was, in 1780, one marriage to every 111 inhabitants, and now there is one only to every 135. There has, no doubt, been a considerable increase of illegitimate births since the Revolution, but nothing to make up for the decrease in the proportion of marriages. At an average of the *ten* years ending with 1780, when the population of France was 24,800,000, the total births were 940,935 a-year; while during the *seven* years ending with 1825, when the population was 30,400,000, the total births were 957,970 a-year,—showing, that with an increased population of 5,600,000, and those in vastly improved circumstances, the annual increase of births amounted to no more than 17,035. † What stronger and more convincing proof can be required to show the error of supposing that population always increases proportionally to every increase of the means of subsistence? and that there is no power, other than that of a 'Christian education,' permanently to improve the condition of a people?

Perhaps our readers may incline to think, that we have spent more time than was necessary, in showing how much the condition and habits of society may be improved by a change in the

* See the valuable preliminary remarks prefixed to the official accounts of the population in 1821 and 1831.

† See the excellent Memoir of M. de Chateaufeuf, in the *Bulletin des Sciences Geographiques* for February, 1826.

external circumstances under which they are placed. But when such a man as Dr Chalmers maintains the contrary, and puts forth all his eloquence and ingenuity to show that 'salvation can only come from within,' and that all that a change of circumstances can do is merely to produce '*a greater instead of a smaller number of wretched families,*' we may be excused for dwelling at some little length on the subject. Again, however, we beg that we may not be misunderstood. We subscribe to all that Dr Chalmers has said in favour of 'efficient Christian instruction;' and we firmly believe, that the beneficial influence of the improvements of last half century would have been materially increased, had they been accompanied by an increase of moral culture. But, though without this, the advantages resulting from them have been quite unprecedented, and must not be depreciated, far less overlooked, by those who would correctly estimate the means of national prosperity.

II. Besides undervaluing the influence of improvements in the arts, in changing the habits, and permanently improving the condition of society, Dr Chalmers appears to undervalue the mischievous influence of wasteful expenditure, and of injudicious taxes and regulations. In this department of his work, there is, indeed, much to admire; and he has successfully exposed the absurdity of some schemes that have been creeping into a noxious popularity. His chapter on primogeniture is particularly deserving of attention; and though we do not subscribe to all the arguments which it contains, we agree entirely in his conclusion, that the project for forcing the equal division of landed properties among the children of their owners, would have the most disastrous influence, and be injurious alike to agriculture, to the occupiers of land, and to the other classes. We are glad that Dr Chalmers has spoken out so strongly in reprobation of this project. Wherever an attempt has been made to enforce a system of equal partition, the consequences have been mischievous.

Still, however, we cannot help thinking that Dr Chalmers is far too indiscriminating an enemy to projects of economical reform; and we doubt altogether the principle on which he is inclined to palliate, and even to commend, the waste, or at least the lavish expenditure, of government and its agents. The Doctor institutes a very ingenious comparison between the increase of capital and population, which he conceives intimately to resemble each other. Any deficiency in the population, caused by war, pestilence, or any other calamity, is, says he, very speedily filled up; and 'the deficiencies caused by the destruction of capital, are repaired by a process still more sudden.' And he illustrates

this position by an example, which, as the principle, if true, is one of fundamental importance, we shall take leave to lay before the reader.

‘ Let the whole capital embarked in glass-making, for example, be L.1,000,000, which, if replaced by one revolution of the economic cycle by L.1,100,000, would enable the manufacturers to live, and commence their course anew in the same circumstances as before. But we may conceive one of these manufacturers with a capital of L.100,000, to have withdrawn it from business, and to have squandered it in a fit of extravagance, so that, in a few months, there is not a vestige of his fortune remaining. The common imagination is, that the capital thus wasted by the dissipation of one capitalist, can only be repaired by a strenuous economy on the part of all the rest. But the truth is, it may be repaired, and that in the course of a single twelvemonth, from another cause. There is nothing, generally speaking, in the extravagance of this said glass-maker that can affect the wealth or ability of his customers. It may lessen, for one year at least, the quantity prepared, but it lessens not the ability to purchase. If L.1,100,000 were in readiness last year for buying up the glass that had been manufactured at the expense of L.1,000,000, there is nothing in the wasteful expenditure of one of the capitalists that can prevent the same sum of L.1,100,000 from being in readiness next year. The producing power is for one season impaired, but the returning power is as great as ever; and the effect is just a rise in the price of the article. When the effective demand is the same as before, the price, averagely speaking, is in the inverse proportion of the quantity brought to market. The price of L.1,100,000 given last year in return for the cost of L.1,000,000, is given this year in return for the cost of L.900,000. The capital is thus restored to its original magnitude, and that without any effort or great straining on the part of the remaining capitalists. The truth is, that to them it has been a prosperous holiday season of high prices and flourishing markets. That extravagance which has ruined their brother capitalist, has enriched them. They, in a single year, have fallen both into his profits and his capital. So far from being more painstaking or penuriously economical than before, they might spend among them the L.10,000 which came to them in the shape of revenue, and still inherit the whole of his capital, or the L.100,000 into the bargain. The glass-making capital is fully replaced, not with any sacrifice or self-denial on their part, but at the expense of their customers. And with the temporary mischief to them, of a tenth less of the article of glass than they would otherwise have had, the capital starts again into as great extent and efficiency as before.’—(Pp. 111—113.)

It would not be easy, we think, to crowd into as brief a paragraph so large a number of fundamental errors as are here brought together. If the reasoning embodied in it were good for any thing, it would justify any degree of extravagance; for had L.900,000 of capital been wasted, instead of L.100,000, the result, accord-

ing to the above principle, would have been quite the same! But the fallacy of this doctrine may be shown otherwise than by a *reductio ad absurdum*.

1. It is clear that if any portion of the supplies of glass were imported from abroad, a slight increase of price at home would occasion an increased importation; so that foreigners would reap a part, at least, of the advantages that are supposed to go wholly to the home producers.

2. But the radical error which pervades the whole paragraph, and the doctrine which it is intended to expound, lies in the supposition that the same sum is always expended upon an article, whatever may be its price. This, as every one knows, is neither true, nor has so much as the resemblance of truth. Were glass, for example, to rise 10, 20, or 30 per cent, the probability, or rather we should say, the certainty is, that many that had been in the habit of buying a certain quantity of glass, would henceforth buy none, or a less quantity, and that the total sum expended upon it would be materially reduced. A man may spend L.50 or L.100 a-year on wine costing L.30 or L.40 a pipe, who would not spend a shilling upon it, did it cost L.60 or L.80 a pipe. Instead of being constant, the expenditure upon commodities is perpetually fluctuating, according to changes in their price, and in the taste of the public. Mr Vansittart acted on the principle laid down by Dr Chalmers, and demonstrated its utter groundlessness. 'A certain amount of wealth,' said he, 'is laid out on the purchase of wine, brandy, &c. If, therefore, we increase the duties on these articles 20 or 50 per cent, we shall divert a proportionally greater share of this wealth into the coffers of the state.' But every one knows that in nine out of ten of the instances in which Mr Vansittart increased taxes, a totally different result followed. A decidedly less amount of wealth was applied to the purchase of the taxed articles; so much so, that the revenue was in most instances reduced.

The opposite experience is equally conclusive as to the fallacy of this principle. In 1808 a deduction of 1s. per lb. was made from the duty, and consequently from the price, of coffee; and in 1809 more than *five* times the wealth was expended on coffee that had been expended on it during the previous year. In 1825 another deduction of 6d. per lb. was made from the duty, and a similar increase followed.

When corn rises in price, the public, because it is a necessary of life, make extraordinary efforts to maintain their consumption unimpaired. On such occasions the mass of the people always restrict their demand for other articles; so that what the agri-

culturists gain on the one hand by a rise of prices, is lost by the producers of those articles for which the demand is lessened. But except in the case of indispensable necessities, the demand for an article declines with every increase of price; and when the increase is very considerable, the demand ceases entirely, or becomes comparatively trifling. During the three years ending with 1802, when the duty was 6s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., there were above 800,000 gallons of rum annually entered for home consumption in Ireland. Mr Vansittart raised the duty to 12s. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., and in 1823 the quantity entered for home consumption had sunk to about 18,000 gallons. The expenditure upon rum, when its price was moderate, being, notwithstanding the increase of population, about *thirty-five* times as great as when it had been raised beyond due bounds! Even in the very case of glass, the increase of its price, caused by an increase of taxation, reduced the consumption of plate and flint glass from 67,615 cwt. in 1794, to 29,600 cwt. in 1816; of broad glass from 20,607 cwt. to 6,140; of crown glass from 83,940 cwt. to 55,502; and of bottle glass from 227,476 cwt. to 155,595 cwt.

Nothing, therefore, can be more utterly at variance with principle and experience, than the notion that the destruction of capital, by waste or otherwise, is immediately made good through a rise of prices. Individual and national extravagance are repaired only by a slow and painful process. Prices may rise to any level; but the eternal law of Providence has decreed, that 'the hand of the diligent can alone make rich;' that the waste of capital will never be repaired except by an increase of productive power, or by a greater degree of economy, or both.

Had Dr Chalmers adverted to the history of industry in this country, and carefully analyzed the influence of an increase of prices and of taxation on industry and economy, he would have discovered the true reason why the national capital went on increasing, notwithstanding the prodigal expenditure of last war. At its commencement the stupendous inventions and discoveries of Watt, Arkwright, and Wedgwood, were beginning to come into full play. The productive power of the country was, in consequence, immeasurably increased. Neither is it to be denied, that the increase of taxation and of prices gave a spur to industry, activity, and economy. To the desire of rising in the world, inherent in every man, the increase of taxation superadded the fear of being thrown down to a lower station; and the two principles produced an effect that could not have been produced by either separately. Had taxation been very oppressive it would not have had this effect; but though not so heavy as to produce dejection or despair, it was

at the same time sufficiently high to render a considerable increase of industry and economy necessary to hinder it from encroaching on the fortunes of individuals, or at all events from diminishing the rate at which they had previously been increasing. To the circumstances mentioned by Dr Chalmers we owe absolutely nothing. They had not, and could not have any influence in replacing capital. It was the inventions of our mechanists and engineers, and the unparalleled industry and economy of our people, that bore us triumphantly through the late dreadful contest, and more than counterpoised its enormous expense.

III. Agreeably to the principles advanced in his earliest publication, on National Resources, Dr Chalmers continues, at least as it appears to us, to undervalue the importance of foreign trade. In the work before us he lays it down as an axiom, that '*any trade or manufacture originates only its own products.*' 'All,' says he, 'that a stocking-maker contributes to society is simply stockings. This, and nothing more, is what comes forth of his establishment. And the same is true of all other trades or employments which can be specified. They work off nothing, they emanate nothing but their own peculiar articles.'—(P. 49.)

Now this, we humbly conceive, is a very erroneous representation. A hatter, it is true, produces only hats; but suppose his peculiar business were put an end to, and that agriculturists, shoemakers, weavers, &c., were obliged to manufacture hats for themselves: we are pretty certain Dr Chalmers will not contradict us when we affirm, that there would not only be fewer hats, and those of a very inferior quality, in the country, but that there would also be less corn, fewer shoes, less cloth, &c. The principle laid down by Dr Chalmers would go to show that society derives comparatively little advantage from the division of labour. If a hatter exchange a hat for stockings, he gives the equivalent of what he gets, and it may, perhaps, be said, that the country is neither the richer nor the poorer for the exchange. But such is very far indeed from being the case. The hatter by confining himself to the manufacture of hats, the stocking-maker to the manufacture of stockings, and the agriculturist to the raising of corn, respectively produce a great deal more of these articles than they could otherwise do; so that the supply of all other commodities is very much increased by each individual confining himself to the production of one only.

Dr Chalmers admits that the subversion of the feudal system

and the revival of industry were mainly occasioned by the revival of commerce, or rather by the variety of new and valuable products it supplied to excite the desires of the owners and occupiers of the soil; but he contends that its influence in this respect has been long exhausted, and that foreign commerce might now be suppressed without entailing any very disastrous consequences on the country. Our view of the matter is widely different. Great as were the benefits conferred by commerce on this and other European countries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we estimate still more highly those now derived from it. It is idle to suppose that men will be industrious without a motive; and as supplies of beef, bread, and beer might be obtained with comparatively little exertion, and by those possessed of comparatively small fortunes, does any one suppose that we should be as industrious, frugal, and economical as at present, did the largest fortunes procure only an increase of these articles? '*Le travail de la faim est toujours borné comme elle; mais le travail de l'ambition croit avec ce vertu meme.*' The prohibition of a single article brought from abroad, as wine, might not have any very sensible effect on industry. But the question does not respect wine only—it respects sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, silk, cotton, gold, silver, and a thousand other commodities. To suppose that the future importation of these might be prohibited, and that the owners and occupiers of land would, notwithstanding, continue as industrious as at present, that they would exert themselves to produce the same quantities of corn and cattle, when the objects for which they had hitherto exchanged them were reduced in the ratio of one to ten, is to suppose what is plainly absurd and contradictory: it is equivalent to supposing that production may be prosecuted without a motive; that the effect will be the same, however different the cause!

Even if this were not enough to show the powerful influence of commerce in increasing supplies of food, it will, at all events, be admitted, that we send cottons and hardware abroad, and get back corn in their stead; so that it cannot be said of these manufactures that they do nothing more than supply us with their own products. The entire annual produce of wheat in Great Britain has never been estimated at more than 12,000,000 of quarters. Now, in 1831, we imported 2,319,461 quarters of wheat, or very nearly a *fifth-part* of what is supposed to be raised at home, in a fair average season, besides large quantities of oats and other grain. It is plain, therefore, that whatever manufactures and commerce '*originate,*' they make immense additions in two different ways to the supplies of food—

first, by exciting the industry of the owners and occupiers of land at home; and, second, by furnishing equivalents that are willingly accepted by foreigners in exchange for corn. It is impossible to conjecture, were there no restraints on the trade in corn, to what extent supplies might be derived from abroad; but there can be no doubt that they would be very great; and adequate, at a moderate estimate, to the subsistence of a population of four millions. Dr Chalmers would call this an 'excrement population;' but though this term may be fairly enough applied to the population of Jamaica or Gibraltar, we deny its applicability to the population of Manchester or Birmingham. Their citizens subsist on the produce of British industry as much as the men of Kent, or of Perthshire. They barter their cottons and hardware with the Prussians, Russians, and other foreigners, for corn; and the fact of the exchange being made, shows that the foreigner estimates the articles he has got from us more highly than he estimated the corn. But this, it is said, is after all a perilous dependence; the trade may be put an end to; and those that depended on it for supplies may be exposed to all the horrors of famine. Such a contingency is certainly not impossible; but in *all* worldly matters, we must be contented with what is reasonable and probable, without troubling ourselves about possibilities, which have never hitherto occurred, and which it is exceedingly improbable ever will occur. It is possible that the crop of any year may be destroyed by drought, rain, or hail; but we apprehend that an opulent farmer, who should refuse to sow because of such a possibility, would not fare much better than Miss Bagster. The possibility of being shut out of the foreign markets, is one of the same sort. Taking into account the numberless ports in all parts of the world whence corn may be brought, the extreme eagerness to sell that is always evinced by the agriculturists, and the utter ruin that would be entailed upon those who had been furnishing us with considerable quantities of corn, were they excluded from our markets,* the fear of being deprived of adequate supplies, were our ports constantly open, seems the most futile and absurd that can be imagined. For about three centuries the Dutch have been principally fed on imported corn; and during this long period of probation, did we ever hear of their having, whether in peace or in war, the least difficulty in obtaining supplies?

* The attempt of Napoleon to hinder the exportation of the raw produce of Russia, involved him in his last contest with that power, and was the real cause of his downfall.

On the contrary, no country in Europe has been so abundantly furnished with corn as Holland—‘*Que la disette de grains regne dans les quatre parties du monde ; vous trouverez du froment, du seigle, et d’autres grains à Amsterdam ; ils n’y manquent jamais.*’* This is an *experimentum crucis* that ought to put an end to all fears as to the consequences of a free corn trade. We may be quite sure that they cannot be otherwise than beneficial. Freedom is the source of plenty and low prices ; prohibition, of scarcity and high prices. Can we hesitate in our choice ?

Though Dr Chalmers takes a very exaggerated view of the dangers which he supposes would result from a dependence on foreign supplies, he is not hostile to a repeal or modification of the corn laws. But, true to the fundamental principle of his work, he contends that, ‘*However great the immediate relief of a free corn-trade may be, it would at best be temporary, and, at the end of some brief period, would cease to be the minister of a greater abundance to each of the families of the land, than they at present enjoy,*’ (p. 539.) It is unnecessary again to repeat what we have already stated in opposition to this theory. The experience of all countries, and particularly of Great Britain, France, and Russia, during the last half century, proves beyond dispute, that a change in the external circumstances of a people raises the standard of necessary subsistence, and permanently improves their condition. Were a good system of public instruction operating simultaneously with a fall in the price of necessaries, or a rise of wages, its influence, we doubt not, would be materially increased. But independent of any such aid, it would be great and *lasting* ; and it is our duty to avail ourselves of advantages so easily obtained, without waiting till they be conjoined with others far more difficult to realize.

Like M. Quesnay and the Economists, Dr Chalmers seems to be impressed with very high, not to say exaggerated, notions of the importance of the landowners and occupiers, who, he considers, form the main strength and stamina of the state ; and conformably to the economical theory, he proposes that all taxes should be gradually commuted for a *territorial impost*. Perhaps we may not have the same high ideas as Dr Chalmers as to the paramount importance of the agriculturists ; though we firmly believe that their well-being is inseparable from the well-being of the state. Unquestionably, however, we should not be inclined to adopt Dr Chalmers’s mode of showing our respect for that body. We would give them no monopolies or preferences of

* *Richesse de la Hollande*, tom. i. p. 376.

any sort; but, on the other hand, we should not lay a feather more on them than on any other class. All schemes for throwing an extra amount of taxes on particular ranks, whether deriving their revenue from land or funded property, are, in our estimation, merely disguised plans of robbery and plunder. It is the duty of government to treat all classes alike; to secure for them 'an open stage and fair play;' and to tax every man in proportion to the income he enjoys under the protection of the state. But it is unnecessary to argue what is so very obvious. All that could be said in favour of a territorial tax, was said by Locke, and Vauban, and Quesnay, and has been refuted a thousand times. In as far, indeed, as England is concerned, the thing is impossible. The net public revenue of Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland, may at this moment be estimated at L.46,000,000; but the entire rental of the island does not certainly exceed L.35,000,000, of which probably upwards of L.25,000,000 consists of interest of capital laid out on the soil; so that until means be discovered of taking a greater from a less, we may be pretty well satisfied that the scheme for commutating all taxes for a territorial tax, will not make much progress in this country. But our hostility to the proposal has nothing to do with its impracticability. It is a project for making one class bear a burden that ought to be equally distributed over all. And on this ground we should have equally objected to it, had the rental of England been five hundred millions a year.

But we must bring these remarks to a close. This work displays so much genius and eloquence, the fame of its author is so deservedly high, and the subjects of which it treats are so important, that we have considered it a duty to caution the reader as to the hollowness of some of the doctrines to which Dr Chalmers has lent his support. It would have been more grateful to us to have directed the public attention to the many sound and beautiful passages that abound in all parts of the work; this, however, would have been quite superfluous; there is no reason to fear that these will be overlooked; our only apprehension is, last the reader, captivated by them, should incautiously assent to doctrines that seem both dangerous and erroneous.

ART. IV.—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, or the Central and Western States of India.* By Lieutenant-Colonel JAMES TOD, late Political Resident to the Western Rajpoot States. Vol. II. 4to. London: 1832.

WHEN we had occasion, some time ago, to notice the first volume of this extensive work, we were led to observe, that, till a very recent period, we really knew but little of India beyond the provinces of Bengal, rich indeed and productive, but in which the Hindu political and civil institutions are more broken down, and the character of the inhabitants, from ages of foreign servitude and oppression, more injured, than in any other portion of that great country. From these provinces, however, were our ideas of the Hindu laws and character taken, and most mischievous in many instances have been the practical consequences of acting on conclusions drawn from a too limited induction of facts. It is only since the beginning of the present century that our ideas on the subject have begun to take a wider range. The great extension of the Madras government by the successful wars against Tippoo Sultan, the enlargement of the Bombay government on the side of Guzerat, and, finally, the subjugation of the Mahratta country, and indeed we may say of all India on the side of Bengal, accompanied by the residence of many able men, especially as political agents, in every direction, have given us a much more comprehensive knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, than we previously possessed, and showed us distinctly, what sometimes had been casually remarked before, that the uniformity of laws, manners, and character, which we had taken as the basis of our opinions and legislation, did not exist. Colonel Wilks did much to enlarge and correct our notions of the varied races in the south of India; Sir John Malcolm furnished us with most instructive and interesting details of the countries between the Nerbudda and the Chumbul; Mr Elphinstone had already made us familiar with all the countries from the Biah and the Indian desert to Tartary and Khorasan; while Captain Pottinger had laid open to our view the waste and barbarous country of the Balouches along the borders of Persia down to the Indus. In the centre of all these territories, however, that large extent of country which forms the Rajpoot states remained insulated, and was nearly the only considerable portion of India that was left undescribed. We still recollect the difficulty we experienced in following George Thomas in his singular and adventurous career in Upper India and among the Rajpoots, to cities and provinces known in-

deed by name, but of which, with the defective maps, and equally defective geography of the time, we were unable to trace the position. Colonel Tod has the merit of filling up this large blank, and, by completing our acquaintance with the geography as well as with the history of the west of India, has added it to the domain of science, and discharged some part of the great debt which our possessions and political situation in the East impose upon us in the eyes of the world. We have here a new country and a new people; for the little previously and inaccurately known of them was less calculated to satisfy than to excite curiosity.

This second and concluding volume leads us into a new field. The former was chiefly occupied with the antiquities and religion of the Rajpoot tribes, the geography of the eastern part of the country, and the annals of Mewar, the principal of its political divisions. The present volume gives us the annals of all the rest of the Rajpoot states, with an interesting sketch of the western part of the country, including the great Indian desert as far as the valley of the Indus; and, like the other, contains a considerable portion of the author's personal narrative of his travels in various parts of the country. It would be vain to attempt any thing like an analysis of a work so varied and extensive, the result of twenty years' unremitting labour and observation. It shows the same enthusiastic fondness for his subject, the same perfect acquaintance with the character and feelings of the Rajpoots, their literature and history, and the same unwearied and successful research in collecting every memorial or fragment that can illustrate either, which we have formerly noticed. We can of course only skim lightly over the vast variety of objects which it presents.

The eastern portion of Rajasthan, as we formerly remarked,* is in general enclosed and defended by mountains of difficult access, and abounds in fertile plains and rich well-watered valleys. The western portion, to which this volume chiefly relates, is of a very different character. It is separated from the other by the long line of the Aravulli range, and includes the great Indian desert, comprising the divisions of Marwar, Jessulmer, Bikaner, part of Shekhawati, and the desert of the valley of the Indus. On the east it has the Aravulli range, separating it from Mewar, Ajmer, and Amber; on the west, the valley of the Sind; to the south, the great salt-marsh called the Rin, dividing it from Kutch and Guzerat; and on the north,

* Vol. lii. p. 91.

the flat lands skirting the Gharah, the southern river that bounds the Penjab. Of these boundaries 'the most conspicuous,' says our author, 'is the Aravulli; but for which impediment, Central India would be submerged in the sand: nay, lofty and continuous as is this chain, extending almost from the sea to Delhi, wherever there are passages or depressions, these floating sand-clouds are wafted through or over, and form a little *thull* (or sterile tract) even in the bosom of fertility.' But all this wide tract of country is not equally barren. Oases of some extent are scattered over the whole. The Looni, or Salt River, runs through the greater part of Marwar, and many districts to the east of it, up to the roots of the Aravulli, from which it receives several smaller streams, are rich and productive. In general, however, the prospect is dreary and desolate.

'Could the beholder,' says Colonel Tod, 'looking westward from this triple-peaked hill (of Jessulmer) across this sandy ocean to the blue waters of the Indus, embrace in his vision its whole course from Hydrabad to Ootch, he would perceive, amidst these valleys of sand-hills, little colonies of animated beings, congregated on every spot which water renders habitable. Throughout this tract, from four hundred to five hundred miles in longitudinal extent, and from one hundred to two hundred in diagonal breadth, are little hamlets, consisting of the scattered huts of the shepherds of the desert, occupied in pasturing their flocks, or cultivating those little oases for food. He may discern a long line of camels, anxiously toiling through the often doubtful path, and the Charun conductor at each stage tying a knot on the end of his turban. He may discover lying in ambush a band of Sehraes, the Bedouins of our desert, either mounted on camels or horses, on the watch to despoil the caravan, or engaged in the less hazardous occupation of driving off the flocks of the Rajur or Mangulia shepherds, peacefully tending them about the *turs* or *bawas*, or hunting for the produce stored amidst the huts of the ever green *Jhal*, which serve at once as grain-pits and shelter from the sun. A migratory band may be seen flitting with their flocks from the ground which they have exhausted in search of fresh pastures, or quenching their thirst from the *wah* of their little oasis, of which they maintain sovereign possession so long as the pasture lasts, or till they come in conflict with some more powerful community.'—Vol. i. p. 293.

Of the scarcity of water we may judge by the depth of the wells, in which, in the more habitable parts, water is found at the depth of from sixty-five to a hundred and thirty feet; while in the more barren districts, they descend to four hundred or five hundred; and in the territory of Dhat, which includes Amerkot, sometimes to near seven hundred feet. Dhat and Omursoomra, the districts west of Jessulmer and Marwar, and depending on Sind, have spaces of fifty miles without water. The country can only be

passed by small parties, as, from the depth of the wells, and the inadequate means of raising a supply of water, were the caravan large, many would perish before the thirst of all could be slaked. An example of this will occur to all who remember the Emperor Humaiun's disastrous flight through this very tract. If we regard this desert on its western side, we are told that in journeying along the banks of the Indus from Hydrabad to Ootch, the range of vision is bounded to the east by a bulwark of sand, which, rising to the height of two hundred feet above the level of the river, leads one to believe that the continuity which would seem to have existed between this desert and that of the Persian Arachosia, on the opposite side of the valley of the Indus, had been cut off by the burst of waters from the grand internal range of mountains pouring down in the direction in which the river now runs. The Looni, which may be considered as the only river of the country, passes through Marwar into the Rin, an immense salt-marsh upwards of one hundred and fifty miles in breadth, which, though it owes its salt to the Looni, is indebted to the overflowings of the Indus for part of its volume of water.

The great charm of these volumes, however, does not so much arise from the accessions to history and geography which they afford, as from the brave and romantic character of the Rajpoot himself, to whom they relate. The Rajpoots have long been situated very much as the northern invaders were among the old Provincials, or the Normans in England. They were a conquering tribe, who vanquished the ancient inhabitants many centuries ago, and seated themselves, in very inferior numbers, in a new country. The necessity under which they must originally have been of providing for mutual defence, naturally bound the higher and lower classes of the conquerors to one another. The cultivators of Rajapootana are chiefly the Jits, the old inhabitants, and most numerous part of the population. Every Rajpoot, however poor, where the national feeling has not been broken down by the recent anarchy, finds himself of consequence, sees large bodies of men his inferiors, is a soldier and a gentleman, brave, idle, attached to the head of his tribe or clan, and ready to give him his time or his life. As the country is broken down into little chiefships, in which every chieftain has his castle for defence, and his tribesmen, who share in all his feelings, and conceive his honour to be their own; and as these neighbouring chiefs are sometimes friends and sometimes foes, the importance of each depends on the number of followers he can bring to support his pretensions. This peculiar position, so much resembling that of the different

classes in ancient feudal times, is quite sufficient, without going farther, to account for a great part of the resemblances which certainly exist between some of the institutions of that period and those of the modern Rajpoots.

Among a half-civilized race of men we may expect to meet with ferocious deeds and atrocious crimes; and unfortunately there is no want of them among the Rajpoots. This natural tendency is much increased by their immoderate use of opium. Even their sense of honour is often capricious, and frequently untractable, though flowing from a high-toned mind, in spite of all its vices, teeming with the seeds of the nobler virtues. This character does not belong to individuals only; it is the attribute of the whole dominant class; and their annals present instances of self-devotion and of heroism that would do honour to any age. They delight in the songs of their bards, whose favourite subject is the exploits of their ancestors; and their decidedly military turn of mind gives the Rajpoots a species of romantic poetry little known in the rest of India, where, in general, the actions of the gods are the chief or only subject of verse. This lofty spirit is not confined to the men. The females of Rajasthan have never been known to decline death, when it was necessary to preserve their honour, or escape the contamination of servitude.

But an example will show the stern force of soul of this hardy race better than any description. When the Emperor Jehangir, to whom Sir Thomas Roe was sent as ambassador, was over-running their country, and the army of Mewar was in the field, a dispute arose between two clans, the Chondawuts and Suktawuts, for the honour of leading the van. The sword was about to decide the contest, when the Rana exclaimed, 'The *herole* (van) to the clan which first enters Ontala.' Ontala was a frontier fortress, with only one gate, and at some distance. The two clans moved off at the same time some hours before day-break.

'The Suktawuts,' says Colonel Tod, 'made directly for the gateway, which they reached as the day broke, and took the foe unprepared; but the walls were soon manned, and the action commenced. The Chondawuts had traversed a swamp, which retarded them, but through they dashed, fortunately meeting a guide in a shepherd of Ontala. With more foresight than their opponents, they had brought ladders. The chief led the escalade, but a ball rolled him back amidst his vassals: it was not his destiny to lead the *herole*. Each party was checked. The Suktawut depended on the elephant he rode, to gain admission by forcing the gate; but its projecting spikes deterred the animal from applying its strength. His men were falling thick around him, when a shout from the other party made him dread their success. He descended from his seat, placed his body on the spikes, and com-

manded the driver, on pain of instant death, to propel the elephant against him. The gates gave way, and over the dead body of their chief the clan rushed to the combat! But even this heroic surrender of his life failed to purchase the honour for his clan. The lifeless corpse of his rival was already in Ontala, and this was the event announced by the shout which urged his sacrifice to honour and ambition. When the Chondawut chief fell, the next in rank and kin took the command. He was one of those arrogant, reckless Rajpoots, who signalized themselves wherever there was danger, not only against men, but tigers, and his common appellation was the *Benda Thacur* (mad chief) of Deogurh. When his leader fell, he rolled the body in his scarf, then tying it on his back, scaled the wall, and, with his lance, having cleared the way before him, he threw the dead body over the parapet of Ontala, shouting, 'The vanguard to the Chondawut! we are first in!' The shout was echoed by the clan, and the rampart was in their possession nearly at the moment of the entry of the Suk-tawuts. The Moguls fell under their swords; the standard of Mewar was erected on the castle of Ontala, but the leading of the vanguard remained with the Chondawuts.—Vol. i. p. 150.

Their military spirit necessarily leads them to violent exercises, and they delight in the chase. The spring hunt is one of their annual festivals.

'With the sovereign and his sons all the chiefs sally forth, each on his best steed, and all animated by the desire to surpass each other in acts of prowess and dexterity. It is very rare, that in some one of the passes or recesses of the valley, the hog is not found; the spot is then surrounded by the hunters, whose vociferations soon start the *dhokra*, and frequently a drove of hogs. Then each cavalier impels his steed, and, with lance or sword, regardless of rock, ravine, or tree, presses on the bristly foe, whose knowledge of the country is of no avail when thus circumvented; and the ground soon reeks with gore, in which not unfrequently is mixed that of the horse or rider. On the last occasion there occurred fewer casualties than usual, though the Chondawut Hamira, whom we nicknamed the *Red Reaver*, had his leg broken, and the second son of Sheodan Sing, a near relation of the Rana, had his neighbour's lance driven through his arm. It would appal even an English fox-hunter to see the Rajpoots driving their steeds at full speed, bounding like the antelope over every barrier—the thick jungle covert, or rocky steep, bare of soil or vegetation—with their lances balanced in the air, or leaning on the saddle-bow, slashing at the boar.—P. 565.

Such a pleasure-party of Hindus does not certainly correspond with the ideas generally entertained of their character.

Their wild courage is sometimes influenced by a barbarous superstition. Kesuri Sing, Raja of Khundaila, gains possession of the whole of that territory by the murder of his younger brother, Futteh Sing, who shared it with him. He is attacked

by the Visier of Delhi, and, in the battle that ensues, is deserted by several of his allies, at the moment when victory seems to incline in his favour. In the bitterness of his despair he could not help exclaiming, 'If Futteh Sing had been here, he would not have deserted me!' He disdained, however, to give way, and prepared to meet his fate like a true Rajpoot. Sending for his only surviving brother, Oodey Sing, who still maintained the fight, he prevailed upon him to quit the field, that there might not be an end of their line. Attempts were made to turn Kesuri also from his purpose.

'"No!" replied the chief, "I have no desire for life; two black deeds press upon me—the murder of my brother, and the curse of the Charuns of Bikaner, whom I neglected at the distribution of the nuptial gifts. I will not add a third by a dastardly flight." As Oodey Sing reluctantly retired while the swords rung around him, Kesuri made a hasty sacrifice to *avini-mata*, (mother-earth,) of which flesh, blood, and earth, are the ingredients. He cut pieces from his own body, but as scarcely any blood flowed, his uncle, Mokum Sing, of Allodah, parted with some of his, for so grand an obligation as the retention of Khundaila. Mixing his own flesh and his uncle's blood with a portion of his sandy soil, he formed small balls in *dan* (gift) for the maintenance of the land to his posterity. The *dhomb* (bard) who repeated the incantations, pronounced the sacrifice accepted, and that seven generations of his line should rule in Khundaila. The brave Kesuri was slain, the town taken, and Oodey Sing carried to Ajmer, where he remained three years in captivity.—Vol. ii. p. 398.

Finally, however, he recovered Khundaila, though the family has since been expelled in the fifth descent, so far falsifying the prophecy of the seer.

One is surprised to find the visitings of remorse so frequent and so powerful among a race, by whom atrocious crimes are committed in the first instance with apparently so little compunction. An instance occurs in the story of Omeda, Raja of Boondi, whose history affords a good picture of the varieties of Rajpoot life. His father, Boodh Sing, had gained great military distinction under the Emperor Behadoor Shah. After the death of that prince, Boodh Sing retired from court. He had married a sister of the celebrated Jey Sing, Raja of Amber. By this princess he had no children for several years, but had two sons by another of his wives. On his return from court he visited Amber, where his princess presented to him a son, whom, as it would appear, with some justice, he was inclined to treat as supposititious, and 'took an opportunity,' says the author, 'to reveal her conduct to her brother, by whom the lady, who was present, was instantly interrogated; but exasperated either at the suspicion of her honour, or the discovery of her

‘ fraud, she snatched her brother’s dagger from his girdle, and rating her husband as “the son of a tailor,” would have slain him on the spot, had he not fled from her fury.’—(P. 485.) Raja Jey Sing eagerly embraced the opportunity offered by this incident, of gratifying his own ambition under pretence of revenging the insult offered to his sister. He resolved to reduce Boondi to the situation of a tributary state, and offered the principality to Deo Sing, Lord of Indergurb, who, from whatever cause, refused it. It was, however, accepted by Duleel Sing, another chieftain. Booth Sing, made aware of his danger, secretly left the capital of his perfidious brother-in-law, and, with three hundred faithful followers, hastened to Boondi. He was overtaken by a much superior force, and in the action that ensued most of his adherents were slain. Finding it no longer prudent to push for his capital, he retired to the native place of the mother of his two sons, while the usurper occupied Boondi. Booth Sing died in exile, leaving two sons, of whom Omeda was the eldest. These boys were soon driven from the refuge of their mother’s house also, and forced to wander in the wilds and mountains.

No sooner, however, did Omeda, then in his thirteenth year, hear of the death of his enemy, Jey Sing, (A.D. 1744,) than he collected a few adherents, and regained some towns of his hereditary dominions. His subjects, the Haras, flocked to his standard. The Meenas, a mountain race, the aborigines of the country, from whom the Haras had conquered it some centuries before, won by the youthful valour of Omeda, joined him with five thousand bowmen. Assisted by them he attacked the enemy, and defeated them with great slaughter, taking their kettledrums and standards. A new army of eighteen thousand men, sent to replace the former, was bravely attacked by Omeda, who cut his way through it; but the broken enemy formed again, and the sword of the Rajpoots was unavailing against the deadly showers of cannon-shot which poured into their compact masses, and mowed them down. His uncle and his bravest adherents fell. His own horse was wounded. Seeing that all was over, his chieftains hurried him reluctantly from the field; he gained the pass which leads to Indergurb, when, on dismounting to breathe his horse, as he loosened the girths, it expired. Omeda sat down and wept for the faithful friend of his need. This was not merely a transient feeling of gratitude, for his first act, when he recovered the throne, was to erect a statue to the faithful steed which had borne him so nobly on that eventful day. Omeda reached Indergurb on foot, but the chief of that place, gained by the invader, ‘ not only refused his prince

‘ a horse in his adversity, but warned him off the domain, asking “if he meant to be the ruin of Indergurh as well as Boondi.” ‘ Disdaining to drink water within its bounds, the young prince, ‘ stung by this perfidious mark of inhospitality, took the direction of Kurwar.’—(P. 489.) Here he was hospitably received, dismissed his faithful adherents to meet him at a more propitious moment, and once more took refuge among the precipitous ravines of the Chumbul.

The Prince of Kotah, who, like Omeda, had suffered from the ambition of the Raja of Amber, was now induced to support his cause, and sent his army, led by a bhat, (or bard,) to reinstate the fugitive. Boondi was taken, and though the bard fell in the storm of the citadel, Omeda was seated on the throne of his ancestors for a moment; but the overwhelming armies of Amber again appeared, and Omeda became once more a wanderer, and overran as a robber the domains which he was forbidden to rule as a prince.

‘ In one of these excursions he fell in with the widow of his father, the cause of all his miseries, who had retired disgusted with herself and the world, lamenting, when too late, the ruin she had brought upon her husband, herself, and the family she had entered. Omeda paid her a visit, and the interview added fresh pangs to her self-reproach. His sufferings, his heroism, brightened by adversity, originating with her nefarious desire to stifle his claims of primogeniture by a spurious adoption, awakened sentiments of remorse, of sympathy, and sorrow. Determined to make some amends, she adopted the resolution of going to the Dekhan to solicit aid for the son of Boodh Sing. When she arrived on the banks of the Nerbudda, a pillar was pointed out to her on which was inscribed a prohibition to any of her race to cross this stream, which, like the Indus, was also styled *atoc*, or “forbidden.” Like a true Rajpootni, she broke the tablet in pieces, and threw it into the stream, observing, with a jesuitical casuistry, that there was no longer any impediment when no ordinance existed. She proceeded to the camp of Mulhar Rao Holcar. The sister of Jey Sing, the most potent Hindu prince of India, became a suppliant to this *goatherd* leader of a horde of plunderers, nay, adopted him as her brother, to effect the redemption of Boondi for the exiled Omeda.’

Under the baleful influence of these conquerors, Omeda (A.D. 1749) regained his patrimony after fourteen years of exile. He found it stripped of many of its most valuable domains, and miserably ruined and impoverished. The influence and neighbourhood of the Mahrattas was not likely to remedy any of these evils.

‘ But,’ as Colonel Tod observes, ‘ the hold which the Mahrattas retained would never have acquired such tenacity, had the bold arm

and sage mind of Omeda continued to guide the vessel of the state throughout the lengthened period of his natural existence.'—'An act of revenge stained the reputation of Omeda, naturally virtuous, and but for which deed we should paint him as one of the bravest, wisest, and most faultless characters, which Rajpoot history has recorded.'—P. 494.

We have seen that Deo Sing, Lord of Indergurh, had refused Omeda admittance into his castle, when retreating from the field of battle. Eight years had elapsed since Omeda had recovered his dominions, and the injury seemed forgotten; but Deo Sing hated the man whom he had injured.

'Omeda had sent the cocoa-nut, the symbol of matrimonial alliance, to Madhu Sing, (Raja of Amber,) in the name of his sister. It was received in a full assembly of all the nobles of the court, and with the respect due to one of the most illustrious races of Rajpootana. Deo Sing was at that time on a visit at Jeipoor, and the compliment was paid him by the Raja, of asking "what fame said of the daughter of Boodh Sing?" His reply was an insulting innuendo, leading to doubts as to the purity of her blood. The cocoa-nut was returned to Boondi, an insult never to be forgiven by a Rajpoot. In A.D. 1757, Omeda went to pay his devotions at the shrine of *Beeja-seni Mata*, (the mother of victory.) Being in the vicinity of Indergurh, he invited its chief to join the assembled vassals with their families, and, though dissuaded, Beeja Sing obeyed, accompanied by his son and grandson. All were cut off at one fell swoop, and the line of the traitor was extinct. As if the air of Heaven should not be contaminated by the smoke of their ashes, Omeda commanded that the bodies of the calumnious traitor and his issue should be thrown into the lake. Indergurh was given to his brother.'—'Fifteen years elapsed, during which the continual scenes of disorder around him furnished ample occupation for his thoughts. Yet, in the midst of all, would intrude the remembrance of this single act—though no voice was lifted up against the deed, though he had a moral conviction that a traitor's death was the due of Deo Sing, his soul, generous as it was brave, revolted at the crime, however sanctified by custom, which confounds the innocent with the guilty. To appease his conscience, he determined to abdicate the throne, and pass the rest of his days in penitential rites, and traversing, in the pilgrim's garb, the vast regions of India, to visit the sacred shrines of his faith.'—P. 495.

In 1771, this extraordinary man resigned in favour of his son, and, retiring to a sacred valley, one of his amusements was to cultivate and naturalize the plants of foreign lands.

'It is curious,' says his historian, 'even to him who is ignorant of the moral vicissitudes which produced it, to see the pine of Thibet, the cane of Malacca, and other exotics, planted by the hand of the princely ascetic, flourishing around his hermitage, in spite of the intense heats of this rock-bound abode.'—'When Omeda resigned the sceptre of the Haras, it was from the conviction that a life of medita-

tion alone could yield the consolation, and obtain the forgiveness, which he found necessary to his repose. But in assuming the pilgrim's staff, he did not lay aside any feeling becoming his rank or his birth. There was no pusillanimous prostration of intellect, but the same lofty mind which redeemed his birthright, accompanied him wherever he bent his steps, to seek knowledge in the society of devout and holy men.'—P. 496.

He visited all the holy places celebrated in the religious legends and classical epics of his country. The picture drawn of him setting out on this tour, is such as can hardly be paralleled since the days of the Crusades, or of the flower of Spanish chivalry.

'In this determination,' says Colonel Tod, 'he was perhaps somewhat influenced by that love of adventure in which he had been nurtured, and it was a balm to his mind when he found that arms and religion were not only compatible, but that his pious resolution to force a way through the difficulties which beset the pilgrim's path, enhanced the merit of his devotion. Accordingly, the royal ascetic went forth on his pilgrimage, not habited in the hermit's garb, but armed at all points. Even in this there was penance, not ostentation, and he carried or buckled on his person one of every species of offensive or defensive weapons then in use—a load which would oppress any two Rajpoots in these degenerate times. He wore a quilted tunic, which would resist a sabre-cut; besides a matchlock, a lance, a sword, a dagger, and their appurtenances of knives, pouches, and priming-horn, he had a battle-axe, a javelin, a tomahawk, a discus, bow, and quiver of arrows; and it is affirmed that such was his muscular power, even when threescore and ten years had blanched his beard in wandering to and fro thus accoutred, that he could place the whole of this panoply within his shield, and, with one arm, not only raise it, but hold it for some seconds extended.'—P. 496.

During a series of years, he continued to traverse India in every direction, attended by a small escort of his gallant tribe.

'And whenever he revisited his paternal domains, his return was greeted, not only by his own tribe, but by every prince and Rajpoot of Rajwarra, who deemed his abode hallowed if the princely pilgrim halted there on his route. He was regarded as an oracle, while the treasures of knowledge which his observation had accumulated, caused his conversation to be courted, and every word to be recorded. The admiration paid to him while living cannot be better ascertained, than by the reverence manifested by every Hara to his memory. To them his word was a law, and every relic of him continues to be held in veneration. Almost his last journey was to the extremity of his nation.'—'As he returned by Dwarica, he was beset by a band of Kabas, a plundering race, infesting those regions. But the veteran, uniting the arm of flesh to that of faith, valiantly defended himself, and gained a complete victory, making prisoner their leader, who, as the price

of his ransom, took an oath never again to molest the pilgrims to Dwarica.—P. 497.

The death of his son, who, like himself, was involved in the guilt of murder, engaged him for a moment in the politics of Boondi. Having arranged the affairs of his infant grandson, he continued his wanderings until within a few years of his death, when the feebleness of age confined him to his hermitage. All the self-denial of Omeda could not, however, secure him from that jealousy with which every prince, who has abdicated the throne, has been regarded by his successor. The venerable warrior became an object of distrust to his grandchild, whose advisers persuaded him to send a message to Omeda, prohibiting his return to Boondi, and recommending to him ‘to eat sweet-meats and tell his beads at Benares;’ the messenger adding, that his ashes should not mingle with those of his fathers. The news was received with indignation by the surrounding princes, who sent the venerable exile the most earnest invitations, offering to replace him on his throne. This he decidedly refused. The Raja of Amber negotiated a meeting between the parties.

‘It was,’ says our author, ‘such as might have been expected between an ill-advised youth and the venerable chief who had renounced all feelings of this world but affection for his offspring. It drew tears from all eyes. “My child,” said the pilgrim-warrior, presenting his sword, “take this, apply it yourself, if you think I can have any bad intentions towards you; but let not the base defame me.” The young Rao wept aloud as he entreated forgiveness. Omeda refused, however, to enter the halls of Boondi during the remainder of his life, which ended about eight years after this event, when his grandchild entreated “he would close his eyes within the walls of his fathers.” A remnant of that feeling, inseparable from humanity, made the dying Omeda offer no objection, and he was removed in a litter to the palace, where he breathed his last. Thus,’ continues Colonel Tod, ‘in A.D. 1804, Omeda Sing closed a varied and chequered life; the sun of his morning rose amidst clouds of adversity, soon to burst forth in a radiant prosperity; but scarcely had it attained its meridian glory ere crime dimmed its splendour, and it descended in solitude and sorrow.’—P. 500.

We have given the story of Omeda at some length, and nearly in Colonel Tod’s own words, both from its intrinsic singularity, and from a persuasion that one such detailed sketch will convey a better notion of the manners and history of the Rajpoots, than any dry outline of the various dynasties which have ruled over them,—a detail that could leave no distinct impression on the memory.

The Rajpoots are divided into a number of separate states, of which the chief are those of Mewar, Marwar, Jessulmer,

Bikaner, Amber, and the Haras. The history of these states occupies the greater part of Colonel Tod's concluding volume. He has traced the history of each particular state separately from the earliest times, though most of the tribes have been seated in their present possessions only since the Muhammedan invasions from Ghazni. Even this is a long period for Indian history, and it is only by much labour and research that the author has been able to make the line of narrative continuous, and to connect the ancient with the more modern history of the tribes. He is disposed to bring most of them originally from the countries beyond the Oxus, and has exerted much learning and ingenuity, with unwearied industry, in the attempt. It has seldom been our fate to agree entirely with any author in his disquisitions on the *origin* of nations. Whether it is that the vast previous out-of-the-way reading which such a work requires, bestows on the writers a concentrated mass of ideas which they find it difficult or impossible to communicate to their readers, or whether a fondness for what has cost them much toil and care, makes them, like fond parents, see in their issue what unconcerned spectators cannot discover, we know not, but we have seldom risen satisfied or convinced from a work of that description. Perhaps a bare collection of the passages of the original authors, in chronological order, followed by as many of the author's own remarks and explanations as may seem necessary, though a bulky, is the most instructive form of such a work, and that which we have always felt to be the most satisfactory. It is a touchstone to which few historical theories can submit. The uncertainty to which we allude is not confined to Asia. Of what nation have we Origins which have yet met with general acceptance? What controversies do we see daily waged even regarding those of our own country! The truth is, that, instead of being the first portion of history to be settled, they are the very last, the sum and completion of an immense concourse of historical facts and observations. We think that nearly all our writers on Indian subjects have erred in going so deeply into them. They have been misled by bad models, and by great learning unprofitably employed. We always suspect our Eastern friends of being out of their road, when we see them quoting Bryant, and Faber, and Maurice, authors who have not added one idea or one fact to our Oriental knowledge, but who, from pomp of manner and display of erudition, which few in the East have the means of verifying, even the books quoted not being there accessible, have gained among them a certain degree of currency most hurtful in its consequences. Wilford, since the unanswerable remarks of the author of the *Researches into the Nature and*

Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology,* it would be ridiculous to quote. He has had his day, and a mischievous one. Of such false guides Colonel Tod's learning and judgment have kept him clear. Perhaps, in his wide range, he has indulged too much in analogies and inferences from mere names,—an error from which it is difficult for a lively imagination to escape; while he founds his conclusions too little on general similarity or dissimilarity of language, whence, in such subjects, inferences the most decisive of any may, in our opinion, be drawn. The frequent etymologies of words in which he has indulged we do not consider as supplying this defect; and they do not seem to us the happiest part of his work. Such accidental etymologies must always be uncertain, often delusive, and are very different from conclusions supported by a weight and number of coincidences in two dialects compared. In one respect, indeed, Colonel Tod is meritorious beyond all the writers on Indian history; we mean in regard to the number of inscriptions and written deeds, which he has collected with indefatigable industry. In the poverty of history these are invaluable, especially for securing a firm basis for chronology, which never can be done satisfactorily by the songs of bards, or by tradition; and which it would be a vain hope to look for, as some are disposed to do, from any of the Purans. Colonel Tod has employed them successfully for that purpose, and has happily corrected his loose chronicles by their assistance. A collection of all that he has amassed, joined with those of the late General Colin Mackenzie, and any others of the same kind, literally translated, as far as that is practicable, with the original text in *facsimile*, where the character is unknown, in the plainest and least expensive style of lithography, accompanied by such notes and observations as occur to persons engaged in collateral pursuits, would be a valuable present to the Indian historian. Even if there was much unintelligible in the first instance, the circulation of such a volume would set many to work both in India and Europe, and might eventually be the means of explaining to us the numerous inscriptions that are to be found in characters yet undeciphered. The time is come when it would be useful; the knowledge of the Sanscrit and of the native languages being daily more and more diffused. Such a work indeed could be expected only from some public body, perhaps from the government of India; and where is an editor to be found?

* Lieutenant-Colonel Vans Kennedy's *Researches, &c.* Appendix, p. 405.

In the second and more modern part of his history, beginning with the invasions from Ghazni, the author has the advantage of frequently correcting the dates and the facts of his chronicles by the authority of the Musulman historians. He has judiciously given us the current of events, as related by the native writers, nearly in their own words, by which means we learn the degree of credit to be attached to them, and the kind of materials that he has been compelled to use. To account for their frequent violent anachronisms, Colonel Tod very charitably resorts to the excuse of interpolation; but we are much more disposed to refer their numerous errors to the ignorance of the writers. No chronicles founded, as these must be, on romantic ballads and on tradition, can be accurate. Accuracy begins with contemporary historians. The writers of the chronicles to which we allude, evidently lived in the seventeenth century, and though they might know pretty correctly the succession of the family or race whose annals they record, had evidently no distinct notions of external or foreign history. The deeds of romantic valour which they celebrate, whether critically true or not, are of not the less value as pictures of manners. That such histories were related, and written, and formed the delight of the people in that age, is a proof that they were in unison with the feelings and spirit of those to whom they were addressed, and the tone of sentiment could not be low: it accords with all that is related by contemporary historians and travellers; and as the later events come close on the times of the chroniclers, the narrative is probably substantially correct in the facts as well as spirit. The Rajpoots have been fortunate in Colonel Tod as an historian. He seems to have identified himself with the race, loves their character, enjoys their ancient romance and modern fame, and enters with enthusiasm into all that concerns them. The reader is no loser by this temper. He knows when allowances are to be made for the partiality of an admirer, and gains much information that a cold enquirer never would have obtained for him.

When the monarchs of the race of Timur settled in India, in the sixteenth century, they naturally turned their arms against the Rajpoots as their most formidable enemies,—led their multitudinous armies into their territory, took their cities, overran their country, ravaged their fields, and slew numbers of the inhabitants. The great body, however, retired to their hills, their fastnesses and deserts, set at defiance the imperial generals, and repeatedly drove them from their country. It was soon found to be more profitable to have them for friends than enemies. Though a tribute was imposed, the internal govern-

ment was left entirely to the old rulers. No Muhammedans settled in the land to control them. They preserved their native manners and usages. Their chiefs were indeed invited to the imperial court, partly as hostages, partly as friends; and, under Jehangir and his two successors, for a full century the Rajpoots were the chief strength of the imperial armies, furnishing the most trusty generals and the bravest soldiers to the empire. We find them serving in every quarter from Khorasan to Golconda. Still their tribes were left substantially free. In vain did Aurengzeb, in a fit of religious intolerance, attempt to interfere with their opinions, and to quell their obstinacy; his army was surrounded and broken up, and his own person in danger of captivity. Again he overran the country, but his death left the war unfinished; and the conclusion of a thirty years' contest for liberty was, on the whole, not unfavourable to the Rajpoots.

Colonel Tod has enquired why a nation so brave and so numerous as the Rajpoots, and who possessed a decided superiority over the other inhabitants of India as soldiers, did not become the conquerors of the country; and has traced the principal cause to a want of union arising from the nature of their government, which consisted of a number of different states, each composed of a variety of half-independent chiefships. The seeds of discord were thus sown, not only between the larger states, but between the numerous chieftains composing each subdivision. Though their love of their common country led them all to unite when it was invaded by a Musulman foe, the enemy was no sooner repelled than each chieftain was eager to return to his home. They had nothing to gain by foreign conquest. Warmly attached to their rich fields, their hills, or their deserts, they were content with them, and were not willingly absent from them. Their system, excellent for defence, was impotent for conquest. It had all the defects of a feudal militia, and from nearly the same causes.

That their common exertions beyond their own country were thus palsied, would not perhaps have been injurious to their happiness; but they had more fatal causes of disunion in the bosom of their own families, from the influence of polygamy, which Colonel Tod considers as the ruin of the country. The intrigues in the women's apartments of an Asiatic prince, where different mothers support the claims each of her own son by every artifice, aided by poison and the dagger, exhibit in all instances a melancholy spectacle. The number of the little courts of the Rajpoots made the evil more disastrous with them. Uncertainty of succession thus existed in its worst shape.

Their annals, especially in the later and declining state of their principalities, are filled with civil wars, divided allegiance, the murder of brother by brother, and the internal ruin of the state, all from this cause. While the want of union and mutual co-operation among the states weakened the whole as a body, the constant quarrels arising from disputed successions weakened each individual principality.

Though the Rajpoots were in general successful in repelling the invasions of their Musulman invaders, they were less fortunate when opposed to the Mahrattas, who, about a century ago, were called in to take part in some of their internal divisions. From that hour they began to decline. The country that had stood erect after repeated conflicts in the field with all the force of the empire of Delhi, sank before a swarm of southern banditti. To the Rajpoots they were in truth a much more formidable enemy than even the emperor of Hindostan. The Musulmans advanced into their territories with immense armies, fought pitched battles, were sometimes victorious, sometimes defeated, but even victory did not subdue the brave inhabitants; all were united against the common enemy of their religion and liberty; the imperialists held only the forts they could garrison, and the ground on which they encamped. Their unwieldy army in due time retreated or was driven out, and all was well again. The wily Mahratta, less an object of jealousy as being of the same religion, when called in to take a share in family quarrels, insinuated himself into the politics of their little courts, was always ready and rejoiced to stand or assist the party that paid him best or promised him most, and where money was not at hand, had no objection to be paid in land or revenue. His troops, on entering that or any other country, lived at discretion, fed their horses on the standing corn, tortured the inhabitants to make them discover their hidden treasure, pulled down their houses for firewood, and if they did not find a desert, they left one. Even the richest and exporting provinces of India, when invaded by Mahrattas, soon become unable to support their own population; and the natives who survived famine and oppression spread themselves over the districts around, or formed themselves into hordes of plunderers. In Rajasthan, the Mahrattas sometimes left the country, but always speedily returned, supported by one faction or another; and finally became the proprietors of a great part of the revenue, especially of their favourite *Chouth*,—a property which gave them a right to interfere in every concern of the people and of the government. Colonel Tod remarks, that as the civil wars arising from polygamy originally gave the Mahrattas a settlement in the country, so their employment of

regular troops, and of trained corps of artillery, was finally decisive of their superiority over the more chivalrous valour of the Rajpoots.

The march of foreign armies, war contributions, indiscriminate plunder, added to the miseries of civil war, were followed by pestilence and famine, and brought the states of Rajasthan, one after another, to the lowest pitch of misery. 'Expression 'might be racked,' says Colonel Tod, 'for phrases which could 'adequately delineate the miseries all classes endured.'—'Numbers of the inhabitants took to horse, scoured the country, and 'plundered without distinction.'—'The Meras and Bhils 'descended from their hills or emerged from their forests, and 'planted ambuscades for the traveller and merchant, whom they 'robbed or carried to their retreats, where they languished in 'durance till ransomed.'—(Pp. 477-8.)

From this state of anarchy and wretchedness, they were finally rescued by the success of the British arms against the Mahrattas in 1817. An opportunity of delivering them from the gripe of the relentless invader had occurred in 1804; but the treaties of alliance then concluded with several of their states were soon broken,—with great impolicy and no small want of good faith on our part. In 1817, however, when the Indian government had resolved to extirpate the Pindarees, and the united rising of a Mahratta confederacy made it necessary to break their force, new treaties were concluded with all the Rajpoot states, on the principle of our old subsidiary alliances, with the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and other native princes; the British granting protection to the prince in consideration of a price, generally a proportion of the public revenue, paid to them. The effects in all former instances have been nearly the same. The *socii populi Romani* appeared in the treaties and the armies of the victorious commonwealth, as long as it was convenient or decent, but all finally shrunk into insignificance and vanished. So has it been with our faithful allies; all of whom have really lost the government of their own country. But that issue is perhaps less to be regretted than the previous stage of wretchedness and disorder that ushers in our final assumption of power. Every independent nation, even where it does not possess free institutions, has, to a certain extent, a remedy for its own evils within itself: that remedy is a severe but necessary one, revolt. The liberties of all countries have been laid in such revolts. When misrule reaches a certain point; when human life, disjoined from human happiness, loses its value, a rising takes place, new rules of government are demanded, a prince or a dynasty is changed, and a new course begins to be run under

the successful leaders who survive the conflict. In reality, under a despotic government no other remedy can exist. Even the dread of such revolutions, the knowledge that they are possible, forms a strong check on the tyrannical exercise of authority. The tendency of our treaties with native princes has been to deprive their subjects of this last melancholy hope. Whatever misrule exists, under pretence that we are not to enquire into the nature of the domestic government, or to interfere in its concerns, our force is ranged on the side of the prince, and resistance, however legal or patriotic, is uniformly crushed. Let us, in a few words, review the result of our treaties with the Rajpoot princes, as recorded in the work before us by an honest and bold historian, and mark if our policy acts in them in its usual direction.

In January 1815, a treaty was entered into with the Raja of Joudpoor. His country was then in disorder, and civil heart-burnings prevailed. ‘The treaty with the English put the ball ‘at his (the Raja’s) foot; he very soon perceived that he might ‘command a force to put down disorder.’—‘And no better illustration is on record of the opinion of our power, than that its ‘name alone served the Raja’s purpose in subjugating men, ‘who, scarcely knowing fear, reposing partly on our justice, ‘though mainly influenced by the utter hopelessness of resisting, were deprived of all moral courage.’—(P. 718.)

The Raja, who was by nature a tyrant, made the influence he thus acquired subservient to the basest purposes. He first found means to destroy the most powerful of his chieftains; many of the rest sought refuge from his fury in exile. He next threw the instruments of these atrocities, the minister and his associates, into a dungeon, extorted from the former his whole property, and dismissed him to the other world.

‘Each day,’ says the British resident, ‘announced a numerous list of victims, either devoted to death, or imprisoned and stripped of their wealth. The enormous sum of a crore of rupees (a million sterling) has been stated as the amount of the confiscations. All these atrocities occurred within six months after my visit to this court, and about eighteen from the time it was received into protective alliance with the British government. The anomalous condition of all our connexions with the Rajpoot states has already been described; and if illustration of these remarks be required, it is here in awful characters. We had tied up our own hands; internal interference had been renounced, and the sequestration of every merchant’s property who was connected with the Mehta faction, and the exile of the nobles, had no limit but the will of a bloodthirsty and vindictive tyrant. The objects of his persecution made known every where the unparalleled hardships of their case; and asserted that nothing but respect for the Bri-

tish government prevented their doing themselves justice. In no part of the past history of this state could such proscription of the majority of the kin and clan of the prince have taken place. The dread of our intervention, as an umpire favourable to their chief, deprived them of hope.*

In December 1818 we concluded a similar treaty with the Raja of Jessulmer, another Rajpoot prince, and with nearly similar effects. We must shun details, and have only room for results.

‘No language,’ says the political resident, ‘can adequately represent the abuse of power with which the treaty has armed the rapacious minister of Jessulmer.’—‘For a short time after the treaty was formed, he appeared to fall in with the march of universal reformation; but whether it was that his crimes had outlawed him from the sympathies of all around, or that he could feel no enjoyment but in his habitual crimes, he soon gave ample indulgence to his rapacious spirit.’—‘His outrages became past all endurance, and compelled the British agent to report to his government that he considered the alliance disgraceful to our reputation, by countenancing the idea that such acts can be tolerated under its protection. Representations to the minister were a nullity; he protested against their fidelity; asserted, in specious language, his love of justice and mercy; and recommenced his system of confiscations, contributions, and punishments with redoubled severity.’

What is the present state of this country? ‘Agriculture is almost unknown; and commerce, internal or external, has ceased, through want of security. The sole revenue arises from confiscation.’—(Vol. ii. p. 274.)

Have we been more fortunate in regard to the Raja of Amber or Jeipoor? With him, as with the others, we stipulated for non-interference in the internal concerns of his government, in which we left him ‘absolute ruler.’ Soon afterwards the Raja died. ‘When we intermeddled,’ says Colonel Tod, ‘with the intrigues respecting the succession, our ignorance of established rights and usage rendered the interference offensive, and made the Jeipoor chiefs repent the alliance which temporary policy had induced their prince to accept.’—(P. 380.) A share of the revenue was assigned to the British government, in return for its protection. In consequence, ‘the *absolute rulers* of Jeipoor have been compelled to unfold to the resident agent the whole of their financial and territorial arrangements.’—‘While,

* Vol. i. p. 720, and more circumstantially, vol. ii. pp. 158-9. The Remonstrance of the expatriated chiefs to the British agent is a spirited state paper, (vol. i. p. 197,) and shows that they were not ignorant of their rights.

‘therefore,’ continues our author, ‘we deem ourselves justified in interfering in the two chief branches of government, the succession, and finances, how is it possible to avoid being implicated in the acts of the government functionaries, and involved in the party views and intrigues of a court stigmatized even by the rest of Rajwarra with the epithet of *jootha durbar*, the lying court!’—‘The purest intentions, the highest talents, will scarcely avail to counteract this systematic vice.’—(P. 381.)

All who are acquainted with the recent history of India are familiar with the character of Zalim Sing, the Regent of Kotah, —an extraordinary man, and to whom the British army owed much in the disastrous retreat of Monson. For fifty years the whole affairs of the state, though conducted in the name of the Raja, had really been entirely regulated by the pleasure of the Regent. When alliances were deemed expedient with all the other Rajpoot states, one was offered to him also. He alone of all the Princes of Rajasthan had been able to check the Mah-rattas. His dominions were rich and flourishing; he had maintained their independence for fifty years, by managing those formidable conquerors with whom he thus became connected. ‘For a moment he felt a repugnance to breaking the bond which had so long united him to their policy, and he saw that, with the power to which he was to be allied, he had no course but unlimited obedience; in short, that his part must now be subordinate. He preferred it, however, for the security it afforded.’—(P. 558.) A treaty was accordingly concluded in December, 1817, ‘with the Raja of Kotah, and his heirs and successors, through Zalim Sing, the administrator of the affairs of that principality,’ by which the British government takes Kotah under its protection, and covenants that ‘the Maha Rao (the Raja of Kotah,) and his heirs and successors, shall remain *absolute rulers* of their country.’—(P. 773.) This treaty was ratified by both parties, and exchanged; the Regent appearing only as the ministerial agent of the Raja. No guarantee was given of the Regent’s power. None such was demanded. All seemed finally settled, and the Raja appeared to be left *absolute ruler* of his country. But, two months after the interchange of deeds, two supplemental articles were agreed to at Delhi, and transmitted to the Regent, guaranteeing the administration of affairs to his sons and successors for ever; that is, in reality, changing the dynasty established two months before, by articles, of which the Raja himself died ‘in absolute ignorance.’—(P. 565.)

No sacrifice which the British government could have made to signify its gratitude to Zalim Sing was too great, except the sacrifice of its good faith. At this time the Raja had three

sons, the eldest forty, the youngest thirty years of age. On their father's death, twenty months after the new articles had been signed, the eldest son wished to assume the right of acting as a sovereign prince, as enjoyed by his ancestors. He had no desire to be a puppet in the hands of a *maire du palais*. The supplemental articles interposed. He found that his power was reduced to a name. The *absolute ruler* had been given up to be a toy in the hands of a minister. He struggled—he claimed his birthright. 'It became a matter of astonishment, especially to the unreflecting, whence arose the general sympathy, amounting to enthusiasm, towards this hitherto disregarded family, not only from chief and peasant, within the bounds of Harauti, and the foreign mercenary army raised and maintained by the Regent, but from the neighbouring princes and nobles who had hitherto looked upon the usurpation in silence.'—(P. 563.) Our author justly remarks, that we had ourselves been the cause of this apparently unexpected feeling. We had advanced into countries exhausted by rapine, anarchy, and misrule, proclaiming peace, equal laws, and good faith to be our only objects. 'Our new policy changed the moral with the political aspect of Rajasthan. If, previous thereto, no voice was raised against usurpation and crime, it was because all hope that their condition could be ameliorated was extinct. But this was to them a new era—a day of universal regeneration.' A new rule of judging was introduced. They hoped that the law of might was to be exchanged for that of right. No wonder, therefore, that they were appalled when they found 'British battalions marshalled in line with the retainers of usurpation to combat the lawful sovereign of the country. There is not a shadow of doubt that the supplemental articles of the treaty of Kotah, which pledged our faith to two parties in a manner which rendered its maintenance towards both an impossibility, produced consequences that shook the confidence of the people of Rajasthan in our political rectitude.'—(P. 564.) The prince continuing obstinate, and refusing to resign his hereditary rights secured by treaty, was finally blockaded in his own castle, to starve him into a surrender. Compelled by hunger, he broke through the blockading force with five hundred horse. The influence, and admirable presence of mind of our author, then British envoy in the Regent's camp, prevented the effusion of blood. A hollow reconciliation succeeded. The prince's adherents were placed in custody or banished. The Regent continued to act as sovereign, and the prince unwillingly returned to be a puppet in his hands.

But such a state of things could not be expected to last long, under a prince of any spirit. Intrigues were soon formed,

part of the troops were brought over to join the Raja, and a rising took place; when the old Regent, with his usual decision, at once attacked the Raja's forces, and obliged him to seek safety in flight. He retired, but returned soon after at the head of a small army, and was received with open arms by all his subjects. 'Even those connected by ties of blood and by every species of benefit,' says our author, 'withdrew from the Regent, to whom they owed every thing, in order to join their hereditary and lawful prince.'—'Every corps, foreign or native, was ready to range on the side of legitimate authority, against the hand which had fed and cherished them. The Regent himself said, in his forcible manner, even the clothes on his back smelt of treason to him.'—(P. 573-4.) The English agent was now awkwardly situated. The Regent called upon him to act in his behalf; while the Raja sent him a copy of the treaty, asking him if it was recognised or not. Every argument used by the English minister to persuade the Raja to submit was unavailing. He disclaimed the superiority of his minister. To every remonstrance he replied, 'What was life without honour? what was a sovereign without authority? Death, or the full sovereignty of his ancestors.' The Regent, on his part, was equally unbending; and British troops, in furtherance of the doctrine of non-intervention, were sent to act in behalf of a minister, against his acknowledged sovereign and the popular voice. They moved down, attacked the unfortunate prince on his own territory, and after a bloody action, in which some of the indignant Haras displayed prodigies of valour, the Raja was defeated with great slaughter. We cannot follow him through all the subsequent transactions: suffice it to say, that seeing no possibility of combating the overwhelming force of the British government arrayed against him, he was finally induced, by the influence of the British agent, to return to his capital, where he once more enjoyed the nominal rank of Raja, under a domineering Regent.

The difficulties of government under the most favourable circumstances are great. They are greater where, as in India, we succeed to ignorant and despotic rulers. But a system which is uniformly pernicious in its operation, like that of our alliances, which destroys all public spirit within the country; which places every thing at the disposal of a despot supported by foreign troops; which deprives an oppressed people of the last wretched hopes of relief, from the effects of the natural workings of discontent within the country; which in the end has always transferred the direct government of the country itself to the foreigners who furnish protection, when the internal

disorders become insufferable even to these foreigners themselves, must have some radical defects, and certainly calls for serious revision. It has the obvious inconvenience of adding daily to our already too extensive dominions; of forcing us to manage the affairs of other men, which it is morally impossible that we can manage well; and of compelling us to legislate for nations to whose manners and habits of thinking we are strangers; while all our wisdom and knowledge is but little enough to enable us to govern ourselves. Colonel Tod strongly advocates the measure of placing the Rajpoot states in perfect independence, and of continuing to them the form of government under which they had so long flourished. This spirit breathes through all his work, and even in his dedication of the book to his sovereign. We confess that we like to see men left to act for themselves. We like the variety of human nature. We like to see different races of mankind advancing, each by its own road, to civilisation. The minds of men are then in a more vigorous and healthy state. We dislike the lonely dead level of an universal or far extended empire, whether Roman, or Russian, or British. Such empires differ indeed, in a certain degree, according to the virtues or knowledge of their rulers; but these rulers, however virtuous, and we do believe that the ruling English caste in India are as honourable a class as is to be found on earth, are so circumstanced as to be under a moral impossibility of greatly improving the condition of those among whom they are. This can only be done by the people themselves; and better, in the first instance, by a people under many smaller governments than under one large one;—better by men left to themselves, to find out and remedy their own wants, than if trained and directed by such as are far above them in science and information, and who have not patience to wait for their tardy progress;—who are in haste to teach them the refinements, while they are yet in want of the necessaries of life. What is the native growth of the soil, is likely to be more healthy and more enduring than an exotic nursed and watched with whatever care and labour. Perhaps if we were wise,—but what nation, as a nation, ever is wise, or ever was separated from foreign possessions but by a violent disruption?—we should already be thinking of the inevitable hour, no matter how distant, that is to divide our vast Eastern territories from us; and, as it is inevitable, try to make it matter of choice, as much as of necessity; be anxious to teach our subjects what can assist them hereafter to govern themselves, and try to cultivate in them by justice and kindness those friendly feelings which we should wish them to indulge after a separation; so

that, though no longer subjects of one state, we might leave them somewhat qualified to be independent; and, at all events, prepared to continue every amicable relation of commerce, letters, and mutual aid with their former masters. Such ideas, which a great majority will regard as idle and impracticable fancies, to others will seem rather the plainest common-sense conclusions to be derived from all past experience; and obvious inferences from the simplest political principles.

This long deduction has rather turned us away from the general topics contained in this volume. Some portions of the history are so striking that we wished to have extracted them. We may particularize the account of Jey Sing, the Raja of Amber, an ambitious prince, known in Europe as the founder of Jeypoor, and still more by the astronomical tables constructed under his care. But the most remarkable of the whole is the life of Zalim Sing, the Regent of Kotah; one of those men of able but mixed characters, that fix for a long course of time the rank of the country they govern. Colonel Tod has laboured his history of this singular personage with perfect knowledge of the facts, and with a deep insight into his dark character, without allowing his judgment to be biassed by his admiration for a man with whom he was intimate, who respected him, and whose talents and powers of mind were wonderful for the age and country in which he was placed. A minister who raised himself to power, and, in the midst of the ruin and devastation of all the surrounding nations, left his country a garden,—who kept his ground in all the shiftings and changes of Indian governments for fifty years, who had the moral energy, even in his latter days, to correct some of the false principles of his tortuous policy,—would have been no mean person any where. Indeed, in spite of the romantic tone of the early annals of the gallant Rajpoots, we confess that we prefer the period when the narrative is drawn either from Colonel Tod's personal observation, or from intercourse and conversation with the aged actors of former times. We are lovers of contemporary history, when written by men of talent and information. We catch in it the life and spirit of the times before they have evaporated by repeated transfusions.

We have not adverted particularly to the Personal Narrative, which readers in general will find the most amusing portion of the book, but which we have not room to touch upon. It consists of the author's travels through great part of the different Rajpoot states, and contains a lively picture of the face of the country, of the manners of the inhabitants, and of the architectural remains of antiquity, many of them of striking

taste and magnificence. It is difficult to imagine that the architects of such structures, or those to gratify whose taste and fancy they were erected, could have been men devoid of genius, or in a low state of civilisation. Numerous views of their architecture and sculpture, with some lovely specimens of their local scenery, engraved in a style of great elegance, adorn this part of the work.

Colonel Tod in this volume, as well as the former, may be charged with occasional diffusion of language and defect of arrangement; but when men employed in active life communicate their researches to the public, and enrich our literature by a large addition of new and valuable matter, which they alone have had the means of collecting, we are not much disposed to quarrel with them as to the manner; especially where the style has so many spirited and characteristic traits as in the work before us. We would always rather see the thoughts of such persons in their original dress, than cut and fashioned, and perhaps distorted by a professional bookmaker. In this instance, the whole is evidently 'a labour of love.' Colonel Tod is partial to the Rajpoots, and has a high idea of their character and their capabilities. Well might Dr Smith tell Bishop Heber on the spot, that Colonel Tod 'loved the people of this country.'* The spirit of affection breathes in every page of his work, and nothing less could have produced the warm and undiminished attachment and regret with which he, on his part, is still regarded by every native of Rajasthan. Perhaps such partiality was necessary to induce him to devote so large a portion of his time and fortune to the valuable and laborious work which he has now brought to a close; and which we recommend to public notice, as filling up a large blank in the history and geography of India; as full of interesting sketches both of scenery and manners; and as the only source that we know from which an acquaintance with the varied relations of the British interests and policy in the north-west of India can be drawn.

* Heber's Narrative, vol. ii. p. 456, 8vo. edit.

- ART. V.—1. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Steam Carriages.* 12th October, 1831.
2. *A Practical Treatise on Railroads and Interior Communication in General.* By NICHOLAS WOOD, Colliery Viewer. London: 1832.
3. *Observations on Steam Carriages on Turnpike-Roads, with Returns of the Daily Practical Results of Working.* By GOLDSWORTHY GURNEY. London: 1832.
4. *Historical Account of Navigable Rivers, Canals, and Railways.* By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY. London: 1831.
5. *Map of the Inland Navigation Canals and Railroads, with the Situations of the various Mineral Productions throughout Great Britain, from Actual Surveys.* By J. WALKER, Land and Mineral Surveyor. London: 1830.

CAPITAL and skill have of late years been directed with extraordinary energy to the improvement of inland transport, and this important instrument of national wealth and civilisation has received a proportionate impulse. Effects are now witnessed, which, had they been narrated a few years since, could only have been admitted into the pages of fiction, or volumes of romance. Who could have credited the possibility of a ponderous engine of iron, loaded with several hundred passengers in a train of carriages of corresponding magnitude, and a large quantity of water and coal, taking flight from Manchester, and arriving at Liverpool, a distance of above thirty miles, in little more than an hour? And yet this is a matter of daily and almost hourly occurrence. Neither is the road on which this wondrous performance is effected, the most favourable which could be constructed for such machines. It is subject to undulations and incurvations, which reduce the average rate of speed much more than similar inequalities affect the average rate on common roads. The speed of transport thus attained, is not less wonderful than the weights which this power is capable of transporting. Its capabilities in this respect far transcend the exigencies even of the two greatest commercial marts in Great Britain. Loads varying from 50 to 70 tons are transported at the average rate of 15 miles an hour; but the engines would appear to be in this case loaded below their power; and in a recent instance, we have seen a load—we should rather say a *cargo*—of waggons conveying merchandise to the amount

of 230 tons gross, transported from Liverpool to Manchester, at the average rate of twelve miles an hour.

The astonishment with which such performances must be viewed might be somewhat qualified if the art of transport by steam on railways had been matured, and had attained that full state of perfection which such an art is always capable of receiving from long experience, aided by great scientific knowledge, and the unbounded application of capital. But such is not the present case. The art of constructing locomotive engines, so far from having attained a state of maturity, has not even emerged from its infancy. So complete was the ignorance of its powers which prevailed even among engineers, previous to the opening of the Liverpool Railway, that the transport of heavy goods was regarded as the chief object of the undertaking, and its principal source of revenue. The incredible speed of transport effected even in the very first experiments in 1830, burst upon the public, and on the scientific world, with all the effect of a new and unlooked for phenomenon. On the unfortunate occasion which deprived this country of Mr Huskisson, the wounded body of that statesman was transported a distance of about 15 miles in 25 minutes, being at the rate of 36 miles an hour. The revenue of the road arising from passengers since its opening, has, contrary to all that was foreseen, been nearly double that which has been derived from merchandise. So great was the want of experience in the construction of engines, that the company was at first ignorant, whether they should adopt large steam-engines, fixed at different stations on the line, to pull the carriages from station to station, or travelling engines to drag the loads the entire distance. Having decided on the latter, they have, even to the present moment, laboured under the disadvantage of the want of that knowledge which experience alone can give. The engines have been constantly varied in their weight and proportions, in their magnitude and form, as the experience of each successive month has indicated. As defects became manifest they were remedied; improvements suggested were adopted; and each quarter produced engines of such increased power and efficiency, that their predecessors were abandoned, not because they were worn out, but because they had been outstripped in the rapid march of improvement. Add to this, that only one species of travelling engine has been effectively tried; the capabilities of others remain still to be developed; and even that form of engine which has received the advantage of a course of experiments on so grand a scale to carry it towards perfection, is far short

of this point, and still has defects, many of which it is obvious time and experience will remove. If then travelling steam-engines, with all the imperfections of an incipient invention—with the want of experience, the great parent of practical improvements—with the want of the common advantage of the full application of the skill and capital of the country—subjected to but one great experiment, and that experiment limited to one form of engine, and conducted, as we shall presently show, not on the wisest principles, nor with the most liberal policy;—if, under such disadvantages, the effects to which we have referred have been produced, what may we not expect from this extraordinary power when the enterprise of the country is unfettered,—when greater fields of experience are opened,—when time, ingenuity, and capital, have removed the existing imperfections, and have brought to light new and more powerful principles? This is not mere speculation on possibilities, but refers to what is in a state of actual progression. Railways are in progress between the points of greatest intercourse in the United Kingdoms, and travelling steam-engines are in preparation in every quarter for the common turnpike roads; the practicability and utility of that application of the steam-engine having not only been established by experiment to the satisfaction of their projectors, but proved before the legislature so conclusively, as to be taken for the foundation of Parliamentary enactments.

The important commercial and political effects attending such increased facility and speed in the transport of persons and goods, are too obvious to require any very extended notice here. A part of the price (and in many cases a considerable part) of every article of necessity or luxury, consists of the cost of transporting it from the producer to the consumer; and consequently every abatement or saving in this cost must produce a corresponding reduction in the price of every article transported; that is to say, of every thing which is necessary for the subsistence of the poor, or for the enjoyment of the rich, of every comfort, and of every luxury of life. The benefit of this will extend, not to the consumer only, but to the producer: by lowering the expense of transport of the produce, whether of the soil or of the loom, a less quantity of that produce will be spent in bringing the remainder to market, and consequently a greater surplus will reward the labour of the producer. The benefit of this will be felt even more by the agriculturist than by the manufacturer; because the proportional cost of transport of the produce of the soil is greater than that of manufactures.

If 200 quarters of corn be necessary to raise 400, and 100 more be required to bring the 400 to market, then the net surplus will be 100. But if by the use of steam-carriages the same quantity can be brought to market with an expenditure of 50 quarters, then the net surplus will be increased from 100 to 150 quarters; and either the profit of the farmer, or the rent of the landlord, must be increased by the same amount.*

But the agriculturist would not merely be benefited by an increased return from the soil already under cultivation. Any reduction in the cost of transporting the produce to market would call into cultivation tracts of inferior fertility, the returns from which would not at present repay the cost of cultivation and transport. Thus land would become productive, which is now waste, and an effect would be produced equivalent to adding so much fertile soil to the present extent of the country. It is well known that land of a given degree of fertility will yield increased produce by the increased application of capital and labour. By a reduction in the cost of transport a saving will be made which may enable the agriculturist to apply to tracts already under cultivation the capital thus saved, and thereby increase their actual production. Not only, therefore, would such an effect be attended with an increased extent of cultivated land, but also with an increased degree of cultivation in that which is already productive.

It has been said that in Great Britain there are above a million of horses engaged in various ways in the transport of passengers and goods, and that to support each horse requires as much land as would upon an average support eight men.† If this quantity of animal power were displaced by steam-engines, and the means of transport drawn from the bowels of the earth, instead of being raised upon its surface, then, supposing the above calculation correct, as much land would become available for the support of human beings as would suffice for an additional population of eight millions, or, what amounts to the same, would increase the means of support of the present population by about one-third of the present available means. The land which now supports horses for transport, would then support men, or produce corn for food.

The objection that a quantity of land exists in the country capable of supporting horses alone, and that such land would be thrown out of cultivation, scarcely deserves notice here. The existence of any considerable quantity of such land is extremely

* Report, page 184.

† Report, page 104.

doubtful. What is the soil which will feed a horse, and not feed oxen or sheep, or produce food for man? But even if it be admitted that there exists in the country a small portion of such land, that portion cannot exceed, nor indeed equal, what would be sufficient for the number of horses which must after all continue to be employed for the purposes of pleasure, and in a variety of cases where steam must necessarily be inapplicable. It is to be remembered also, that the displacing of horses in one extensive occupation, by diminishing their price, must necessarily increase the demand for them in others.

The reduction in the cost of transport of manufactured articles, by lowering their price in the market, will stimulate their consumption. This observation applies of course not only to home but to foreign markets. In the latter we already in many branches of manufacture command a monopoly. The reduced price which we shall attain by cheapness and facility of transport, will still further extend and increase our advantages. The necessary consequence will be an increased demand for manufacturing population; and this increased population again reacting on the agricultural interests, will form an increased market for that species of produce. So interwoven and complicated are the fibres which form the texture of the highly civilized and artificial community in which we live, that an effect produced on any one point is instantly transmitted to the most remote and apparently unconnected parts of the system.

The two advantages of increased cheapness and speed, besides extending the amount of existing traffic, call into existence new objects of commercial intercourse. For the same reason that the reduced cost of transport, as we have shown, calls new soils into cultivation, it also calls into existence new markets for manufactured and agricultural produce. The great speed of transit, which has been proved to be practicable, must open a commerce between distant points in various articles, the nature of which does not permit them to be preserved so as to be fit for use beyond a certain time. Such are, for example, many species of vegetable and animal food, which at present are confined to markets at a very limited distance from the grower or feeder. The truth of this observation is manifested by the effects which have followed the intercourse by steam on the Irish Channel. The western towns of England have become markets for a prodigious quantity of Irish produce, which it had been previously impossible to export. If animal food be transported alive from the grower to the consumer, the distance of the market is limited by the power of the animal to travel,

and the cost of its support on the road. It is only particular species of cattle which bear to be carried to market on common roads and by horse-carriages. But the peculiar nature of a railway, the magnitude and weight of the loads which may be transported on it, and the prodigious speed which may be attained, render the transport of cattle of every species, to almost any distance, both easy and cheap. In process of time, when the railway system becomes extended, the metropolis and populous towns will therefore become markets, not as at present to districts within limited distances of them, but to the whole country.

The moral and political consequences of so great a change in the powers of transition of persons and intelligence from place to place, are not easily calculated. The concentration of mind and exertion which a great metropolis always exhibits, will be extended in a considerable degree to the whole realm. The same effect will be produced as if all distances were lessened in the proportion in which the speed and cheapness of transit are increased. Towns, at present removed some stages from the metropolis, will become its suburbs; others, now at a day's journey, will be removed to its immediate vicinity; business will be carried on with as much ease between them and the metropolis, as it is now between distant points of the metropolis itself. The ordinary habitations of various classes of citizens engaged in active business in the towns, will be at what now are regarded considerable distances from the places of their occupation. The salubrity of cities will thus be increased by superseding the necessity of heaping the inhabitants together, story upon story, within a confined space; and by enabling the town population to spread itself over a larger extent of surface, without incurring the inconvenience of distance. Let those who discard speculations like these as wild and improbable, recur to the state of public opinion at no very remote period, on the subject of steam navigation. Within the memory of persons who have not yet passed the meridian of life, the possibility of traversing by the steam-engine the channels and seas that surround and intersect these islands, was regarded as the dream of enthusiasts. Nautical men and men of science rejected such speculations with equal incredulity, and with little less than scorn for the understanding of those who could for a moment entertain them. Yet we have witnessed steam-engines traversing, not these channels and seas alone, but sweeping the face of the waters round every coast in Europe, and even ploughing the great oceans of the world. If steam be not used as the only means of connecting

the most distant habitable points of our planet, it is not because it is inadequate to the accomplishment of that end, but because local and accidental causes limit the supply of that material from which at the present moment it derives its powers.

We propose, in the present article, to lay before our readers some account of the means whereby the effects above referred to have been produced; of the manner and degree in which the public have availed themselves of these means; and of the improvements of which they seem to us to be susceptible.

In considering the means of inland transport, there are two distinct points to which we should direct our attention, viz., the *road*, and the *power of traction or impulsion*. A road is a contrivance by which the resistance opposed to a body moving on the surface of the earth, arising from the inequalities of that surface, may be diminished; and as it diminishes that resistance, in the same proportion does it accomplish its object. The power of traction or impulsion is efficient in proportion to its intensity, and the rate at which it is capable of exerting that intensity in reference to time. On the *intensity* of the power depends the resistance it can overcome, and this intensity is therefore proportional to the *load*. On the *rate* at which this power can be produced and exerted, depends the *speed* which is attainable by it.

The roads most commonly used are those of water, or *canals*; those of stone, or *turnpike-roads*; and those of iron, or *railroads*. In all these species of roads, the first and most necessary quality is, that the line should be as nearly as possible level. As this, however, cannot be perfectly attained, there are contrivances peculiar to each kind of road, by which the difficulty attending the want of perfect level may be overcome. But as such contrivances constitute the greatest expense, whether in the original construction of the road, or in working upon it after it has been constructed, that course is always selected for the line which offers the fewest possible inequalities, and those the smallest in amount.

Canals possess advantages over all other roads, in being able to support an almost unlimited amount of load. The pressure on the wheels of carriages on a railroad is limited by the strength of the rail, and is seldom more than about three tons upon each wheel. The pressure on the wheels of carriages on a turnpike road is limited by the strength of the crust of the road. On the broad wheels of the heaviest waggons the pressure never exceeds two tons; but the weight capable of being sustained by a canal

is only limited by the magnitude of the boats which the breadth of the canal allows to float upon it. In fact, the weight of the boat and its cargo is equal to the weight of the water which is displaced by the part of the boat immersed in the canal.

In considering the power of traction or impulsion necessary to move a body, whether on a canal or on a road, we must carefully distinguish that force which is requisite to put the body from a state of rest into a state of motion, from that which is requisite to sustain the motion when once imparted to it. If a body were sustained by a surface perfectly level and perfectly smooth, so as to oppose no resistance whatever to motion upon it, the body once put in motion by an impulse would continue for ever to move, without the application of any further impulsion or traction. But such a surface as is here supposed has no practical existence; although, as already explained, it is the object of roads of every kind to approach as near to this imaginary limit as possible. The continued power of traction necessary to sustain the motion of a body, therefore, arises from the resistance produced by the action of the body on the road; and it is only by investigating the nature of this resistance, and its law, that the necessary qualities in the drawing or impelling power can be fully understood. As the presence of resistance on the road does not supersede the necessity of the first impulse, it follows that every mass which is to be moved, requires a much greater exertion of power at starting than subsequently; but as this exertion is continued only for a short period, we may omit its consideration when our purpose is to investigate the power necessary to be kept in constant action.

The power of traction necessary to sustain the progressive motion of a boat floating on a liquid, arises from the resistance which the liquid lying immediately before the boat offers. It is necessary that the vessel should push before it the fluid which lies in its way; and the force necessary to move this with the speed of the vessel must be supplied by the power of traction or impulsion, whatever that power may be. It will be sufficiently obvious on consideration, that the quantity of liquid which is thus driven before the vessel, depends, not on the whole magnitude of the vessel, but on the magnitude of the transverse section of that part of the vessel which is beneath the surface of the liquid. It is true that this conclusion requires some modification in practice, and that the shape of the vessel and other circumstances should be taken into account in accurate calculations; but the resistance mainly depends, as above stated, on the transverse section, and may be considered, *ceteris paribus*, pro-

portional to that section. Now, the more rapidly the vessel is moved, the more rapidly the liquid must be pushed before it, and, therefore, the greater the force necessary to impel it in this manner; and hence a double speed requires that the liquid should be impelled with a double force. But besides this, it is to be considered, that when the vessel acquires a double speed it moves in the same time through a double space, and therefore must impel *a double quantity* of the liquid. Since, therefore, it impels *a double quantity*, and every portion of that with *a double force*, the resistance which it has to overcome must be increased in a fourfold proportion. Hence we see, that to give a vessel moving in a liquid a double velocity, requires that the power of traction or impulsion should be increased in a fourfold proportion. In the same manner it will be easily made out, even by the general reader, that a threefold velocity will require a ninefold power of traction or impulsion, and so on; the resistance and the necessary power of traction increasing not merely in the proportion of the speed, but in the proportion of what arithmeticians call the *square* of the speed. Even this statement must be received in a qualified form, and limited in its application to moderate rates of motion; because it is demonstrable, that there is a practical limit of speed, beyond which a vessel cannot be impelled through a fluid, and that limit is by no means a wide one. Notwithstanding the application of the immense power of steam to vessels plying between points of great intercourse, we believe that a greater speed than from ten to twelve miles an hour has never yet been attained independently of the effect of currents.

To the power of impelling a vessel through water, we see therefore that there is a narrow limit; but if this limit be narrow as applied to vessels in the open sea, it is still more so when applied to vessels in confined channels, such as canals. In this case the theoretical reasoning above given would require great modification; and the resistance, which in practice is in every case greater than in the proportion of the square of the velocity, is considerably above that proportion in the case of canals. Experiments have been made by Mr Bevan on the resistance to vessels moved at different speeds in water, and we find by them that a vessel moved on the Paddington Grand Junction Canal, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, loaded with 21 tons, required a force of traction amounting to 77 lbs.; while the same vessel, moved at the rate of something less than 4 miles an hour, required a force of traction amounting to 308 lbs. Thus, while the speed was increased in a somewhat less proportion than $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4, the resistance was increased in the proportion of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 10.

Experiments made by Mr Walker on the London Docks, give the resistance also in a greater proportion than that of the square of the velocity. Many other facts confirm this conclusion; but a singular anomaly appears to have been presented by some experiments made on the Forth and Clyde Canal in July 1830. A twin-boat, loaded with 5 tons, 16 cwt. 44 lbs., and dragged by horses, was furnished with an instrument by which the force of traction was measured, and it was found, that at and under eight miles an hour, the resistance was in conformity with the principle just explained, but that when higher rates of speed were attained, although the resistance increased, it did not increase in nearly so rapid a proportion. This probably arose from the circumstance of the boat having been more raised out of the water by the effect of traction on the bank at the high speed. But be this as it may, the deviation from the law takes place in such extreme cases, and under such peculiar circumstances, that no general conclusion can be safely drawn from it. We can venture to affirm, that a similar result would not be found to attend the propulsion of a boat by a steam-engine acting on paddle-wheels.

From what has been stated it appears, that the resistance to the motion of a vessel in a liquid does not increase in proportion with the weight of the vessel and its cargo. Two vessels of equal transverse section, but different lengths, may have very different weights, and yet suffer nearly equal resistance from the liquid in which they are moved. This forms a very important circumstance favourable to transport by canals, as compared with transport on other roads, on which, as we shall see, the resistance is always in proportion to the weight; and by combining this circumstance with what has been already explained respecting the dependence of the resistance on the velocity, it will be easily perceived, that the most advantageous mode in which canals can be used is in the transport of very great weights at a very low speed. Indeed, independently of the limit of speed imposed by the law of resistance, there are other circumstances connected with canals which render any considerable rate of motion inapplicable to them; and one of the principal of these is the wear, and even destruction of the embankments, which would be produced by the rapid flow of water caused by boats propelled through them at any rapid rate of motion.

When a carriage is drawn or impelled along a hard and level road, the motion which it receives from the first impulse would continue undiminished for any length of time, if the road and the faces of the wheels were perfectly smooth. This is a con-

sequence of one of the first and most simple properties of matter,—*inertia*; that property in virtue of which a body would remain for ever at rest, if not put into a state of motion by the action of some external force. But the formation of a perfectly smooth road, and of perfectly smooth wheels to move on that road, is impracticable. The surface of the road and the surface of the wheels, whatever be their materials, or with whatever care they may be constructed, will be covered with asperities; which will obstruct the motion of the carriage in proportion to their number and magnitude, and in proportion to the weight with which the carriage presses upon them. The more these asperities are removed, therefore, the less will be the force of traction necessary to continue the motion of a carriage loaded with a given weight. Experiments made on an extensive scale by Coulomb, Ximenes, and other philosophers, have established satisfactorily, that when the quality of the road and of the wheels are the same, the resistance to the motion of the carriage, arising from the roughness of the road, will always be in proportion to the weight of the carriage. A double weight will offer double resistance, a triple weight a triple resistance, and so on. The same experiments establish another consequence, materially affecting all questions respecting the work performed on roads. This result is, that the *resistance to the motion of a carriage is altogether independent of the velocity* of that motion; and that whatever be the speed at which the carriage moves, the resistance will suffer no change. Indeed, any slight change which may have been indicated, rather shows a diminution of resistance with increased speed; but for practical purposes the resistance may be regarded as constant, and quite independent of the velocity. We therefore infer, that the power of traction necessary on level roads, whether they be roads of stone, or roads of iron, will always be in proportion to the load, and independent of the speed. This becomes one of the most striking features of difference between the effects of roads and canals. In the latter, every increase of speed renders an enormously increased power of traction necessary; while in the former no increased power of traction whatever is needed. If a carriage be propelled on a road ten miles in five hours, or ten miles in one hour, the power of traction must be precisely the same in both cases; but if a boat be propelled on a canal ten miles in one hour, the power of traction must be more than twenty-five times that which would be necessary to carry it ten miles in five hours. This observation will be equally applicable to turnpike-roads and railroads, as compared with canals; and it will lead us to the inference that there is a limiting speed, at which the effect

of canals must equal the effect of a hard level road travelled by a carriage; and that below this limit the canal has the advantage, while above it, the advantage lies with the road. As the resistance to the boat in the water has an immediate dependence on its rate of motion, it follows, that by reducing that rate of motion without limit, the resistance may be also reduced without limit; while, on the other hand, the resistance to a carriage moving on a railroad, being independent of the speed, the reduction of speed can cause no diminution in the resistance. It is therefore possible to assign such a velocity to a boat moved on a canal, that the resistance will exactly equal the resistance of the road to the carriage loaded with a weight equal to that of the boat. Now, as the resistance of a canal below this limit will be less, while the resistance of the road will remain the same, it follows that at lower velocities the canal, *ceteris paribus*, will present less resistance to the force of traction. On the other hand, by increasing the speed beyond the limit assigned, the resistance of the canal increases faster than the square of the velocity, while the resistance of the road suffers no increase whatever. Hence, above this limit, the road will possess considerable advantage over a canal.

But besides this, the resistance of the road to the carriage increases in the direct proportion of the weight of the load; while the resistance of a canal to the boat is, comparatively speaking, but slightly increased by an increase of the weight. From these circumstances it is easy to infer, that very great weights, moved at very low velocities, require a less power of traction on canals than on common roads. But, on the other hand, when the speed is increased, or when the load is more moderate in its amount, the advantage of a common road prevails, and more especially with reference to the increase of speed. The greatest speed at which canals can be advantageously worked is from two to two and a half miles an hour. Now, we shall see hereafter, that when adequate moving powers are applied, even with very considerable weights, the speed attainable, without loss of advantage, on roads, bears a large proportion to this.

Railroads are contrivances for obtaining a surface for the wheels of carriages to roll upon, smoother than the surface of a turnpike road, whether Macadamized or paved. To accomplish this, bars of iron are constructed of a suitable length, and laid upon the road, so that they present upwards a smooth flat surface; their extremities resting upon large blocks of stone firmly imbedded in the earth, called *sleepers*. These iron bars, which are called *rails*, are firmly connected end to end, and extend from sleeper to sleeper along the whole line of road, so as to form

one continuous smooth track or line of iron surface, upon which the wheels of the carriage roll. Two parallel tracks of these bars are placed at a distance asunder, corresponding to that of the wheels of the carriage intended to run upon them. The wheels are constructed with a ledge of iron projecting at right angles to the faces of their tires, which as they roll catches the inner surface of the rail, so as to prevent the carriage from slipping off at either side.

When the surfaces of the tire and the rail are clean, the resistance which they present is extremely small, owing to the hardness of the material of which they are composed, and the smoothness of which its surface is susceptible. Two parallel tracks of rails upon which the wheels of the same carriage roll are called 'a single line of railway.' In order to enable carriages on such a line moving in contrary directions to pass one another, retiring places called *sideings* are provided at certain intervals, into which a carriage may be turned, so that one may wait till another passes. This provision is indispensable where the points of intercourse are connected only by a single line; but, in cases of great intercourse, two lines are sometimes provided for carriages moving in opposite directions, in which way the delay produced by carriages meeting in opposite directions is avoided.

The power of traction required on a well-constructed level railway is generally estimated at the 240th part of the load drawn. The smallness of this proportion gives rise to a consequence of great practical importance when inclined planes occur; as must always be the case at points where the level of the road changes. In addition to the ordinary resistance of the rails, the power of traction in ascending must overcome the tendency of the load to descend by its gravity. This tendency, as is well known, bears a proportion to the load equivalent to the elevation of the plane. If the plane rise 1 foot in 100, the tendency of a load of 100 tons to descend will be 1 ton. Upon this principle, if the plane rise 1 foot in 240, the power of traction, compared with that which is necessary upon a level, will be double. An ascent of 2 feet in 240, or 1 in 120, will require a three-fold power of traction; an ascent of 3 feet in 240, or 1 in 80, will require a four-fold power of traction, and so on. Hence it is obvious how enormously the drawing power must be increased even by the slightest incurvation. An ascent of 1 in 240, which requires the power of traction to double its energy, is scarcely perceptible to the eye; and the rise of 1 in 96 at Rainhill, on the Manchester line, which is barely perceivable, requires the power of traction to increase its intensity in nearly a four-fold proportion. It follows, therefore, that whatever agent

may be employed as a propelling power on a railroad having incurvations upon it, however inconsiderable, must be susceptible of varying its energy within very wide limits. This constitutes one of the greatest practical difficulties which the railroad system has to encounter.

Upon common turnpike roads or paved streets, this inconvenience is less than on railroads. The power of traction necessary on these roads is very variable, owing to the want of uniformity in their surfaces; but on a level Macadamized road it is estimated, on an average by Mr Gurney, as a 12th part of the weight of the load. Thus a carriage weighing 12 cwt. would require a power of traction of 1 cwt.; a carriage weighing 6 tons requires a power of traction amounting to half a ton, and so on. The increased power of traction required by an ascent on a turnpike road is estimated exactly in the same manner as for railroads. An ascent of 1 foot in 12 will add to the power of traction necessary on a level an increased power amounting to one-twelfth of the load, and thus such an ascent would require the power of traction to be doubled; but all ascents less abrupt than 1 in 12 would not require the power of traction to be increased in so great a degree as double its amount on the level. It therefore follows, that so great a susceptibility of increase is not necessary in the powers of traction used on common roads in cases of ascent, as in those used on railroads. This arises not from any advantage possessed by common roads compared with railroads, but from the very reverse. The increase to the power of traction required by an ascent on a common road, is exactly the same in amount as that which would be required by an ascent of the same elevation on a railroad. But the power of traction necessary on a level common road is so great, that the increase caused by an elevation becomes no considerable addition; while the power of traction on a level railroad is so small, that the increase produced by the smallest inclination is severely felt.

That a railroad should be effective, it is therefore necessary that a propelling power should be used capable of great variation in its intensity, or that additional powers of traction should be provided at every inclination, or, finally, that, in the original construction of the road, a level be maintained at whatever cost. All these expedients present formidable difficulties. To maintain a perfect level in the original construction of the road, is an object the attainment of which must be attended with a very large expenditure of capital. The great expense of construction, under any circumstances, renders it necessary that the line con-

necting the principal points of intercourse should be as short as possible; and hence arises the necessity of deviating very little from a straight course. Valleys must therefore be traversed by embankments or aqueducts, and hills intersected by artificial chasms. To penetrate them by tunnels, except in very rare cases, is inexpedient; for the travelling steam-engine generally used on railroads cannot be used in a tunnel, owing to the air being rendered unfit for breathing by the effect of the fire. Besides which, even were tunnels practicable, the great original expense of construction forms a strong objection.

A turnpike road, on the other hand, is usually carried in a winding course through an undulating country, avoiding hills of great acclivity; and though the length will be thereby increased, yet the total expenditure of the power of traction will be diminished.* The power of traction necessary on common roads in different states of repair, or differently constructed, is subject to great variation. Experiments on this power were made by the direction of the commissioners for the Holyhead road, with a view to ascertain the best mode of constructing and repairing that road.† The result of these experiments shows that the power of traction over a level well-constructed pavement varies from 32 to 39 lbs. for every ton. A waggon, weighing 21 cwt. 8 lbs., drawn over a well-laid pavement in Piccadilly, required a power of traction varying from 33 to 40 lbs. In a place where the pavement was uneven, and worked into holes, the power was increased to 48 lbs.; but it may be assumed that the power of traction on the best laid pavement—such as that which may be seen before the new buildings in the Strand, and in Fleet-street, when newly paved—is at the rate of about 32 lbs. to the ton. On a broken stone surface of old flint road, the traction is about 64 lbs., being double that of a pavement. On a gravel road, the power of traction is nearly 150 lbs. to the ton; on a broken stone road having a rough pavement foundation, the traction is 45 lbs. to the ton.

From these results, it appears that Mr Gurney's estimate of the comparative traction on railroads and common roads is not supported by experiment. The traction on a railroad being about 9 lbs. in the ton, and that on the best laid pavement

* We are not aware whether any comparative estimate has been made of the expense of original construction and repairs of turnpike-roads and railroads. We suspect that the result of such a calculation would be more favourable to railroads than is generally supposed.

† Report, Appendix F.

being 32, the latter is three and a half times the former. The traction on a well-made stone surface of old flint road is about seven times the traction on a railway. On a gravel road it is about fifteen times, and on a broken stone road, with a rough pavement foundation, it is about five times the traction of the railway. We may not be, perhaps, far from the truth in assuming, that the average traction of level turnpike roads is about twelve times that of railroads; and consequently that the same power acting on a railroad will always draw or impel twelve times the load which it can transport on a common road.

Having noticed the different kinds of roads over which inland transport is effected, we shall now consider the powers of traction, or the motive forces which are used on these roads. These are at present either that of horses or steam-engines.

The law which regulates the expenditure of animal strength in labour has never yet been accurately ascertained by observation; nevertheless, there are certain general facts known respecting it, which, though not capable of being reduced to a mathematical expression, are yet sufficiently defined to lead to useful conclusions. In all cases where a horse is used as the means of transport, he must, besides the load which he bears, move the weight of his own body, and a great portion of his strength is thus employed. This portion is found to increase at a rapid rate with the velocity, so that as the speed of his motion increases, the quantity of power which he can spare to his load is as rapidly diminished. In fact, between the load which he bears, and the speed with which he is capable of moving it, there is a certain relation, which, if we could ascertain it exactly, and express it mathematically, would give the whole theory of animal power considered as a mechanical agent. There are two obvious limiting states, between which, at some intermediate point, the effect of the horse's power is a maximum. There is a certain load which the animal is barely able to support, but unable to move with any useful speed. On the other hand, there is a certain speed at which the animal is barely able to move his own body, but unable to support any useful load. In both these cases, his useful effect as an agent of labour, vanishes; and between these limits, it varies according to different proportions. An empirical formula, assigned by Euler, and quoted by numerous mechanical writers, comes perhaps sufficiently near the practical effects for our purposes.* Let us suppose that the greatest speed

* Let L be the greatest load which the horse can bear without moving, and V his greatest speed without a load; then if x be any load, and y the corresponding speed, we shall have $V^2x = (V - y)^2L$.

of which a horse is capable when unloaded is fifteen miles an hour, and the greatest load which he is capable of bearing without moving with any useful speed, to be divided into 225 equal parts;—then the load which he is capable of bearing at fourteen miles an hour will be one of these equal parts; that which he is capable of bearing at thirteen miles an hour will be four of these parts; at twelve miles an hour nine of them, and so on: the load being expressed by the squares of the successive integer numbers increasing as the speed with which he moves is decreased. By multiplying the load by the speed, the useful effect is obtained; and by this mode of calculation, it would follow that the greatest effect of horse power is obtained when the animal moves at one-third of that rate which is the greatest of which he is capable when unloaded; and that the load which he bears at that speed will be four-ninths of the greatest load which he is capable of bearing with any useful motion. From this we may infer generally, that in the use of animal power as a mechanical mover, advantage is lost with every increase of speed beyond a very moderate limit; and that at certain rates, and those not high in degree, all useful effects disappear.

It is found in practice, that a waggon used on a turnpike-road, and loaded to the amount of eight tons, may be drawn by horses at the rate of two and a half miles an hour,—the horses working for eight hours daily. Thus, the performance of a horse in this way will amount to one ton, transported 20 miles a-day. A mail-coach, weighing two tons, and travelling at the rate of 10 miles an hour, may be worked on a line of road in both directions by a number of horses equal to the number of miles. Thus the performance of each horse would amount to two tons carried two miles daily, or four tons carried one mile. In the case, however, of horses working in this way, it appears, by a petition of coach proprietors presented to the House of Commons, that it is necessary to renew the stock every third year; from whence we must infer that the animal is overworked.

From what has been explained respecting the resistance of fluids, and from the relation which we have shown to subsist between the speed of horses and the performances which they are able to effect, it will be apparent that that rate of motion which renders the resistance of a fluid least injurious to the effect produced, is also that speed at which a horse can work with the greatest possible effect. This speed is from two and a half to three miles an hour; and we accordingly find, that when horse power is used to propel a boat on a canal, the effect is a maximum at that rate of motion; but if a higher rate be attempted, we find, as might be easily anticipated from the prin-

ciples already laid down, that the diminution of effect takes place in an immensely rapid proportion. Even if the resistance of a fluid were not increased, the effect of a horse's power, by the condition of his nature, would be materially reduced by every increase of speed; and, on the other hand, even were a horse capable of working with the same effect at an increased speed, the resistance of a fluid, increasing in a greater proportion than the square of the speed, would impair the total effect. But, in fact, these two causes co-operate, and we find both theory and experience agree in the result,—that horse power at greater speed than about three miles an hour, is altogether incompatible with any useful effect upon canals.

To render intelligible the advantages which attend the use of steam as a moving power in the transport of loads over land, whether by canals or roads, it will be necessary to premise a few observations respecting the steam-engine. It is a universal property of matter, that by the application of heat, so as to raise its temperature, it suffers an increase in its magnitude. Also in different substances, when certain temperatures are attained by the application of fire or other methods of heating, they undergo a change of form. Solids, at certain temperatures, are converted into liquids; and liquids, in like manner, when heated to certain degrees, become aeriform fluids or gases. These changes are familiar to every one in the ordinary phenomena attending water. Below the temperature of 32° of the common thermometer, that substance exists in the solid form, and is called *ice*. Above that temperature it passes into the liquid state, and is called *water*; and when raised to the temperature of 212° , under ordinary circumstances, it passes into the aeriform state, and is called *steam*. It is to this last change that we wish at present principally to call the attention of the reader. In the transition of water from the liquid state to the state of vapour or steam, an immense change of bulk takes place. In this change, a solid inch of water enlarges its size about 1700 times, and forms 1700 solid inches of steam. This expansion takes place accompanied with a certain force or pressure, by which the vapour has a tendency to burst the bounds of any vessel which contains it. The steam which fills 1700 solid inches at the temperature of 212° , will, if cooled below that temperature, return to the liquid form, and occupy only one solid inch, leaving 1699 solid inches vacant; and, if it be included in a close vessel, leaving the surfaces of that vessel free from the internal pressure to which they were subject before the return of the water to the liquid form. If it be possible, therefore, alternately to convert water into vapour by heat, and to reconvert the vapour into water by cold, we shall

be enabled alternately to submit any surface to a pressure equal to the elastic force of the steam, and to relieve it from that pressure, so as to permit it to move in obedience to any other force which may act upon it. Or again, suppose that we are enabled to expose one side of a movable body to the action of water converted into steam, at the moment that we relieve the other side from the like pressure by reconvertng the steam which acts upon it into water, the movable body will be impelled by the unresisted pressure of the steam on one side. When it has moved a certain distance in obedience to this force, let us suppose that the effects are reversed. Let the steam which pressed it forwards be now reconverted into water, so as to have its action suspended; and at the same moment, let steam raised from water by heat be caused to act on the other side of the movable body; the consequence will obviously be, that it will now change the direction of its motion, and return in obedience to the pressure excited on the opposite side. Such is, in fact, the operation of an ordinary low-pressure steam-engine. The piston or plug which plays in the cylinder is the movable to which we have referred. The vapour of water is introduced upon one side of that piston at the moment that a similar vapour is converted into water on the other side, and the piston moves by the unresisted action of the steam. When it has arrived at the extremity of the cylinder, the steam which just urged it forwards is reconverted into water, and the piston is relieved from its action. At the same moment, a fresh supply of steam is introduced upon the other side of the piston, and its pressure causes the piston to be moved in a direction contrary to its former motion. Thus the piston is moved in the cylinder alternately in the one direction and in the other, with a force equivalent to the pressure of the steam which acts upon it. A strong metal rod proceeds from this piston, and communicates with proper machinery, by which the alternate motion of the piston backwards and forwards, or upwards and downwards, in the cylinder, may be communicated to whatever body is intended to be moved.

The power of such a machine will obviously depend partly on the magnitude of the piston or the movable surface which is exposed to the action of the steam, and partly on the pressure of the steam itself. The object of converting the steam into water by cold, upon that side of the piston towards which the motion takes place, is to relieve the piston from all resistance to the moving power. This renders it unnecessary to use steam of a very high pressure, inasmuch as it will have no resistance to overcome, except the friction of the piston with the

cylinder, and the ordinary resistance of the load which it may have to move. Engines constructed upon this principle, not requiring, therefore, steam of a great pressure, have been generally called 'low-pressure engines.' The re-conversion of the steam into water requires a constant and abundant supply of cold water, and a fit apparatus for carrying away the water which becomes heated, by cooling the steam, and for supplying its place by a fresh quantity of cold water. It is obvious that such an apparatus is incompatible with great simplicity and lightness, nor can it be applied to cases where the engine is worked under circumstances in which a fresh supply of water cannot be had.

The re-conversion of steam into water, or, as it is technically called, the *condensation* of steam, is however by no means necessary to the effective operation of a steam-engine. From what has been above said, it will be understood that this effect relieves the piston of a part of the resistance which is opposed to its motion. If that part of the resistance were not removed, the pressure of steam acting upon the other side would be affected in no other way than by having a greater load or resistance to overcome; and if that pressure were proportionately increased, the effective power of the machine would remain the same. It follows, therefore, that if the steam upon that side of the piston towards which the motion is made were not condensed, the steam urging the piston forwards on the other side would require to have a degree of intensity greater than the steam in a low-pressure engine, by the amount of the pressure of the uncondensed steam on the other side of the piston. An engine working on this principle has therefore been called a *high-pressure engine*. Such an engine is relieved from the incumbrance of all the condensing apparatus and of the large supply of cold water necessary for the reduction of steam to the liquid form; for instead of being so reduced, the steam is in this case simply allowed to escape into the atmosphere. The operation, therefore, of high-pressure engines will be readily understood. The boiler producing steam of a very powerful pressure, is placed in communication with a cylinder furnished in the usual manner with a piston; the steam is allowed to act upon one side of the piston so as to impel it from the one end of the cylinder to the other. When it has arrived there, the communication with the boiler is reversed, and the steam is introduced on the other side of the piston, while the steam which has just urged the piston forwards is permitted to escape into the atmosphere. It is evident that the only resistance to the motion of the piston here is the pressure of that portion of steam which does not escape into

the air ; which pressure will be equal to that of the air itself, inasmuch as the steam will continue to escape from the cylinder as long as its elastic force exceeds that of the atmosphere. In this manner the alternate motion of the piston in the cylinder will be continued ; the efficient force which urges it being estimated by the excess of the actual pressure of the steam from the boiler above the atmospheric pressure. The superior simplicity and lightness of the high-pressure engine must now be apparent, and these qualities recommend it strongly for all purposes in which the engine itself must be moved from place to place.

The steam-engine therefore consists of two distinct parts,—the boiler, which is at once the generator and magazine of steam, and the cylinder with its piston, which is the instrument by which this power is brought into operation and rendered effective. The amount of the load or resistance which such a machine is capable of moving, depends upon the intensity or pressure of the steam produced by the boiler, and on the magnitude of the surface of the piston in the cylinder, upon which that steam acts. The rate or velocity of the motion depends, not on the power or pressure of the steam, but on the rate at which the boiler is capable of generating it. Every stroke of the piston consumes a cylinder full of steam ; and of course the rate of the motion depends upon the number of cylinders of steam which the boiler is capable of generating in a given time. These are two points which it is essential should be distinctly understood, in order to comprehend the relative merits of the boilers used in travelling steam-engines.

The motion which is primarily produced in a steam-engine is a reciprocating or alternate motion of the piston from end to end of the cylinder ; but the motion which is necessary to be produced for the purposes to which the engine is applied, is rarely or never of this nature. This primary motion, therefore, is almost always modified by some machinery interposed between the piston and the object to be moved. The motion most generally required is one of rotation, and this is accomplished by connecting the extremity of the piston-rod with a contrivance constructed on the revolving axle, called a *crank*. This contrivance does not differ in principle from the common winch, or from the key which winds a clock. The motion of the piston-rod backwards and forwards turns such a winch. At each termination of the stroke, the piston, from the peculiar position of the crank, loses all power over it. To remedy this, two cylinders and pistons are generally used, which act upon two cranks placed on the axle at right angles to each other ; so that at the moment when one of the pistons is at the extremity of its stroke,

and loses its power upon one crank, the other piston is at the middle of its stroke, and in full operation on the other crank. By these means an unintermitting force is kept in action.

So far as relates to the capability or power of the steam-engine, no difficulty attends its application to inland navigation. Either low-pressure or high-pressure engines may be applied to this purpose. Lightness and space are of some importance, but not so indispensable as to exclude low-pressure engines from the barges on canals or rivers, if they were preferable upon other accounts. There are, however, obstacles of a nature independent of the qualities of the steam-engine, which seem to preclude the use of steam as a moving power upon canals, except in very rare instances. The agitation of the water produced by any impelling power which acts in the manner of paddle-wheels or oars, is found to be very destructive to the banks. Attempts have been made to remove this inconvenience by placing a paddle-wheel in the centre of the stern, acting as much as possible in the middle of the canal; and various contrivances have been suggested for feathering the paddles, so as to cause a diminished agitation in the water. None of these contrivances have, however, succeeded; and, except in the great ship canals, steam-boats have not been generally adopted.

One of the principal causes of the advantage which steam possesses over horse power, arises from the circumstance that *speed does not diminish efficiency*. A given quantity of steam, whether produced and expended slowly or quickly, will cost the same sum, and will perform the same work; but this is quite otherwise with horses, as has been already explained. The same quantity of actual labour executed in a short space of time requires a far greater expenditure of horse power than if it were performed at a slower rate; and hence it follows, in the comparison of the effects of steam power with that of horses, that the advantage of the former is slight, when slow rates of motion only are considered. To give the steam-engine its full advantage, if worked upon canals, it would therefore be necessary to propel the boat at a greater speed than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour,—the rate at which horses can work with the greatest effect. But here again an obstacle is interposed, depending upon the nature and structure of canals. A boat moving in a canal at a higher rate than 3 miles an hour, is found to produce such a surge and motion of the water as to injure or even destroy the embankments, unless in canals of considerable width, such as the great Caledonian Canal. Were the steam-engine, therefore, applied to propel boats, upon any of the ordinary canals, it would be

necessary to limit the speed to that rate at which the steam engine competes with horses with the least advantage. It is probable that, even under these circumstances, in most situations, steam power would be found more economical than that of horses. As the other circumstances, however, already alluded to, have hitherto excluded the use of the steam-engine upon canals, and, as far as we can now see, are likely to continue its exclusion, it is superfluous here to discuss the comparative merits of its power and that of horses. We must for the present regard the latter as the only power practically available upon canals, and this power generally limited to a speed not exceeding 3 miles an hour.

It is not necessary here to notice particularly the application of a steam-engine upon great rivers and ship canals. There, it has no rival as a moving power, and its application is not restricted by any of those difficulties which attach to ordinary canals.

There are two methods by which the steam-engine may be applied to draw or impel carriages on a road. At certain stations, placed at convenient intervals, there may be *fixed steam-engines* which act upon ropes extending along the road; and by working these ropes, may draw any wheel carriages which are attached to them. In this manner, carriages may be drawn from station to station, on a line of road upon which engines of this kind are provided. The other method consists in drawing the carriages by a travelling steam-engine, which impels itself together with its load. In the former method, large and powerful low-pressure, or condensing engines, are admissible; because, not being moved, their weight and complexity are not limited, and a sufficient supply of water may generally be provided at the several stations. The travelling steam-engines must, however, be light in their weight, small in their bulk, and simple in their structure. For this reason, as well as because the transport of a large quantity of cold water could not be conveniently effected, high-pressure engines alone are admissible for locomotive purposes; and even with these, it is necessary to resort to extraordinary expedients, to combine sufficient powers of steam for the loads that it is necessary to draw, with a sufficient heating power to produce that steam, in the quantity necessary to maintain the speed at which the engines must travel.

A travelling steam-engine is placed like an ordinary carriage, upon four wheels. The axle of one pair of these wheels is furnished with cranks, as already described; which cranks are worked by the pistons of the cylinders of the engine, so as to keep the axles in a constant state of rotation. Upon this axle

the wheels are placed so as to be incapable of turning independent of the axle, as the wheels of a carriage do; consequently, when the engine causes the axle to revolve, it necessarily causes the wheels fixed upon that axle also to revolve. The pressure of the wheels upon the road gives them a certain degree of adhesion, so that they are incapable of slipping. When the axle is turned by the engine, the carriage must therefore advance as the wheels revolve. Two strokes of the piston correspond to one revolution of the wheels; and in one revolution of the wheels, the carriage advances through a space equal to their circumference; consequently every stroke of the piston propels the carriage along the road, through a space equal to half the circumference of the working wheels. It is apparent, therefore, that the speed or rate of motion of the carriage will depend on the rate at which the boiler is capable of supplying steam to the cylinder.

There are two distinct methods of placing the loads upon the engine; one, by placing it on the same carriage with the engine itself; and the other, by causing the carriage which bears the engine to drag after it one or more other carriages containing the load. The latter method has been invariably adopted upon railroads. On common roads, some projectors prefer the one method, some the other. Whichever method be adopted, the pressure necessary to be exerted on the piston, must depend upon the resistance which the load opposes to its progressive motion upon the road; and this resistance again depends partly on the nature of the road and its inclination to the level, and partly on the weight of the load. Upon level railroads, as has been already observed, the same power is capable of impelling at least twelve times as great a load as upon a good Macadamized road.

The combination of lightness, power, and speed, which is indispensable to the efficiency of travelling steam-engines, requires that the boilers should be so contrived that a small quantity of water should be exposed to a great heating power. As the furnace must necessarily be small, the fuel must, therefore, be kept in fierce combustion; and for this purpose a powerful draft of air must be maintained through it. The difficulty of accomplishing this, long obstructed the progress of this invention; but a fortunate application of the waste steam which escaped from the cylinder, after having urged the piston, and which had been previously useless, solved this important problem. This steam was carried off by the chimney of the engine; and being introduced into it through a confined jet presented upwards, formed a violent steam-blast up the chimney.

and a draft of corresponding power was consequently produced through the furnace. This admirable contrivance forms one of the most important features in the recent improvements of locomotive engines. Its efficiency will be more fully appreciated when it is considered, that in proportion to the velocity of the engine, the discharge of steam from the cylinder will be more rapid; and thus the draft in the furnace will be most powerful at the moment when its power is most wanted.

An unlimited power of draft in the furnace being thus obtained, a fire of adequate intensity may always be supported. The next object is to expose the water to the action of this fire, under the most advantageous circumstances. A great variety of contrivances have been from time to time suggested for the attainment of this end. All, however, consist in subdividing the water by some means or other, so as to expose an extensive surface of it to the action of the fire. Some have distributed the water in small tubes, through and around which the fire plays. Others have disposed it between thin plates of metal, upon the external surface of which the fire acts, so that a number of thin sheets of water are exposed upon both sides to the action of the fire. Others again have proposed to place the water between two cylinders, nearly equal to one another, so as to have a thin cylindrical shell of water between them, the fire acting both inside and outside the cylinders. A number of such concentric cylindrical shells of water may thus be exposed to the action of the furnace; the space between the concentric cylinders forming the flues. Others propose to place the water in flat horizontal pans, disposing it in thin strata, the lower surface of which should be exposed to the action of the fire, the upper forming the evaporating surface. It would be impossible, were it even expedient, within the limits of this article, to explain the details of all these various contrivances. We shall, therefore, confine our observations to one or two of those which have either come into practical use, or which we consider to be on the point of doing so.

The locomotive engines used on the Liverpool and Manchester railroad, consist of a cylindrical boiler placed upon its side; the furnace being at one end, and the chimney at the other. This boiler has flat circular ends, and its length (seven feet) from end to end, is traversed by about 100 copper tubes, each an inch and a half in diameter. These tubes form the only communication between the furnace and the chimney; and therefore through them the draft from the furnace towards the chimney must pass. The furnace is a square chamber, of considerable size, the back of which is connected with the end of the boiler.

The sides and top, as well as part of the front, are formed of a double plating of iron, with a small intermediate space. The bottom contains the grate-bars which support the fuel. The space between the plating just mentioned, is filled with water, which communicates with the water in the boiler; and every part of this intermediate space being below the level of the water in the boiler, must necessarily be always filled.

Under these circumstances it will be apparent, that the surface of fire on the grate-bars is upon every side surrounded by a sheet of water, upon which its radiant heat acts. The blast of air which rises through the grate-bars, and passes through the burning fuel, is carried by the draft through the 100 tubes which traverse the boiler longitudinally. This highly heated air, in passing through the tubes, imparts its heat to the water in the boiler by which they are surrounded; and when it issues into the chimney, it is reduced to nearly the same temperature as the water itself. By these means, the greatest portion of the heat, whether radiated by the fire, or absorbed by the air which passes through it, is imparted to the water; the shell of water surrounding the furnace receiving the radiant heat, while the water surrounding the tubes and the boiler receives as large a portion of the heat absorbed by the air as can be communicated to it. The shell of water surrounding the furnace upon which the heat acts being below the level of the water in the boiler, and being generally heated somewhat more highly than that water, has a tendency to ascend, a current is accordingly established, running from the intermediate space surrounding the furnace to the cylindrical boiler, and a corresponding returning current must of course take place. Thus there is a constant circulation of water between the spaces surrounding the furnace and the cylindrical boiler.

A close chamber of some magnitude is constructed at the opposite end of the boiler under the chimney, and in this chamber are placed the working cylinders. In the earlier engines used on the railroad, these cylinders were placed outside the boiler, and were consequently exposed to the atmosphere. A considerable portion of heat was thus lost, the saving of which was completely accomplished by transferring the cylinders into the chamber under the chimney just mentioned. This chamber receiving in the first instance the hot air which rushes from the tubes, and the exterior surfaces of the cylinders being exposed to its action, their temperature is maintained at nearly the same point as the water in the boiler.

These engines are placed upon four wheels, the greater part of the weight, however, usually resting upon two. Thus in an en-

gine weighing eight tons, five tons rest upon the greater wheels, and three on the less. The axle of the greater wheels is cranked, and they are kept in a state of rotation by the engine. In some engines, however, the pistons work both wheels, and in this case the wheels are of equal size, and subject to equal portions of the weight.

At a time when extensive lines of railroad are in progress, involving the expenditure of many millions of capital, and probably the welfare and property of thousands, and when other lines not less extensive are in contemplation, it would be extremely desirable, were it possible, to give an estimate of the *regular* expense of maintaining and working a railway which has been already successfully established, and the advantages or disadvantages likely to arise from it as a great commercial speculation. But there are circumstances attending the Liverpool railway which render such an estimate impracticable. The proceedings of the company and their engineer, from the moment when the earth was first opened on the projected line, to the present time, cannot be justly regarded in any other light than as a series of experiments, each successful in itself, but each only the forerunner of improvements by which the previous methods and expedients were superseded. And this was naturally to have been expected, when it is considered, that no great experiment of this nature was ever before tried; for although railroads to the number of about 60 exist throughout the kingdom, the majority of which are of earlier date than the Liverpool line, yet they were worked chiefly by horses; and though in a few cases locomotive engines were used, their application was never thought of in the manner and to the extent to which the ambition and enterprise of the Liverpool projectors have aspired. Knowledge was therefore to be gained; and gained it could not be but at the price of that succession of comparative failures which ever marks the course of human experience.

It is well known, that in order to stimulate the enterprise of the country, and to ascertain the form of engine best adapted for their purposes, the Directors of the Company, early in the year 1829, proposed a prize of L.500 for the best locomotive engine, which should be produced under certain stipulated conditions. This proposal led to a public trial, at which engines of three distinct forms were produced; one by Mr Robert Stephenson, son of the engineer of the railway; another by Messrs Braithwaite and Ericson; and a third by Mr Timothy Hackworth. Two others were present, but did not undergo any part of the trial. Mr Stephenson's engine fulfilled all the conditions proposed by the Directors, and underwent the whole of the trial:

the other two also fulfilled the conditions, but failed, from divers causes, before undergoing that experimental test which was required by the judges. The prize was accordingly with justice awarded to Mr Stephenson.

There can be no doubt that this method of exciting competition produced a favourable effect at the time; and most probably the enterprise would not have commenced with the same degree of success without some such expedient. Nevertheless, it has had also some injurious consequences. It will be easily understood, that an engine may possess great capability of improvement, and yet fail upon a single trial; or it may fail even from accidental causes, unconnected with any defect either in its principle or in its details. The complete success of the engine furnished by Mr Stephenson appears at once to have fascinated the Directors; and whether intentionally or not, the fact is indisputable, that the monopoly of engines has ever since been secured to the manufacturer of this particular form of machine. Even when Mr Stephenson was unable himself to supply engines as fast as the Company required them, and other engine-makers were employed, it was under the most rigorous conditions, to construct the engines upon the same principle and in the same form, or nearly so, as that which Mr Stephenson had adopted.* Experience, the great parent of all invention and improvement, so far as the railroad afforded it, has thus been exclusively confined to one particular form of engine. Under the influence of this, a succession of improvements, as might have been expected, have been made by the ingenious inventors of the engine above described. These improvements consist partly in the relative proportion and strength of the parts, and partly in the arrangement of the cylinders and their action upon the wheels; but all have been suggested by the results of experiments, upon such a scale as was altogether unattainable, by any part of the vast stock of national talent excluded from the road by those measures of the Directors, which limited the engines employed to a single form. The whole enterprise of the country was therefore paralysed, in as far as the powers of this road were concerned; with the exception of one individual, who was fortunate enough to obtain a field of exertion, which it must be admitted he did not fail adequately to improve. It is true that upon some occasions

* Mr Bury of Liverpool has made some engines for the Company. He has been allowed to depart from Mr Stephenson's model in some trifling particulars.

the Directors have signified that they were willing to receive proposals for engines of other forms, but upon the condition that their performance should be in no degree inferior to those of the engines used on the road *at the time of making such proposals*. It is scarcely necessary to point out the impolicy and injustice of such conditions, when we consider the advantage possessed by one engineer, in having the exclusive experience of the road as his guide. It would perhaps have been not only a more liberal, but a more wise policy in the Directors, to have encouraged the inventive genius of the country, by affording it in some degree those opportunities and advantages which the possession of so grand an instrument as their railroad placed in their hands; and this might have been done in such a prudent way as would not have exposed them to the charge of unduly rendering the property of the Company subservient to the visionary speculations of unpractised persons.

At the commencement of the undertaking, the fuel consumed was at the rate of about 2 lbs. per ton per mile; and the engines were considered as suited to draw about three times their own weight. Improvements, however, have been successively introduced during the last two years, which have reduced the consumption of fuel in a very considerable degree. We are not able to speak of the actual consumption of fuel in regular work, for we are not aware of any data which exist, sufficiently accurate in all their circumstances, for such a calculation. We have, however, witnessed several experiments, in which the consumption of coke was actually observed; and these experiments made at different periods may be easily compared one with another. In the experiment made with the Rocket, constructed by Mr Stephenson at the opening of the railway, the consumption of fuel was found to amount to 1.63 lbs. of coke per ton per mile, exclusive of the weight of the engine and tender. This rate of consumption was reduced, by increasing the number of tubes in the boiler and other means, to 1 lb. per ton per mile; and more recent experiments have been made, which we have had the advantage of witnessing, and in which a further reduction was accomplished.

The load which the engines are capable of drawing in proportion to their weight, has also been found greatly to exceed that which at first was thought to be the limit of their power. An engine weighing 8 tons is now in ordinary cases loaded to the amount of about 100 tons gross; but even this is below its power of traction; as will appear by the following experiments which were made on the railroad during the present year:

‘ No. 1. Engine *Victory*, weight 8 tons, 2 cwt., of which 5 tons, 4 cwt. are on the working wheels—cylinder 11 inches—stroke 16 inches diameter—working wheels 5 feet diameter.

‘ 5th May 1832. This engine drew from Liverpool to Manchester (30 miles) in 1 hour, 34 minutes, 75 seconds, twenty loaded waggons, weighing gross, 92 tons, 19 cwt. 1 quarter; consumption of coke 929 lbs. net; was assisted up Rainhill plane $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile by the *Samson*. She spent 10 minutes in watering and oiling half way. The fire-place was filled with coke at starting, (not weighed,) and was again filled with coke on arriving at Manchester, (weighed;) the coke used in getting up the steam not included in the above estimate.

Speed on the level, . . .	18 miles an hour.
Fall of 4 feet in a mile, . . .	21.50
——— 6 in do.	25.50
Rise of 8 feet in do., . . .	17.63
Level sheltered from wind, . . .	20

‘ N.B.—Moderate wind direct a-head; slipped on Chatmoss, and retarded two or three minutes.

‘ 8th May, same engine drew 20 waggons, weight gross 90 tons, 7 cwt. 2 quarters, to Manchester in 1 hour and 41 minutes, stopped to water, &c. 11 minutes half way, not included in the above; consumption of coke 1,040 lbs. under the same conditions as first experiment.

Speed on the level, . . .	17.78 miles an hour.
Fall of 4 feet in a mile, . . .	22.
——— 6 feet do., . . .	22.25
Rise of 8 feet do., . . .	15.

‘ N.B.—High wind a-head; connecting rod worked hot, being keyed too tight; on arriving at Manchester, pistons found so loose in cylinders that steam blew through.

‘ On the 29th of May, the engine called the *Samson*, (weighing 10 tons, 2 cwts, with 14 inch cylinders, and 16 inch stroke; wheels 4 feet 6 inches diameter, both pair being worked by the engine, steam 50lbs. pressure 130 tubes,) was attached to, with 50 waggons laden with merchandise, net weight 150 tons. The engine with this load travelled from Liverpool to Manchester, 30 miles in 2 hours and 40 minutes, exclusive of delays upon the road for watering, &c., being at the rate of nearly 12 miles an hour. The speed varied according to the inclinations of the road. Upon a level it was 12 miles an hour; upon a descent of 6 feet in a mile, it was 16 miles an hour; upon a rise of 8 feet in a mile it was about 9 miles an hour. The weather was calm, the rails very wet, but the wheels did not slip, even in the slowest speed, except at starting, the rails being at that place soiled and greasy with the slime and dirt to which they are always exposed at the stations. The coke consumed in this journey, exclusive of what was used in getting up the steam, was 1762 lbs., being at the rate of a quarter of a pound per ton per mile.’

From these experiments, compared with former results, it must be apparent in how progressive a state the art is, of manufacturing and working locomotive engines; and how diffi-

cult it is in such circumstances to make any estimate which may form a fair ground of calculation in future undertakings. We may, however, assign a major limit, beyond which the expenses cannot pass; and this limit may be readily deduced from the published half yearly reports of the Liverpool company. We consider it the more necessary to refer to these reports, and to quote their results, because of the various erroneous statements which have been put into circulation by parties who imagine they have interests counter to railways.

It appears that regular traffic upon the railway commenced on the 16th of September 1830; and a report was published of the operations for $3\frac{1}{2}$ months, up to the 31st December 1830. It farther appears, that during that period the profits of the company amounted to L.14,432, 19s. 5d. Hence, taking the capital invested in this work at a million, which is very nearly its amount, the profits during the first $3\frac{1}{2}$ months were at the rate of about five per cent per annum. By subsequent reports, it appears, that for the half year ending the 30th of June 1832, the profits were above six per cent; and for the half year ending 31st December 1831, at the rate of more than eight per cent. The amount of the half year terminating on the 30th June 1832, is not yet published; but it appears from the report published in March last, that a considerable increase of trade took place in the coaching department in the 12 weeks ending the 23d March, as compared with the corresponding period in the last year, and that a like increase was observed in the traffic in merchandise.

We may therefore fairly assume that the profits upon this undertaking have not yet attained that limit at which they will probably fix themselves. The rate at which they will increase must no doubt be accelerated by the improvements which are daily in progress in the art of constructing locomotive engines;—improvements which extend to every part of their operation, as well as the consumption of fuel, the wear and tear of materials, the cost of manufacture, &c. The expenses of the company have hitherto been also increased by the circumstance of the engines being started with loads inferior to their power. This disadvantage has been lately, in a certain degree, removed, by their combining loads of passengers and goods.

The name of a high-pressure engine was long in this country a bugbear, and a sound connected with some undefined and unintelligible notion of danger. It would be very easy to show that the causes which produce the explosion of boilers are not confined in their operation to high-pressure engines; that they depend upon circumstances altogether unconnected with the

temperature or pressure at which the steam is raised; and consequently that such accidents when they do occur, which is very rarely, are as likely to happen in the one class of engines as the other. But the best and most intelligible proof which can be given of the groundlessness of this apprehension, is the fact, that for a period of nearly two years, during which travelling and traffic have continued on the railway, and numerous high-pressure engines have been constantly at work upon it, no accident has ever yet occurred from explosion or from any cause depending on the pressure of the steam. Boilers have burst, it is true; but in bursting they have been attended with no other effect than that of extinguishing the fire, and suspending the journey. A few accidents to passengers have occurred, but in every case they have been produced by the want of the most ordinary care on the part of the sufferer, and in only one instance have they been fatal, although nearly a million of passengers have travelled upon the road. If the number of accidents which have occurred be compared with those which occur upon a mail-coach road with the same number of passengers, the comparison will exhibit in a clear light the superior security for life and limb afforded by the substitution of steam-engines for horses.

We cannot dismiss the subject of the Liverpool and Manchester railway without adverting, in severe terms, to a circumstance which cannot fail to have obtruded itself upon all whom interest or curiosity may have led to enquire into the details of its management. It will scarcely be disputed that the local population of the district in which so extensive an undertaking arose, as far as they were qualified by industry and skill, had a strong claim to the benefits arising from the employment which the execution of such a work offered. Such a claim ought not to be resisted upon light grounds; and nothing but circumstances of the most imperious necessity could justify those upon whom the responsibility rested, for introducing into the country a numerous body of workmen in various capacities, strangers to the soil and to the surrounding population, and wresting from the hands of those to whom they naturally belonged, all the benefits which the enterprise and capital of the district in this case conferred. We shall not here refer to the persons who may have been employed in the actual execution and completion of the railway. We are not in possession of sufficient data to enable us to speak with certainty upon the discretion and prudence shown in their selection; but we cannot exercise the same forbearance in respect to the permanent management of the road. A body of men is maintained in constant employment in various capacities, from

the superintending engineer to the lowest gate-keeper, amounting to more than 700 individuals, the great bulk of whom have been brought from a distant part of the country,—have become objects of favour and patronage, and are reaping all the benefits derivable from the employment which this undertaking affords. They are strangers in the midst of the local population,—distinguished by their manners, their appearance, and even by their dialect. They are not the nominees of the directors. To entertain such a supposition for a moment would be impossible. The fact is, that in this case the directors, not exercising that discretion which it was incumbent upon them to use, have delegated the right of appointment to their superintending engineer, who has shown more consideration and affection for the population allied to himself by local circumstances than the directors did towards that population by whom they are surrounded, and who naturally looked up to them for favour and support. It is not the engineer that in this case should be visited with the censure so justly due to such measures, but those who so far betrayed the trust reposed in them as to forget the obligations by which the conduct of all proprietors should be governed.

But the evil effects of the system which has thus been unfortunately adopted do not terminate here. They spread their poison into almost every transaction connected with the management and details of the undertaking. In the Act of Incorporation, the company is contemplated chiefly as proprietors of a railroad, who were to receive toll from such part of the public as might become carriers upon it; and in order to insure to the public the benefit of competition on fair terms, the company were laid under certain restrictions as to tolls. The result has been that the company themselves have grasped at a monopoly of the whole carrying trade. They are not only an incorporation of railroad proprietors, but also an incorporation of carriers. In this latter capacity they have as positive and unequivocal a monopoly as that which they possess in their capacity of railroad proprietors. It is true that they assume the appearance of permitting others to compete with them; but all such competition is rendered impossible by the terms under which it must take place. The engineer of the company is necessarily the arbiter by whose judgment the directors will admit or exclude engines or waggons, not belonging to themselves, proposed to be worked upon the road. The same engineer is himself the manufacturer of engines, waggons, &c. for the company;—the said company being themselves carriers in competition with the public. They are therefore both competitors and judges, and their engineer is an extensive manufacturer in articles, of which,

when manufactured by others, he is constituted the arbiter. Whether fairness of conduct and justice of decision is, under such circumstances, consistent with the infirmities of human nature, is a question which admits of little doubt; but we think it will not be for a moment disputed that the decisions of such judges and such an arbiter will never be received with confidence or trust by the public; and in fact they *have not* been so received. The impression against the directors at Liverpool and Manchester is universal. The monopoly in the manufacture of engines, waggons, &c.—the invariable rejection of every suggestion for improvement coming from other quarters, the capricious objections which have excluded engines and waggons belonging to collateral companies from the road,—are subjects of common animadversion by all who are acquainted with the affairs of the railway, and have excited great and universal disapprobation.

Not only are the public by this system deterred from competing as carriers with the railroad proprietors, but the mechanical ingenuity of the country is excluded by the total want of confidence which projectors must feel in the fairness of the trial to which any engines which they may furnish to the company are submitted. Upon such occasions, the whole activity and energy of the establishment is called into requisition to put into *racing order* the best of Mr Stephenson's engines. All the engineers employed, all the firemen, all the gate-keepers, are the nominees of Mr Stephenson, and are his zealous and unflinching partisans. Against such a host no other resource remains to obtain common justice but to provide special engineers, firemen, &c., in the interest of the competing projector. But such persons must necessarily be unacquainted with the peculiarities and details of the road; and every means will naturally be employed to keep them ignorant of those things which it is most essential they should know. All this is perfectly conceivable—is the natural result of human imperfections—without imputing to Mr Stephenson any intentional participation whatever in such proceedings. Indeed, having imposed upon ourselves the painful duty of censuring the system now under examination, we feel it necessary to say that we fully acquit the engineer in question of having any share in such proceedings; nay, we will admit that he would condemn them as strongly as ourselves; but they are beyond his control. He cannot, if he would, change the course of nature; and while men are men, a system, such as that which has been acted upon, can be attended with no other effects than those we have noticed.

As might be expected under such circumstances, upon occasion of trials of this kind, complaints have been made, and

charges of unfair proceedings have been brought against those employed upon the road. The engine men of the company, and those under them, it is said, upon such occasions screwed down or overloaded the safety-valves of Mr Stephenson's engines, with a view to give them an unfair advantage; and have secretly inflicted injuries upon those competing with them, for the purpose of disabling them, or impairing their performance. We believe that such complaints have come before the directors, and that they have been found not always groundless. The offender, it is said, has been sometimes dismissed; but did this dismissal amount to more than a transfer to another establishment under the same masters?

We now take leave of this ungracious topic, recommending to the directors to consider whether the continuance of the system complained of be consistent with the real interests of their constituents; and whether those interests would not be better served by adopting a more liberal system of policy;—by opening a fair competition to the public;—by stimulating the mechanical genius of the country, and bringing it to bear upon one of the noblest undertakings which England or any other country in the present or any former age has beheld;—by considering whether it be not advisable not only to be free from the guilt of jobbing and favouritism, but to be free even from the appearance of it;—by considering whether it be expedient that the same individual who is the engine *maker* should be the engine *judge*; and whether the directors being themselves *carriers*, should not exercise those functions with great caution and prudence, in which their peculiar situation renders it necessary that they should act as *judges* over other carriers competing with them. The conduct of the directors may have been unimpeachable;—the conduct of the engineer may have been free from blame. We make no charge against either; but we do assert that the public generally will never believe in the purity of the one, or the blamelessness of the other, until the strong appearances which circumstances of their own creating have raised against them be removed.

The next step in the progressive improvement of the art of inland transport, is the adaptation of the steam engine to propel carriages on common roads. The practicability and advantage of the same power on railroads leads us necessarily to enquire, whether there is any and what difference in the quality of railroads and turnpike roads, which would render a power of traction so profitable on the one impracticable on the other. We have seen that the resistance to the rolling motion of a carriage on a well-constructed turnpike road may be fairly estimated, *ceteris*

paribus, at about twelve times the resistance on a railroad. It follows, therefore, that whatever be the power of traction used, it will be capable of drawing a load of proportionally less amount on the turnpike road. The surface of a turnpike road is necessarily more uneven than that of a railroad; and therefore subject to greater variation in the resistance which it offers to the power of traction. A level railroad may be considered as presenting a nearly uniform resistance; and whatever impelling power is used upon it, it need be susceptible of no change in its intensity. The want of the same evenness on the surface of a turnpike road, the different states of repair in which different parts of it must necessarily be at any given time, but, above all, the fact that the rolling of the carriages themselves is the means by which the road is for the most part formed, consolidated and rendered smooth, make it necessary that any power of traction used upon it shall be susceptible, as occasion may require, of considerably varied energy. A newly made Macadamized road, presenting a surface of loose broken stones, offers a resistance several times greater than the same road when its surface is worn smooth. Now, as parts of every road are subject occasionally to be in this state, that relation between the power of traction and the load must be observed, which is suited to the most difficult part of the road to be encountered.

We have explained that the effect of incurvations on a road will be the same whatever be its nature,—whether it be a railroad or a turnpike road,—but that the increased resistance offered by them on turnpike roads bears a much smaller *proportion* to the resistance on the level, than is the case in railroads. The increased power, therefore, required by them, is not so great *proportionally* on turnpike roads as on railways; and it may be doubted whether such increase on the regular mail-coach roads will often exceed that which is necessary to overcome the inequalities of resistance presented by the causes already explained on levels.

From the peculiar mode in which the steam engine is used in propelling carriages, it follows that no power of traction, however intense, can be available beyond the adhesion of the impelling wheels with the road; since that adhesion forms as it were the fulcrum or purchase by which the moving power is enabled to propel the carriage. Like the resistance to the rolling motion, this adhesion is subject to much greater variation on common roads than on railroads; and to ascertain its practical power, that point must be taken at which its efficiency is at its lowest limit. This power of adhesion was long supposed to be so slight on common roads, that no considerable load could be

impelled by its means. But more recent experience has proved that it is abundantly sufficient, under all ordinary circumstances, not only to propel the carriage, whose load rests upon the working wheels, but also to drag other carriages considerably loaded in its train.

An obstacle was also anticipated to the practicability of this adaptation of the steam engine, from the supposition that carriages thus constructed and propelled would occasion so rapid a wear and destruction of the roads, as to render the expenses of the repairs greater than any advantages to be derived from them could compensate. This objection, however, has also proved illusory. On the occasion of a steam-carriage being worked on the road between Gloucester and Cheltenham for some months in last year, (1831,) those interested in turnpike roads procured the legislature to pass various acts of Parliament, imposing prohibitory tolls on carriages propelled by machinery. A petition for the repeal of those acts was immediately elicited from Mr Gurney, the most enterprising and successful of the steam-carriage projectors. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to receive evidence and to report on this petition; the result of which was the Report to which we have already frequently alluded, and the consequent repeal of the prohibitory toll acts. By the evidence laid before this Committee it was satisfactorily established, not only that carriages propelled by steam were not more injurious than carriages drawn by horses, but that they were considerably less so. To adapt horse coaches to move with the speed necessary for travelling, and for dispatches, the tires of the wheels should be of very limited breadth; and latterly they are even constructed with a round surface, instead of a flat one, towards the road; the section of the tire by a plane through the axle and at right angles to the wheel, being a semi-circle or elongated semi-ellipse. In either case such a wheel must cut up the best and hardest road. The wheels of steam-carriages, on the other hand, are most efficient when constructed with a broad tire, the tires never being less than four or five inches in breadth; and, according to the plans of some projectors, extending even to six or eight inches. The tires being truly cylindrical and not dished, the wheels act upon the road in the manner of rollers, and, instead of wearing it, rather tend to consolidate and render it smooth and firm. Thus a steam-carriage, compared with a horse carriage, in as far as relates to the wheels only, is much less injurious to the road, if indeed it can be said to be injurious at all. But a stronger testimony is furnished in favour of steam-carriages by the fact established before the Committee,—that the principal part of the wear of roads pro-

ceeds, not from wheels but from horses. Indeed, a very slight consideration might have caused this fact to have been foreseen. If the nature of the action of a wheel rolling along the road be compared with the pounding and digging of the iron-shod feet of horses, the question will be readily understood.

From what has been above stated, the qualities necessary to adapt a locomotive engine to propel carriages on turnpike roads may be easily inferred. Since the resistance of a given load to a propelling power is greater in a twelve-fold proportion than on a railroad, it follows, that with the same power the load drawn must be proportionally less. But since a part of this load is the weight of the engine itself, and since this weight must bear some proportion to the entire load, it follows that engines of equivalent power, to be adapted to common roads, must be lighter than those used on railroads. But again, this consideration extends to the fuel and water as well as to the engine and boiler. Since a less quantity of water and fuel can be transported, a fresh supply must be taken in at shorter stages. The railroad engines can travel about fifteen miles without watering, and thirty without taking in fuel. The steam coaches on common roads must be supplied with water and fuel every stage of eight miles.

The furnace being necessarily smaller and less powerful than those used in locomotive engines on railroads, the steam can be generated with sufficient abundance and rapidity, only by exposing to the action of the fire a much greater quantity of surface, in proportion to the whole quantity of water, than is attempted in engines on railways; and it is in the attainment of this object that the ingenuity of steam-carriage projectors has been for the most part displayed. It may, therefore, be interesting and useful at the present time, when we are on the eve of witnessing the establishment of steam-carriages on common roads, and when the practicability of the project has been recognised, and the conditions of its tolls regulated by the legislature, to describe one or two of those machines which seem to be most ripe for practical operation.

The earliest and most enterprising projector in this adaptation of the powers of the steam-engine was Mr Goldsworthy Gurney. To his perseverance and sagacity the public are indebted for the removal of many erroneous prejudices, which long obstructed the progress of this invention, and discouraged the mechanical skill of the country from taking a direction so beneficial in its effects as this improvement in transport. By journeys, in an experimental carriage, between London and Bath, and frequent trips in various directions near the metropolis, Mr Gurney gave incontestible experimental proof of the

practicability of impelling a carriage on a turnpike road by a steam-engine, with a speed equal to that of the swiftest four-horse coach. He proved, also, that the objection was groundless, that the working wheels would slip round without propelling the carriage; and that a similar objection, that such a carriage could not be driven up considerable hills, was also unfounded. His experimental carriage, though extremely rude and ill-constructed, and subject to many defects, ascended without difficulty all the hills between London and Bath, as well as the hills on various roads round London, including Stamford Hill, and the hill which ascends from Kentish Town to Highgate, called old Highgate Hill. The last ascent rises at the rate of 1 foot in 12, from the foot to the corner of the terrace at Holly Lodge. From this point to the top, it is more steep, rising 1 foot in 9. So steep a hill as this never occurs on any of the lately constructed mail-coach roads in England.

These experiments took place about the year 1826; since which time the engine of Mr Gurney has undergone very considerable improvements; and this beautiful machine may now be considered to have attained a state of perfection which fits it for immediate use, as a means of transport for passengers and goods.

The grate-bars of the furnace in this engine are a series of parallel tubes stretching from the front to the back, and sloping slightly upwards. In the front these tubes are fastened in the side of a strong metal cylinder, which extends across the front under the door of the fire-place. The extremities of the same tubes at the back of the grate, are connected with the ends of a corresponding series of upright tubes, which in fact form the back of the furnace. The upper extremities of these last tubes are connected with the extremities of a third series, which form the roof of the furnace, sloping slightly upwards from the back towards the front. In the front, their extremities are fastened in the side of a strong metal cylinder, which extends across the front of the fire-place over the fire-door, and corresponds with the other cylinder already described. These two cylinders are connected by two large upright metal tubes, one placed at each side of the fire-door, and forming the sides of the front of the furnace. From this description, it will be easily perceived, that the tubes and cylinders which surround the furnace, afford the means of a complete circulation round it, communicating freely with each other at their several points of connexion. The cylinder, which is placed above the fire-door, communicates by large tubes with another vessel, which is removed from the furnace, and called a *separator*, for a reason which will presently be explained.

Let us now suppose the cylinders above and below the fire-door, and the systems of tubes surrounding the furnace, which communicate with them, to be filled with water, and a quantity of fuel in a state of combustion placed upon the tubes at the bottom of the furnace which form the grate bars. The heat radiated from this fire, plays on every side upon the tubes forming the back and roof of the furnace,—on the cylinders already mentioned above and below the fire-door in front,—and on the upright tubes at each side of the fire-door. Whatever quantity of heat may pass downwards is received by the water in the tubes forming the fire-bars. The spaces between the tubes forming the roof and back of the grate are stopped; with the exception of a small space at the lowest part of the back, where the spaces between the tubes are open, and lead to the flue, which carries off the draft. This flue passes immediately behind the tubes in the back, and is conducted over the tubes in the roof. The air, which, passing through the fuel, maintains it in vivid combustion, and becomes intensely heated, is thus conducted in contact with that side of the tubes forming the back and roof, which is not exposed to the action of radiant heat. As it passes, it imparts a portion of its heat to the water in these tubes, and finally issues at a reduced temperature into the chimney. Such is the contrivance by which every portion of the calorific given out by the combustion of the fuel is communicated to the water.

The water in the tubes forming the roof of the furnace, being more advantageously exposed to the action of the fire, becomes more intensely heated, and acquires a tendency to ascend. It is to give play to this tendency, that the tubes in the roof are placed in a direction sloping upwards, as already described. The position of the tubes forming the grate-bars is attended with a like effect. When the engine is in operation, therefore, the water in the boiler is kept in a state of prodigiously rapid circulation round the furnace. The water in the tubes forming the grate-bars rushes constantly from the front towards the back of the furnace; thence it ascends with rapidity through the upright tubes at the back, and passes from them with equal speed through the tubes in the roof, into the cylinder placed above the fire-door,—a corresponding descending current being continually maintained from this cylinder through the vertical tubes at each side of the fire-door. The steam bubbles which are formed in the tubes surrounding the furnace are carried with this circulating current into the cylinder above the fire-place; whence ascending by their levity, they pass into the vessel already mentioned, called the *separator*. The boiler is kept continually filled by a force-pump, which injects water into one of the cylinders which surround the fire-door.

One of the most obvious advantages of this arrangement is, that every part of the metal exposed to the action of the fire, not excepting the grate-bars themselves, is in contact with a rapid stream of water. As fast, therefore, as the metal receives heat from the fire it imparts that heat to the water; and can never itself receive that excessive temperature which would cause its destruction by burning; besides which, all the heat which would thus be expended in producing an injurious effect is here consumed in producing steam.* The form of every part of the boiler being cylindrical, is that which, mechanically considered, is most favourable to strength. Indeed, we cannot conceive the possibility that a boiler of this kind, properly constructed, and previously proved in the usual way, could, under any supposable circumstances, explode.

When the steam passes from the cylinder above the fire-door to the separator, it is charged with water suspended in it in minute subdivision,—an effect called by engineers *priming*. If the water thus mechanically combined with the steam, were allowed to pass through the engines, several injurious effects would be produced; among which may be mentioned the waste of all the heat which that water would carry with it. This is a defect which we consider to be common, in various degrees, to all the locomotive engines we have examined, except the one now under consideration. The purpose of the separator is to disengage or *separate* the water from the steam in which it is mechanically suspended; and this is accomplished merely by allowing it to descend by its gravity to the bottom of the separator. It collects there, and is thence conducted back to the boiler to be circulated anew.

The next contrivance which claims our notice in this machine is the method of blowing the fire. We have already explained the means adopted in the railway engines for accomplishing this, by throwing the waste steam from the cylinders into the chimney. This, however, is attended with a loud puffing noise, arising from the sudden blasts of steam ejected by the alternate strokes of the piston, and which is increased by the form of the chimney, and the aperture by which they escape. Such a noise would be inconvenient and objectionable, if indeed it could be

* It is said that in the engines used on the Liverpool railroad, new grate-bars have been melted in a single trip; and the projector of a steam-carriage has admitted, that cylindrical grate-bars, an inch in diameter, could not last more than a week when the carriage is in constant work.

tolerated, in a carriage worked on a road frequented also by horse-carriages. Yet to put aside the use of the waste steam in the production of draft, would be to sacrifice the greatest excellence attained in the construction of steam-engines since the discovery of separate condensation; beside which this important improvement may very justly be placed. The difficulty has, however, been overcome without the sacrifice of so great an advantage. Instead of allowing the puffs of steam ejected from the cylinders to pass directly to the flue, Mr Gurney conducts them to a chamber or receptacle, which serves a purpose analogous to that of the chamber between the upper boards of a forge bellows, converting the intermitting puffs into a steady and continuous blast. The steam compressed in the chamber just mentioned, escapes in a number of small jets presented upwards in the chimney; creating a constant and effective draft through the fire, unaccompanied by any noise.

Such are the more obvious qualities of Mr Gurney's steam-engine, of which it would not be consistent with the limits of this article to give a more detailed analysis, but which the reader will find more fully described in several published works.

We are aware of but two other locomotive engines which are in a sufficiently forward state to give early promise of being practically exhibited on the road. These are the inventions of Dr Church of Birmingham, and Mr Hancock of Stratford, Essex.

In the engine of Dr Church, a circular fire-grate is surrounded by a number of upright tubes about three or four feet in height, and bent at the top, so as to return downwards in a siphon-form. These tubes are made to serve the purpose of flues, in the same manner as those which traverse the Manchester engines. They are contained within other tubes of somewhat greater diameter, so that a small space is included between the two concentric cylindrical surfaces. This space being filled with water, the fire is surrounded by a vast number of thin cylindrical shells of water, the exterior surfaces of which are exposed to the action of radiant heat, while the interior surfaces receive heat from the air which has passed from the fuel, and is carried off into the atmosphere.

While the subdivision of the water in its exposure to the fire is effected by Dr Church by reducing it to thin cylindrical shells, the same end is attained by Mr Hancock by arranging it in thin flat plates. His boiler consists of a number of thin plates of iron, placed side by side, at the distance of about an inch asunder. The water is contained between every alternate pair of plates, whilst the fire acts between the intermediate ones. It will be

seen that in each case a small quantity of water exposes a very extensive surface to the fire. Mr Hancock's arrangement, however, is liable to many and most obvious defects. Its form being that of flat planes exposed to a bursting force at right angles to them, is that which of all others is least conducive to strength; and although from peculiar circumstances attending this boiler, the fact of its bursting may not be attended with danger, yet its liability to such an accident must be attended with great inconvenience, and cannot be regarded otherwise than a most fatal defect. Another defect, not less important is, that a large portion of the metal exposed to the action of fire contains steam and not water,—a circumstance which should never be permitted in any boiler,—but which is utterly destructive in boilers exposed to extremes of temperature and pressure. The boiler of Dr Church seems not to be obnoxious, in the same degree, to these objections; but we cannot speak respecting it with the same confidence, as the specification of his Patent has not yet been enrolled.

In both these boilers, the draft is produced by a fanner worked by the engine. The inferiority of this to the steam draft, and the great extent to which it must rob the engine of its power, are so obvious that we need not here enlarge upon them.

When it is considered that several years have now elapsed since the practicability of propelling a carriage on a common road by steam was established by incontestible experiment, it will naturally be enquired, why in a nation celebrated over the world for its mechanical skill and commercial enterprise, and abounding in capital, the project has not yet attained a more advanced stage? The facts detailed in the pamphlet of Mr Gurney, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, will furnish a solution of this question satisfactory to the reader, and little creditable to some parties, whose conduct is there brought before the public.

It appears that after several years of indefatigable exertion, during which he had to encounter and refute innumerable objections urged against the scheme,—such as the expense, the public annoyance, the removal of horses from employment, the putting of coachmen, &c., out of bread, and all the hackneyed topics by which great improvements in machinery have been ever opposed,—Mr Gurney at length succeeded in getting a steam-carriage established as a public conveyance between Gloucester and Cheltenham in February 1831. It commenced running on the 21st of that month, and continued until the 22d of June,—a period of four months—during which it performed the journey of nine miles between these places regularly four

times a-day. It carried in this time upwards of 3000 passengers, without a single accident, at a greater speed than that of horse coaches, and at half their fares. The value of the coke expended in this performance was about L.50,—giving an annual rate of L.150 for fuel. A horse coach to perform the same work, going at the rate of from eight to nine miles an hour, would have required eighteen horses constantly to be maintained.

The evidence afforded by an experiment continued for such a period was not to be resisted; and it carried conviction to the minds of those who fancied their interests would be affected by the impending change. The project was now to be opposed, not by fair objections, but by any means which unscrupulous men will resort to in a desperate emergency. Agriculturists, trustees of roads, coach proprietors, coach drivers, grooms, stable boys,—all were immediately up in arms. Not a day passed without gross mistatements being industriously and extensively circulated, with a view to deter passengers from choosing the new mode of conveyance. The continuance, however, of successful journeys giving constantly the lie to such reports, deprived them of their poison. The next measure was of a more effectually mischievous and atrocious character. On the 22d of June, a considerable space of the road about four miles from Gloucester, was found to be overlaid with heaps of loose stones to the depth of eighteen inches. The road at this place, and indeed generally, was at the time in the most excellent order. The horse carriages in crossing the stones thus laid down were compelled to unload; the steam-carriage, not being built with that degree of strength, necessary to encounter so extraordinary a strain, had its working axle-tree broken the second time it crossed the stones.

The purpose of laying down the stones was not to be mistaken; and the proprietor of the steam-carriage was strongly urged to adopt some legal mode of redress against the parties wilfully committing such an act for the purpose of obstructing him. In reply, he stated that he would decline any hostile proceeding, and that he 'felt only pity and contempt for those who could resort to such means for preventing a great national undertaking.'

He hereupon determined to strengthen the wheels of his carriage, so as to be enabled to encounter any similar obstacle which public or private malignity might throw in his way. His proceedings, however, were speedily arrested by the discovery that 'an immense number of turnpike bills had hastily passed both Houses of Parliament, imposing on carriages worked by machinery prohibitory tolls. In some cases the tolls imposed

‘ amounted to 40s. at every gate; in others to 48s.; and in some to 68s.; and as if it were a national object to prevent the possibility of such engines being used, one of these acts applied to the road between Cheltenham and Gloucester.’

‘ Hitherto,’ says Mr Gurney, ‘ we had met the objections and difficulties proposed, by physical demonstration; but here was a moral difficulty that could not be removed except upon full investigation. I therefore in August petitioned Parliament; a committee of the House of Commons was in consequence immediately appointed to enquire into the subject. The committee, like all parties unacquainted with the real merits of the question, at first, I believe, considered the subject more visionary than real: how differently their minds were affected in the progress of enquiry may be judged of, when it is stated, that they soon applied for further powers, and deemed the matter worthy of close and deliberate investigation for three months. During that time some of the first statistical, scientific, and engineering authorities gave voluntary evidence on the subject. The Report, on the 12th October, was brought up and ordered to be printed.’

In the progress of their enquiry, the Committee extended their examination to the principal objections which had been urged to the application of steam on common roads. These were, the danger of explosion, the annoyance to travellers, the fright occasioned to horses by the noise of the machinery, and the smoke and steam which escape at the chimney. The Committee state, that they are led to believe, by the result of their enquiries, that the substitution of inanimate for animal power on common roads, is one of the most important improvements in internal communication ever introduced; that its practicability has been fully established; that tolls to an amount which would utterly prohibit the introduction of steam-carriages have been imposed on some roads; that on others the trustees have adopted measures which place such carriages in an unfair position compared with ordinary coaches; and that the causes of these measures are two-fold,—1st, *A determination on the part of the Trustees to obstruct as much as possible the use of steam as a propelling power*; and 2d, *The misapprehension of its effects on roads.* The Committee consider that legislative protection should be extended to steam-carriages with the least possible delay. Their Report goes on to say:—

‘ Without increase of cost, we shall obtain a power which will insure a rapidity of internal communication far beyond the utmost speed of horses in draught.

‘ Nor are the advantages of steam power confined to the greater velocity attained, or to its greater cheapness than horse draught. In the latter, danger is increased, in as large a proportion as expense, by greater speed. In steam power, on the contrary, “ there is no danger

of being run away with, and that of being overturned is greatly diminished. It is difficult to control four such horses as can draw a heavy carriage ten miles per hour, in case they are frightened, or choose to run away; and for quick travelling they must be kept in that state of courage, that they are always inclined for running away, particularly down hills and at sharp turns of the road. In steam, however, there is little corresponding danger, being perfectly controllable, and capable of exerting its power in reverse in going down hills."

' Steam has been applied as a power in draught in two ways; in the one, both passengers and engine are placed on the same carriage; in the other, the engine carriage is merely used to draw the carriage in which the load is conveyed. In either case, the probability of danger from explosion has been rendered infinitely small, from the judicious construction of boiler which has been adopted.

' The danger arising to passengers from the breaking of the machinery need scarcely be taken into consideration. It is a mere question of delay, and can scarcely exceed in frequency the casualties which may occur with horses.

' It has been frequently urged against these carriages, that, wherever they shall be introduced, they must effectually prevent all other travelling on the road; as no horse will bear quietly the noise and smoke of the engine.

The committee believe that these statements are unfounded. Whatever noise may be complained of, arises from the present defective construction of the machinery, and will be corrected as the makers of such carriages gain greater experience. Admitting even that the present engines do work with some noise, the effect on horses has been greatly exaggerated. All the witnesses accustomed to travel in these carriages, even on the crowded roads adjacent to the metropolis, have stated, that horses are very seldom frightened in passing.'

The Committee conclude their report by the following summary of propositions, of the truth of which they state that they have received ample evidence:—

1. ' That carriages can be propelled by steam on common roads at an average rate of ten miles per hour.
2. ' That at this rate they have conveyed upwards of fourteen passengers.
3. ' That their weight, including engine, fuel, water, and attendants, may be under three tons.
4. ' That they can ascend and descend hills of considerable inclination with facility and safety.
5. ' That they are perfectly safe for passengers.
6. ' That they are not (or need not be,) if properly constructed, nuisances to the public.
7. ' That they will become a speedier and cheaper mode of conveyance than carriages drawn by horses.
8. ' That, as they admit of greater breadth of tire than other carriages, and as the roads are not acted on so injuriously as by

the feet of horses in common draught, such carriages will cause less wear of roads than coaches drawn by horses.

The proceedings which rendered necessary the investigation instituted by the Parliamentary Committee, and which justified that Committee in reporting 'that they had ascertained that a determination existed to obstruct as much as possible the progress of an invention,' which they declared to be 'one of the most important improvements in internal communication ever introduced,' will doubtless excite unqualified indignation. That the half-civilized population of Ireland, after ages of misgovernment and oppression, should view with distrust the factories of English settlers, and shrink from a participation in benefits, the nature and extent of which they cannot appreciate, excites no surprise: if they obstruct or occasionally destroy these means of their own civilisation, their defence is found in the irresponsibility inferred by exclusion from instruction. That improvements in machinery, by which labour is superseded, sometimes excite to violence the lower classes of hand-artisans, is a matter of just condemnation; but in this case also, guilt has its palliation in the difficulty which uneducated persons find in perceiving that the displacement of labour by machinery is only apparent, or at least temporary, and that the final and never-failing result is an increased demand for hands. The momentary distress which every great change in employment necessarily occasions in a manufacturing community is also a palliation which should not be overlooked; and it can scarcely be expected that present inconvenience will always be patiently borne by the labouring classes in the prospect of future, and as they may think, uncertain good. But we can find no such defence or palliation for the concoctors of prohibitory Toll Bills, and for the almost felonious conspirators against the public, who rendered impassable the King's highway, with a view to obstruct and defeat the efforts of those who endeavoured to extend the means by which science ministers to the uses and enjoyments of society. The same Parliament which, misled by false statements, was entrapped into the enactment of unjust laws, soon discovered its error, and exposed the deception practised upon it, not only by retracing its steps, and repealing the laws previously enacted, but by substituting for them measures of a directly opposite tendency,—extending legislative protection to the improvement which it was the object of the former enactments to crush. We may hope that the offenders will feel the rebuke implied in this proceeding; and that they will in future be deterred from resorting to modes of annoyance and obstruction, which,

though they may elude the grasp of the law, cannot escape the blight of public opinion, in a country where freedom of discussion and the liberty of the press are recognised and established.

ART. VI.—*Arlington. A Novel. By the Author of Granby. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1832.*

‘ I REMEMBER,’ says Schlegel, in his History of Literature, ‘ it was the observation of a great philosopher, that the moment the world should see a perfect police, the moment there should be no contraband trade, and the traveller’s pass should contain an exact portrait of its bearer, that moment it would become impossible to write a good romance; for that then nothing could occur in real life which might, with any moderate degree of ornament, be formed into the ground-work of such a fiction.’ We are aware that murder has its advantages, and are by no means disposed to undervalue the capabilities of a highway robbery. Presenting a pistol, as of old time, we admit is rather a stronger stimulus to the nerves of the reader than our modern plan of presenting a forged cheque; and an imprisonment and escape from some baronial castle vastly more picturesque than a residence within the Rules, followed by a liberation under the Insolvent Act. Still, if the anonymous critic alluded to had lived to the present day, he would have seen cause, we think, to modify his views as to the extinction of the materials of fiction. True enough, the world with us seems verging towards that state which he contemplated. Bagshot and Hounslow are losing their traditional terrors; the mail coach (except in Ireland) will run for a lifetime without being fired at; the old waggon, so fertile in grotesque combinations of character, so fruitful a spring of adventure on highways and in hostelries, no longer drags its lazy length along with its human cargo;—no worthy successor of Richard Turpin arises to ‘ murder sleep;’ and the place and dignity of Jonathan Wild are in abeyance. All these things notwithstanding, the stream of fiction keeps its course as steadily as ever; the number of writers as well as readers is rather on the increase; and their productions, though awakening a different sort of interest, and producing their effect by different means, appear to take as firm and engrossing a hold of the mind, as if we were agitated in every chapter by the ancient expedients.

The truth is,—and it must be a very consoling reflection to

those who think the world of fiction is coming to an end,—that all these matters are arranged upon a principle of compensation, by which, as one source of interest is dried up, another emerges;—or one previously existing, but overlooked as insignificant, is found on inspection to be a deep, clear, and perennial well. The same influence of Time, which changes the character of events, changes our minds with them,—awakens new sympathies, deadens old feelings, and gives a new direction entirely to our curiosity and our interest. The splendid illusions of chivalry, were replaced by the excitement of superstitious terror, and the powerful impulses of religion. These gave way to strong contrasts of characters, ranks, and classes,—the startling interchange of burlesque and tragical adventure, which characterised a ruder state of society in times comparatively modern; while this state of things, again, graduated silently into incidents of a more familiar, domestic, and delicate nature,—characters discriminated by minuter features, and pictures of more subdued emotion. Speculations on manners and morals, and practical views of society, now take the place of much that was formerly occupied by bustling adventure; the dialogue of the piece, as it were, is lengthened, the stage directions shortened;—the melodramatic thunder and lightning on the one hand, the jokes and *escapades* of the fools and clowns on the other, retrenched; and the spectator, though he neither thrills with terror, nor shakes with inextinguishable laughter, as of yore, looks on with the calm but deep interest of one who feels that the case of the actors in the drama may come to be his own; and that, from the spectacle of their joys and sorrows, errors and perplexities, he may retire a wiser and a better man.

No doubt the capabilities of our present state of society for awakening a fictitious interest, are less obvious to a careless eye than the more salient and strongly marked features of earlier times; yet there never can be any want of harmony between the world without and the world within,—the things which interest us in reality, and those which excite or affect us in fictitious narrative,—provided only the right chord has been struck in each, by one who has music in himself, and who knows the true range and compass of his instruments. It is easy to declaim against the trifling nature of the incidents, the pettiness of the machinery, on which, in our modern novels, the fortunes of the actors are made to depend—the frivolity of the objects they have in view—the passionless equality of the surface they present. But if, in truth, in our days such are the pivots upon which joy and sorrow turn—if trifles now perform the work of more important things—if a word has come in place of a blow, and some petty

usage of society, neglected or observed, can constitute a source of happiness, or its opposite—if the conventional rules of manners, the false delicacies of society, now fetter us (as Gulliver was even by the tiny threads of the Lilliputians) with all the force of moral obligations, and give a sobered tone to the expression both of our virtues and our vices—has the picture of such an aspect of society no deeper meaning and significance than a gaudy pageant of balls, operas, and private theatricals? If all of us feel that half the happiness or suffering of our lives does in real life depend upon these trifling and almost invisible necessities of society, by which we are girt about on every side—if we recollect how often loves and friendships have been made or marred by a look or a word given or withheld, as these imperious necessities dictated—and how often warm feeling exists beneath the cold and hardened surface with which it is incrustated, yet dares not show itself except by rule and method, we shall find ample matter for interest in the representation of this state of things—provided only the conflicting influence of natural affections with artificial feelings,—the higher aspirations of the mind under the influence of nature and solitude, with its paltry aims amidst the crowded atmosphere of fashion,—be with just interchange of light and shade placed before our eyes. In a ruder period of society, the course of existence, impelled by individual will, rolled on with too forcible a current to be easily turned aside; only some iron barrier or adamant rock could force it from its channel;—now that it has subsided into a more level plain, a stone may change its direction,—a branch projected into the stream shall make it revolve in eddies; but to him who is placed upon its banks, and knows that upon the direction which it receives from such trifles it depends whether the stream shall sweep quietly past him, or overwhelm him in its waters, every pebble or rush that is dropt into it acquires importance and interest.

The power of presenting a true as well as a lively picture of modern life,—one which shall represent its inner recesses as well as its outward show, and render intelligible and distinct the respective influences of the natural and the artificial, of feeling and selfishness, of the peculiar associations of a class, and the common sympathies that bind all men,—is one which supposes abilities of a different, but not inferior order, to those which are required for the production of more ambitious and spirit-stirring works of fiction. Depending for its effect rather on continuity, judicious selection, and harmonious adjustment of parts, than on insulated scenes, it demands an incessant exercise of tact; a more delicate perception of minute shades of character

and manners; and a clear impartiality and tolerance of mind. The peculiar species of talent required for this task seems to us to be possessed in an eminent degree by Mr Lister, the author of 'Arlington.' His mind appears to be observant, acute, and just, rather than inventive, and his sensibilities are more true and gentle than engrossing and profound. What he has seen and mingled with, he paints accurately and well—with judgment and with force—frequently with extreme delicacy of perception and fineness of colouring; but to that power of genius which guides the poet through regions unknown to him by mere observation,—through those heights and depths, and untrodden wildernesses of the soul, into which the world of our acquaintance, affords no glimpses—his pretensions are more questionable. He requires the clue of reality to lead him on, and when that snaps, we feel somewhat doubtful of his course. In the only portion of the present novel, for instance, in which he has delineated a character which may, in some sort, be called a poetical one, inasmuch as its elements are blended by the imagination, rather than existing in nature—we mean the conception of a man of active benevolence, who has been the accidental cause of another's death, so paralyzed by the fear of confessing the truth, as to allow an innocent man to be tried for the supposed crime, and, after a life of misery, dying the victim of a morbid sensibility to the idea of disgrace,—we cannot persuade ourselves that he has been very successful. On the other hand, nothing can exceed the truth and keeping of his sketches, or rather cabinet pictures, from real life. He is a close observer, and in a right spirit; he neither writes a satire nor a eulogy; but shows us men and women as they are;—too often selfish and frivolous no doubt; yet often preserving in the heart, as in a citadel, principles of honour and strong feeling, which ever and anon break forth to humanize and vivify the waste about them. The good and evil of life are balanced with a steady and impartial hand; and lessons of manners, virtue, wisdom, cheerfulness, and toleration, are everywhere insinuated in action, or illustrated in the shape of animated and natural dialogue.

'Arlington' is the picture of a young nobleman, with fair talents and good principles, with a strong tinge of vanity, and no very decided energy of character—just such a being as would be strongly influenced for good or evil by the habits he contracts, or the society among which he is thrown. If we were asked to say in a word what the plot of his story chiefly turned on, we should be disposed to answer, false delicacy. Entering into life with all the brilliant prospects and strong temptations which surround a nobleman, young, rich, and the fashion, he has

formed an attachment likely to afford him a principle of support,—a place of anchorage for the better and deeper feelings of the heart,—in the midst of the hollow gaieties and shifting and interested friendships by which he is beset. But false delicacy leads the mother of the lady to discourage his addresses, lest the world should say she was mercenary; false delicacy leads the daughter to feign a coldness she does not feel, lest the world should say she was a partner in her mother's plans; and false delicacy leads the lover to affect indifference when his heart is glowing with attachment, lest the world should laugh at the forsaken swain. 'What will Mrs Grundy say?' was Dame Ashfield's source of anxiety. 'What will the world' (meaning thereby a certain section of London west of Temple-Bar) 'say?' is the consideration on which the main incidents in 'Arlington' are made to depend. A moment's courage to think for one's self,—a word of candid and honest explanation, would have removed all difficulties; but the word is not spoken; the lovers part with assumed coldness; and Arlington becomes, for a time, a mere tool in the hands of a scheming lady of fashion, and a good-natured friend or two, who do their best to ruin him among them; and narrowly escapes a union with a heartless and unprincipled coquette, who is attached to nothing but his rental and his coronet. Having escaped this consummation, he retires, sick of himself and of the world about him, into solitude,—not, however, to write meditations upon the subject,—but to embark on a course of noiseless though extensive usefulness within the narrow sphere to which he confines himself. From this recluse condition he is again led back into society, with views purified and tempered by experience, and the counsels and views of a judicious friend; chance brings together again those whom trifles had parted; the word in season is at last spoken; the clouds clear up; and Arlington resumes his place in the world, to taste its pleasures and advantages, secured by the possession of domestic happiness against yielding a second time to its vices and its follies.

But what idea of the merit or demerit of the book, it may be asked, can be obtained from such an outline as this? Little or none, we admit; nor, in the case of any good novel, more particularly a novel of manners rather than incident, can any analysis of the story do the least justice to the author;—least of all could a more minute sketch of the plot afford any notion of the peculiar merits of 'Arlington;' for the charm of the book lies in its details;—in the happy adjustment, easy movement, and graceful finish of the incidents; the point and natural flow of the dialogues, in which in general the ease of conversation is happily

preserved, while its redundancies are excluded; in the many true and striking remarks with which it abounds; and not a little also in an agreeable style, enlivened by a pleasing vein of metaphor and illustration.

We must endeavour to select a passage or two, in different styles; premising, that in regard to the scenes of feeling, these are so naturally introduced by what precedes them, that in the insulated shape of extracts they must appear to great disadvantage.

Arlington, in consequence of the death of his father while he had been a mere boy, takes his seat at once in the Upper House. The following observations on the comparative advantages of the two Houses as schools of statemanship, though not entirely new, have seldom been better expressed.

‘It was, perhaps, an unfavourable circumstance to Lord Arlington, that he should have commenced his political career in the House of Lords. The House of Commons is a better school. There is in its business-like activity, in the greater multiplicity of questions brought before it, and the consequently more frequent opportunities of distinction, in the brisker collision of opinions, their more remarkable diversities, and the less reserved and fuller measure of approbation, ridicule, or censure accorded to their expression, more that can excite the faculties, and interest the feelings of a young man.

‘There is, on the other hand, something chilling and discouraging in the grave decorum and deliberative placidity of the Upper House, and in the civil indifference and comparative parsimony, both of disapprobation and applause, with which all sentiments are there received. Coldness in the auditors re-acts upon the orator. They must re-echo his sentiments, or resist them with vivacity, or he will falter through need of the required stimulus. To one who would produce a sound, it matters much whether he beats a cushion or a drum. Perhaps, however, in the House of Lords, there exists less evidence of one defect which is discernible in the House of Commons, and is probably inseparable from popular assemblies, the disposition to prefer the “argumentum ad hominem,” to better forms of argument.

‘For eloquence, intelligence, and general enlightenment, perhaps there neither is, nor ever has been, an assembly comparable to the British House of Commons; but whoever will examine its debates, will find them marked by characteristics which the nature of the assembly would not prepare him to expect. He will discover too often a narrowness of view, a disregard of general principles, a proneness to temporize, a suspicious abhorrence of an abstract proposition, a logic which is really shallow when it is meant to be most practical, and shuts out the diffusive light of principle, by the interposition of partially exhibited facts; and most of all, will he discover a low *ad captandum* method of grounding the most prominent arguments upon temporary expedients, and the prejudice and clamour of the day.

‘Undoubtedly, a disposition to recur perpetually to first principles, marks rather the youth than the matured vigour of legislative wisdom.

Undoubtedly, we in England are rich in the fruits of political experience. The axioms of the constitutional philosopher have with us long been moulded into practice, and we can take much for granted which other nations would labour to prove. Their goal is our starting-place. We have passed the period of abstract reasoning, and its utility is seldom perceived. Nevertheless, it must not be disregarded, for it is often necessary; and it is to be feared that with us disuse may in some degree have produced not merely a disinclination, but almost an inability to employ it effectively. Theorist is made a term of measureless reproach; and a deep and subtle reasoner, if he presumes to deal in general terms, is scouted as specious and unsound. Those who cannot easily unravel the web of argument, cut the cord and cast it from them. The arithmetician with his figures is admitted to be useful, while the algebraist with his general expression, would be scorned by reasoners of this class, because he was a theorist and not practical.

‘Look at a debate on any great question, see how very little attention is given to a discussion of its principles, and when given, to how little purpose. What an absence of comprehensiveness in the view of it! what an eager nibbling at its outworks! what a frequent departure from the real merits of the question! and what a waste of ingenuity on irrelevant attacks! A man who has grappled, however eloquently, with the real substantial merits of a question, who has viewed it comprehensively, and probed it deeply, will be said to have uttered a good essay, or a clever treatise, but not an effective parliamentary speech. No—the palm of sincere applause will be given to the dexterous skirmishing debater, who knows how to avoid the depths of his subject, and sports amusingly in the glittering shallows; who makes no hard demands upon the reasoning faculties of his auditors, but appeals to their memories rather than to their judgment; who undermines a motion which he cannot condemn, by an ingenious charge of inconsistency in the mover. He who reminds the House, that on such an occasion, such an honourable Member did use certain expressions, (which he will take the liberty of reading from the *Mirror of Parliament*,) which are not in accordance with the present sentiments of that honourable Member—he who is rich in the ready use of specious quotations of seeming appositeness, and can furnish for the discomfiture of an adversary the suppressed remainder of a mutilated passage, this is the orator who commands applause; who, though he leaves untouched the question before him, is said to have spoken effectively, and to the purpose, and to have attained that highest praise which Parliament accords, that of being a good debater.’

After the coldness and estrangement which had followed *Arlington's* reception from the family of the young lady to whom he was attached, and his doubts whether any reciprocity of feeling on her part existed, he has been drawn into the toils of an artful leader of fashion, *Lady Crawford*, who has designs upon him for her niece *Miss Saville*. The group assembled at her house in the country, with the view of showing off the attractions of *Miss Saville*, by means of private theatricals, is delineated with

great variety and knowledge of effect; and particularly the two friends of Arlington—Denbigh and Beauchamp, who combined with Lady Crawford, each for his own separate purpose, to urge him into the toils, are discriminated with much skill and force. The following is a specimen of a morning conversation in which, however, the topic is of no more exalted a nature than this,—how far the principle of exclusion ought to be carried in society.

“ Lord Arlington, you are quite for exclusion, are you not?” pursued Lady Crawford, appealing to him again.

“ I am afraid, Lady Crawford, you will think me prejudiced; but I have seen many kinds of exclusive society, and I am not very much the admirer of any. I happened to be in ——shire lately. There they are exceedingly exclusive.”

“ Oh, that is too good!—you are joking!”

“ No, I assure you, they are very exclusive. They exclude almost every person, and certainly every topic that does not belong to that county. Everybody talks, thinks, and looks ——shire. All are provokingly intimate with each other, and as provokingly unacquainted with everybody else. You are made to feel, as long as you are among them, that to know the world in general passes for nothing; but you must know every man, woman, and child, house, road, horse, and dog in ——shire, if you would be thought to know any thing, and wish to understand what they are talking about. All their jokes are local. You hear a mightily flat story, about some person or other, that every one round you is ready to die of—and you stare about you and try, by way of sociability, to get up a laugh, and then you are told with a compassionate air, ‘ Ah, if you did but know the person! The story is nothing without having seen him.’ And then what an inferior being you seem! the man who never saw Smith of Smithy Hall! These are country exclusives.”

“ Ha! ha! I can fancy all that being *so* true!” said Lady Crawford, laughing rather *à contre-cœur*; “ but these are not the sort of people I meant. These are not people of the world.”

“ Ah! well,” said Arlington, “ I have seen people of a very different kind, people of family and rank, and ‘ of the world,’ who, in their way, were very snugly and amiably exclusive—the Caldecots, for instance. I was once on a visit to them at their country place—that warren overrun with cousinship—the head-quarters of a family *clique*. It ought to have been charming to see a large party so united—impossible to disapprove—but equally impossible to like it. They were very merry together—but what intolerable wits to a stranger! They had among them a large common stock of traditional jokes, known only to themselves, and the least possible allusion to any of these set a whole row tittering in an instant. One felt that the world was divided by them into two classes—those who were related to them, and those who were not—and that they a little despised you for being of the latter. Then they had family names for things and persons, which they stared at you, if you did not know. It was really a shibboleth difficult to be learnt. Everybody was alluded to by the nickname. Bob meant James the Honourable and very Reverend the Dean; and Sir George

was called Jimcrack. It was vastly funny, and I think you will allow it was very exclusive."

"Oh! I can quite conceive the tiresomeness of such a set," said Lady Crawford. "But it is too bad in you, Lord Arlington, to call those people exclusives."

"Never mind me, Lady Crawford. I dare say I abuse the term; but I call all society exclusive that is intended solely for the amusement of an initiated few. It matters not who these few may be, whether country neighbours, or a clan of cousins, or agriculturists with their talk on short-horned cattle and mangel-wurzel, or yachters, or turf-men, or those sporting pedants, who morning and evening live in scarlet, and obtrude upon the drawing-room their reminiscences of the field. All these, and others too, I call in their several ways exclusives; and I think that this exclusiveness injures society rather than improves it. It is a selfish system, and a narrow-minded one; and it has one crime which many will think worse than all,—it tends to make society dull."

"For shame!" said Lady Crawford, laughing. "You are a heretic—a malignant. Is he not, Denbigh?"

"He is," said Sir Gerald; "but I recommend him to mercy, in consideration of his youth; and in the meanwhile, Arlington, I will try to convert you. You have talked a great deal of sense on one side, now just hear a little of—whatever you like to call it—on the other. What is the object of society? Not business, public or private; not profit; not improvement. People don't go into society wishing to be taught; they had rather out of their pittance, small as it may be, enlighten others. The object of society is strictly and principally amusement. The question then is a very simple one; how may amusement be most successfully obtained? Now, I am ready to grant that similarity of opinions in those who associate is not absolutely essential. I think, on the contrary, and particularly at this moment, that a slight difference and an occasional skirmish, are very enlivening; but similarity of pursuit is essential, and still more, similarity of associations and habits. Do we really relish the companionship of those who don't agree with us in those respects? Not after the first half-hour, when the novelty is gone, and curiosity satisfied. Your traveller, or any other lion that can roar about things that few people know, serves very well to be heard and catechized now and then; but who, on that account, wants to live with him? You might as well wish to lodge in a show booth. 'The schoolmaster,' who they tell you, 'is abroad,' has, of course, a great deal of information, and I dare say, if you happen to meet him, can talk with you on general topics as well as the best friend you have in the world. But general topics are fit only for strangers. They are a poor staple for intimates, who always find many particular subjects which it is much more amusing to talk of. Besides, it is not the knowing the same things, or being able to talk about the same subjects, that makes persons agreeable to each other; it is their feeling the same; it is the consciousness of a certain degree of sympathy; it is the certainty that, if not agreed with, they will at least be understood as they wish to be understood; that whatever they point out or allude to, will be viewed

in the same light, and from the same *terrain* from which they view it themselves. Now, how are these requisites to be secured, unless your society is composed of persons whose habits and associations are similar to your own, unless your principle is the exclusion of those who are in these respects dissimilar, unless, in short, your society is exclusive?"

Let us now turn to a specimen in a different style. While Arlington, under the influence of Miss Saville's fascinations, and the artifices of her aunt, has been wasting his time at Lady Crawford's, a scene of a different nature has been going on at the country seat of Lord Rochdale. Lady Alice, his daughter, the victim of her mother's false delicacy, has been pining in secret, her cheeks have become pale, her look more earnest and melancholy. At last the attention of her mother is roused; and, taking the opportunity of their being alone, she ventures to ask whether the recollection of Lord Arlington is in any degree the cause of her unhappiness.

'This question was a grievous trial to Alice, and sorely was she tempted to dissemble; but the principle of truth prevailed, and she answered, though with difficulty,

"Lord Arlington is the cause of my unhappiness; and I have not, and I fear, cannot forget him."

"I had hoped, my dear child," said Lady Rochdale, with tears in her eyes, which she strove to conceal, "that absence and silence would have had some effect in removing these unfortunate impressions which now cause you so much pain. Since last autumn I have never mentioned the name of Lord Arlington; it has, I know, been occasionally mentioned in your hearing by others; and reports have reached you which, I had hoped, would have tended to eradicate, still more than ever, those feelings of regard which you once entertained for him. He has become notoriously the follower of Lady Crawford, and the suitor of her niece."

"So Lady Crawford is probably very willing to report," replied Alice; "and he may naturally be attracted by fashion and the beauty of Miss Saville; but I own I do not feel compelled to give implicit faith to the rumour."

"You will not believe it, Alice, because you do not wish to believe it. I fear you have no better reason. Why should society talk so loudly of Lord Arlington being always with the Crawfords? Why should they talk of his admiration of Miss Saville, and confidently assign her to him as his destined wife, if the report was not at least supported by probability?"

"I do not doubt," said Alice, "that there is much appearance of probability; but I cannot believe that there is more."

Lady Rochdale looked at her very earnestly.

"Have you any real reason," said she, "for withholding your belief?"

Alice hesitated, and looked down. "It is my impression," said she.

“ Then, dear Alice,” pursued her mother after a pause, “ do you believe that Lord Arlington is still attached to you ? ”

“ Alice coloured deeply, and was silent.

“ Confess it, my dearest child,” continued Lady Rochdale, “ confess it, if such is your belief. There can be no harm in confessing it to me.”

“ Alice hesitated, coloured, rested her head upon her mother's shoulder, and whispered forth,

“ I do confess it.”

“ There was a short interval before either spoke ; for Alice seemed alarmed and overcome by her confession, and Lady Rochdale tried, by caresses, to reassure her.

“ You must think me very foolish,” were Alice's first words.

“ *That*, my love,” said her mother, “ will depend upon circumstances, of which you must inform me. I shall think you foolish, nay, more, do not think me harsh if I say I shall think you blameable, if you allow yourself to cherish an ungrounded belief of the continuance of Lord Arlington's attachment ; and I shall even feel it my duty, Alice, if you are not fully justified in such a belief, to do all in my power to eradicate a notion which would be little creditable to your good sense and strength of mind, and eventually destructive to your happiness.”

“ Alice seemed moved by the appeal.

“ My dear mother,” said she, “ it is a painful effort ; but I will tell you all. You may think it little worth telling, and I may seem weak and foolish for remembering and repeating it ; but you shall know every thing, and then judge of me as you please : I know you will not judge unkindly. You perhaps remember the day before Lord Arlington quitted Berwicksthorpe.” Lady Rochdale looked assent. “ He was very cold and distant,” pursued Alice, “ and I am sure there was nothing in his manner to have allowed any one to think he cared for me. That evening I saw Lord Arlington, by a reflection in an opposite mirror, take a drawing out of my portfolio, which was lying in a recess, hide it in his bosom, and carry it away. At first I was inclined to disbelieve my senses, and fancy that I might have been deceived ; but when he was gone, I searched in the portfolio, and one drawing was missing. I thought it remarkable that the missing drawing should have been one which I valued only for its associations. It was a little pen and ink sketch, which I did one morning in London when Lord Arlington had been talking to me, and talking more—what shall I say ?—as if he meant to make a declaration of attachment—than he had ever done before. All at once, however, I remember he checked himself, and took the sketch and looked at it, and said with a smile, ‘ If drawings had tongues, how many fine things this scrap of paper might repeat ! ’ I valued the little sketch, because it was to me a sort of record ; and I had seen it in my portfolio the very day before I missed it. Lord Arlington certainly took it, and he could have taken it only because he valued it as I did, as associated in his mind with a conversation which he did not wish to forget. Now, my dear mother, I have told you all. Blame me or laugh at me ; but be merciful.”

“ I neither blame you nor laugh at you, my love,” said her mother.

“ I think the circumstance you mention was a proof of his attachment then ; but we want a proof of the continuance of that attachment.”

“ He has never restored the drawing,” replied Alice, her cheeks burning, and her eyes sparkling as she spoke. Lady Rochdale considered long before she returned an answer.

“ I cannot blame you, Alice,” said she, “ for attaching some weight to such a circumstance ; but beware, my dear child, lest you rely on it too implicitly. If the drawing has been destroyed, where is the foundation for those flattering hopes you strive to cherish ?”

“ Destroyed, mother !” exclaimed Alice.

“ Yes, is it not possible ?”

“ No—no—it is not possible, and all that I know of human feelings tells me so ; when a man carries away and treasures up a relic to remind him of a woman he loves, there is nothing but resentment that can induce him to destroy it. And what cause for resentment have I given to Lord Arlington ? Oh ! none—none—either by word, or deed, or thought—I utterly deny the possibility. No, he could not have destroyed that drawing. You may think it a delusion, mother, but it is one that will abide with me till my death ; and which,” she added, in a lower tone, and with great earnestness and solemnity, “ I almost think I should die if I could not retain it.”

It would be unfair to the author and to our readers, not to give the beautiful pendant to this scene, which is presented when the misunderstandings on both sides are cleared up. It appears to us to be written with singular tenderness and delicacy. Arlington and Lady Alice have again been thrown into each other's society at the seat of a friend.

‘ One morning he found an opportunity, which he could not help thinking the Rochdales and Evelyns had intentionally afforded him, of speaking alone to Lady Alice. She was engaged in drawing, and he approached and sat by her. His colour was raised, and he had the air of one who has something interesting and embarrassing to communicate.

“ Your drawing,” said he, “ reminds me of a confession I have to make to you. I am come to confess a theft. I am guilty of having once stolen a sketch of yours. I took it with me from Berwicksthorpe. Were you aware of this ? Yes. I see I am only telling you what you knew before ;” for he observed, that in the countenance of Alice, though there was the blush of confusion, there was no evidence of surprise.

“ I did know it,” replied Alice. “ I saw you take the sketch ; and though I was doubtful at the first moment, I very soon ascertained that it was as I believed.”

“ You ascertained it before you left Berwicksthorpe ?” enquired Arlington with eagerness.

“ Yes, that same evening.”

‘ Arlington seemed for an instant to relapse into deep thoughtfulness, but, if his countenance might be trusted, of the most genuine satisfaction. Alice's heart beat quick. It seemed as though the crisis of her fate were at hand, and that the few simple words which had

passed between them must infallibly lead to explanations still more interesting.

“ I have confessed my theft,” said Arlington, “ and now will you forgive me for it ?”

‘ Alice blushingly promised her forgiveness.

‘ “ And may I keep the drawing ?”

‘ “ Certainly,” was her answer, “ if you have it still.”

‘ “ I have it still,” replied Arlington in an expressive tone, and with a more expressive look.

‘ Their eyes met for an instant, and in that instant all seemed told ; while he added in a subdued tone of deep feeling,

‘ “ I am sure you do me the justice to believe, that I shall never part with it.”

‘ Each evidently understood the other ; and it appeared as though an indirect declaration of attachment was already made ; and Alice now momentarily expected to hear it clothed in plainer language. But Arlington for a while was silent. He seemed to check himself—suppress what he was about to utter—and ponder deeply for a few seconds. When he spoke next, it was in an altered tone, and one which at the first instant struck a chill to the heart of Alice ; for it was no longer a tone of tenderness and feeling ; and the thought flashed across her mind, that she had hastily deceived herself, that no declaration was to follow, and that, in what he had said before, he had but sported with her affections.

‘ “ I hope,” said he, “ you will excuse me if I trouble you with a long story about myself. I will not say beforehand why I tell it to you ; but, though it may seem to require an apology, I hope you will hear it without being furnished with previous explanation. You probably knew Miss Saville ?”

‘ Alice started at the name, and sat in breathless agitation, while Arlington related to her the history of his infatuated admiration of that lady, and the interesting fact known only to so few persons, the engagement of marriage which once existed between them. When all was told,

‘ “ And now,” pursued Arlington, changing his tone once more to its former impressive softness, “ I have revealed to you what is known, I trust, to no other living being but the Crawfords, the Beauchamps, and my friend Hargrave. Believe me, it is no light trivial reason, which induces me, after years of absence, and so soon after the renewal of our acquaintance, to open my heart to you in this manner—to speak confidentially on such a subject. But nothing at this moment seems to me of more consequence than—I will not say to justify myself in your eyes—but, to lay open all my conduct, and to show myself to you as I am. I will carry no false colours, if I can help it—I would not win, by means of them, the best treasure the world can give ; and,” he added, lowering his voice almost to a whisper, “ whatever happiness may be in store for me, I will not owe it to an erroneous—a too favourable impression of more undeviating constancy than I can honestly assume. I fear I may have been lowered greatly in your good opinion, by having yielded to a temporary infatuation. I do not know to what extent your sentiments may be changed, by

what I have just ventured to tell you. If they are changed to my disadvantage, do not keep me in suspense. Let me know it from you—and let me labour to recover some part of what I have lost.”

“They are not changed,” said Alice, in a soft and touching tone. “It is an assurance,” said Arlington, “which makes me more happy than I can express to you: and mine are not changed. No! misrepresentation, reserve, absence, infatuation, may have seemed to change my feelings; but at heart I have never been inconstant. I have tried to be so, and I could not. I have endeavoured to forget you; but your image has been with me through all our long separation, and time has only strengthened my attachment. Am I too bold, Alice, in opening to you all my heart? and are you angry with me?”

“Never could a “No” have sounded more musical—more delightful, than that which Alice uttered in reply to this fervent address from her now acknowledged lover. In a few brief moments all was said, and they had interchanged those vows, on which must hang the happiness of their after life. They had much to explain, for misconception had long and painfully enthralled them. Many were the imprisoned secrets of those two attached hearts, which now saw the light: and for the first time, they really understood each other, and knew (a knowledge happier than words can paint) how truly each had been beloved.’

It is some half dozen years, we believe, since we noticed with deserved commendation, Mr Lister's first publication as a novelist—‘Granby.’ Most readers, we think, will be disposed to consider ‘Arlington’ as inferior to it, and also to its immediate successor, ‘Herbert Lacy,’ in regard to story. Such, we confess, is our own opinion; but, in point of strongly drawn and well contrasted characters, as well as greater power and finish of execution generally, we should be inclined to give ‘Arlington’ the preference over either of its predecessors. We wish, at the same time, that the author had indulged less in argument and disquisition. The story pauses, through the greater part of the last volume, over a series of formal dialogues, on foreign travel, on the claims of society, on solitude, on contemporary literature, on toleration, and on political innovation, which, though executed with great spirit, and replete with just and pointed reflections, will, we fear, be altogether skipped, or only skimmed by the majority of novel readers. The work, as a whole, must however be allowed, by all impartial and competent judges, to present a highly recommendatory view of the author's mind and sentiments. All his novels, indeed, are characterized by excellent sense, amiable feelings, and sound morality; nor would it be easy, we should think, to rise from their perusal without a kindly disposition towards the world about us, and sentiments of regard towards a writer whose rational and cheerful views have tended to correct or to confirm our own.

Art. VII.—*A Manual of the History of Philosophy; translated from the German of Tennemann.* By the Rev. Arthur Johnson, M.A., late Fellow of Wadham College. 8vo. Oxford: 1832.

WE took up this translation with a certain favourable prepossession, and felt inclined to have said all we conscientiously could in its behalf; but alas! never were expectations more completely disappointed, and we find ourselves constrained exclusively to condemn, where we should gladly have been permitted only to applaud.

We were disposed to regard an English version of Tennemann's *Grundriss* as a work of no inconsiderable utility—if competently executed: but in the present state of philosophical learning in this country we were well aware, that few were adequate to the task, and of those few we hardly expected that any one would be found so disinterested, as to devote himself to a labour, of which the credit was almost in an inverse proportion to the trouble. A complete mastery of the two languages, in a philological sense, was not enough. There was required a comprehensive acquaintance with philosophy in general, and, in particular, an intimate knowledge of the philosophy of Kant. Tennemann was a Kantian; he estimates all opinions by a Kantian standard; and the language he employs is significant only as understood precisely in a Kantian application. In stating this, we have no intention of disparaging the intrinsic value of the work, which, in truth, with all its defects, we highly esteem as the production of a sober, accurate and learned mind. Every historian of philosophy must have his system, by reference to which he criticises the opinions of other thinkers. Eclecticism, as opposed to systematic philosophy, is without a meaning; for either the choice of doctrines must be determined by some principle, and that principle then constitutes a system; or the doctrines must be arbitrarily assumed, which would be the negation of philosophy altogether. But as it was necessary that Tennemann should be of some school, we think it any thing but a disadvantage that he was of the Kantian. The Critical Philosophy is a comprehensive and liberal doctrine; and whatever difference of opinion may subsist with regard to its positive conclusions, it is admitted, on all hands, to constitute, by its negative, a great epoch in the history of thought. An acquaintance with a system so remarkable in itself, and in its influence so decisive of the character of subsequent speculation, is now a matter of necessity to all who would be supposed to have crossed the threshold of philosophy.

The translation of a work of merit like the present, ought not therefore to be less acceptable to the English reader because written in the spirit and language of that system, provided he be enabled by the translator to understand it. But what does this imply? Not merely that certain terms in the German should be rendered by certain terms in the English; for few philosophical words are to be found in the latter, which suggest the same analyses and combinations of thought as those embodied in the technical vocabulary of the former. The German has sometimes three or four expressions, precisely distinguishing certain generalizations or abstractions, where we possess only a single word, comprehensive of the whole; or, perhaps, several, each vaguely applicable to all or any. In these circumstances a direct translation was impossible. The translator could only succeed by coming to a specific understanding with his reader. He behoved, in the first place, clearly to determine the value of the principal terms to be rendered; which could only be accomplished through a sufficient exposition of that philosophy whose peculiar analyses these terms adequately expressed. In the second place, it was incumbent on him to show in what respects the approximating English term was not exactly equivalent to the original; and precisely to define the amplified or restricted sense, in which, by accommodation to the latter, the former was in his translation specially to be understood.

At the same time it must be remembered, that the *Grundriss* of Tennemann was not intended by its author for an independent treatise. It is merely a text-book; that is, an outline of statements to be filled up, and fully illustrated in his lectures;—a text-book also for the use of students, who, from their country and course of education, were already more or less familiar with the philosophy of the German schools. In translating this work as a system intended to be complete *per se*, and in favour of a public unlearned in philosophical discussion, and utterly ignorant of German metaphysics, a competent translator would thus have found it necessary in almost every paragraph to supply, to amplify, and to explain. M. Cousin, indeed, when he condescended to translate this work, (we speak only from recollection and a rapid glance,) limited himself to a mere translation. But by him the treatise was intended to be only subordinate to the history of speculation delivered in his lectures; and was addressed, among his countrymen, to a numerous class of readers, whose study of philosophy, and of German philosophy, he had himself powerfully contributed to excite. The fact, indeed, of a French translation by so able

a hand, was of itself sufficient to render a simple version of the work into another European tongue nearly superfluous; and we were prepared to expect, that, if translated into English, something more would be attempted than what had been already so well executed in a language with which every student of philosophy is familiar.

It was, therefore, with considerable interest, that we read the announcement of an English translation, by a gentleman distinguished for his learning among the Tutors of Oxford; whose comparative merit, indeed, had raised him to several of the most honourable and important offices to which the two Venerable Houses could elect. Independently of its utility, we hailed the publication as a symptom of the revival, in England, of a taste for philosophical speculation; and this more especially, as it emanated from that University in which, since its legal constitution had been subverted, and all the subjects taught reduced to the capacity of one self-elected teacher, Psychology and Metaphysics, as beyond the average comprehension of the College Fellows, had remained not only untaught, but their study discouraged, if not formally proscribed. A glance at Mr Johnson's preface confirmed us in our prepossessions. We were there, indirectly indeed, but confidently, assured of his intimate acquaintance with philosophy in general, and German philosophy in particular; nor were we allowed to remain ignorant of the translator's consciousness that he might easily have become the rival of his author. 'As far,' he says, 'as it appeared possible, I have preserved the technical expressions of my author, substituting for the most part an explanation of their meaning, for the benefit of those English readers who may not have plunged into the profound abyss of German metaphysics;—the expositor himself having of course so plunged: 'Whenever,' he adds, 'it has appeared to me that an observation of my author was of a nature impossible to be apprehended by any but a scholar long familiar with the disputes of the German lecture-rooms, I have endeavoured to express the sense of it in other words,'—necessarily implying that the interpreter himself was thus familiar: And again, 'There are parts of Tennemann, which on this account I had much rather have composed anew than translated, particularly the Introduction.'

The examination of a few paragraphs of the work proved the folly of our expectations. We found it to be a bare translation; and one concentrating every possible defect. We discovered, in the first place, that the translator was but superficially versed in the German language;—in the second, that he was wholly ignorant even of the first letter in the alphabet of German philoso-

phy;—in the third, that he was almost equally unacquainted with every other philosophy, ancient and modern;—in the fourth, that he covertly changes every statement of his author he may not like;—in the fifth, that he silently suppresses every section, sentence, clause, word he is suspicious of not understanding;—and in the sixth, that he reviles without charity the philosophy and philosophers he is wholly incapable of appreciating. Instead of being of the smallest assistance to the student of philosophy, the work is only calculated to impede his progress, if not at once to turn him from the pursuit. From beginning to end all is vague or confused, unintelligible or erroneous. We do not mean to insinuate that it was so intended, (albeit the thought certainly struck us,) but, in point of fact, [this translation is admirably calculated to turn all metaphysical enquiries into contempt. From the character of the work, from the celebrity of its author, and of its French translator, and even from the academical eminence of Mr Johnson himself, his version would be probably one of the first books resorted to by the English student for information concerning the nature and progress of philosophical opinions. But in proportion as the enquirer were capable of thinking, would philosophy, as here delineated, appear to him incomprehensible; and in proportion as he respected his source of information, would he either despair of his own capacity for the study, or be disgusted with the study itself. It is, indeed, by reason of the serious injury which this translation might occasion to the cause of philosophy in this country, that we find it imperative on us, by annihilating its authority, to deprive it of the power to hurt.

But let us be equitable to the author while executing justice on his work. This translation is not to be taken as a test of the general talent or accomplishment of the translator. He has certainly been imprudent in venturing on an undertaking for which he was qualified neither by his studies, nor by the character of his mind. That he could ever conceive himself so qualified, furnishes only another proof of the present abject state of philosophical erudition in this country; for it is less to be ascribed to any overweening presumption in himself, than to the lowness of the standard by which he rated his sufficiency. What Mr Johnson has executed ill, there are probably not six individuals in the British empire who could perform well.—But to the proof of our assertions.

That Mr Johnson, though a quondam Professor of ancient Saxon, is still an under-graduate in modern German, will, without special proof, be sufficiently apparent in the course of our criticism.

Of his ignorance of the Kantian philosophy, in the language

of which the work of Tennemann is written, every page of the translation bears ample witness. The peculiarities of this language are not explained; nay, the most important sections of the original, from which, by a sagacious reader, these might have been partially divined, are silently omitted, or professedly suppressed as unintelligible. (*e. g.* § 41.) Terms in the original, correlative and opposed, are, not only not translated by terms also correlative and opposed, but confounded under the same expression, and, if not rendered at random, translated by the rule of contraries. To take, for example, the mental operations and their objects: In a few pages we have examined, we find among other errors, *Vernunft* (Reason), though strictly used in its proper signification as opposed to *Verstand*, rendered sometimes by 'Reason,' but more frequently by 'Understanding' or 'Intellect;' and *Verstand* (Understanding, Intellect), in like manner, specially used in opposition to *Vernunft*, translated indifferently by 'Understanding' or 'Reason.*' *Vorstellung* (Representation), the genus of which *Idee*, *Begriff*, *Anschauung* are species, is translated 'Perception,' 'Idea,' 'Apprehension,' 'Impression,' 'Thought,' 'Effort,' &c. *Begriff* (Notion, Conception), † the object of the Understanding, as opposed to *Idee* (Idea), the object of the Reason, is commonly translated 'Idea,' (and this also in treating of the Aristotelian and Kantian philosophies, in which this term has a peculiar meaning very different from its Cartesian universality,) sometimes 'Opinion,' 'Character;' *Idee der Vernunft* (Idea of Reason) is rendered by 'object of Understanding,' and *Zweck der Vernunft*, (scope or end of Reason,) by 'mental object;' while *Anschauung* (immediate object of Perception or Imagination) is expressed by 'mental Conception,' 'Perception,' &c. Yet Mr Johnson professes, 'as far as it appeared possible, to have preserved the technical expressions of his author!' But of this more in the sequel.

Of our translator's knowledge of philosophy in general, a specimen may be taken from the few short notes of explanation he has appended. These for the most part say, in fact, nothing, or are merely an echo of the text; where they attempt more, they are uniformly wrong. Take, for example, the two first. At p. 55, on the words Syncretism and Mysticism, we have this

* By the time he is half through the work, our translator seems to have become aware that the Kantians 'make a broad distinction between the Understanding and Reason.' The discovery, however, had no beneficial effect on his translation.

† It will be seen that we do not employ this term in the meaning attached to it by Mr Stewart.

luminous annotation: 'The force of these terms, as used by the author, will be sufficiently explained in the course of the work. *Transl.*' At p. 70, (and on a false translation,) there is the following note, which, though not marked as the translator's, at once indicates its source: 'Idealism is used to denote the theory which asserts the reality of our ideas,* and from these argues the reality of external objects.† Pantheism is the opinion that all nature partakes of the divine essence.'‡ To this head we may refer the author's continual translation of 'Philosophie' by 'Moral Philosophy,' which he tells us is convertible with Metaphysics in general; his use of the word Experimentalism for Empirism, Philosophy of Experience or of Observation; to say nothing of the incorrectness and vacillation of his whole technical language criticised by any standard. Under this category may be also mentioned the numerous and flagrant errors in philosophical history. For example, 'Joseph Priestley (als Physiker beruehmte)' is called 'the celebrated Physician;' and 'Ancillon (père),' thus distinguished from his son, the present Prussian minister, is converted from a Calvinist, to a Catholic priest—'Father Ancillon.'

But lest we should be supposed to have selected these defects, we shall vindicate the rigid accuracy of our strictures by a few extracts. We annex to each paragraph a literal translation, not such, assuredly, as we should offer, were we to attempt a complete version of the original, but such as may best enable the English reader to compare Mr Johnson and Tennemann together. We find it convenient to make our observations in the form of Notes: in these we pass over much that is imperfect, and can notice only a few of the principal mistakes. We cannot, of course, hope to be fully understood except by those who have some acquaintance with German philosophy.—We shall first quote some paragraphs from the Introduction.

§ 1.—'A history of philosophy, to be complete,|| demands a preliminary enquiry respecting the character of this science, as well as

* The stoutest sceptic never doubted that we are really conscious of what we are conscious, that is the subjective reality of our ideas: the doubt would annihilate itself.

† We had always imagined the proving the reality of external objects to be the negation of Idealism—Realism.

‡ Pantheism, however, is the very denial of such participation; it asserts that 'all nature' and the 'divine essence' are not two, one partaking of the other, but one and the same.

|| 'Complete,' inaccurate; original, 'Zweckmaessige.'

respecting its subject-matter,* its form and object; † and also its extent or comprehensiveness, its method, its importance, and the different ways in which it may be treated. All these particulars, with the bibliography belonging to it, will form, together with some previous observations on the progress of philosophical research, ‡ the subject of a *general* introduction.' — — —

Literal Translation, § 1.—'The history of philosophy, if handled in conformity to the end in view, presupposes an enquiry touching the conception of the science, conjoining a view of its contents, form, and end, as also of its compass, method, importance, and the various modes in which it may be treated. These objects, along with the history and literature of the history of philosophy, combined with some preparatory observations on the progress of the philosophizing reason, afford the contents of a *general* introduction to the history of philosophy.' — — —

§ 2.—'The human mind has a tendency to attempt to enlarge the bounds of its knowledge, and gradually to aspire to a clear development of the laws and relations of nature, and of its own operations. § At first it does nothing more than obey a blind desire, without accounting

* 'Subject-matter;' original, *Inhalt*, *i. e.* contents, the complement of objects. Subject or Subject-matter is the *materia subjecta* or *in qua*; and if employed for the Object, *materia objecta* or *circa quam*, is always an abuse of philosophical language, though with us unfortunately a very common one. But to commute these terms in the translation of a Kantian treatise, where *subject* and *object*, *subjective* and *objective*, are so accurately contradistinguished, and where the distinction forms, in fact, the very cardinal point on which the whole philosophy turns, is to convert light into darkness, order into chaos.

† 'Object;' original, *Zweck*, end, aim, scope. The unphilosophical abuse of the term *object* for *end* is a comparatively recent innovation in the English and French languages. Culpable at all times, on the present occasion it is equally inexcusable as the preceding.

‡ 'Philosophic research.' The translation is a vague and unmeaning version of a precise and significant original—'philosophirende Vernunft.' (See § 2.)

§ This sentence is mangled and wholly misunderstood. 'The end of philosophy,' says Trismegistus, 'is the intuition of unity;' and to this tendency of speculation towards the absolute—to the intensive completion in unity, and not to the extensive enlargement to infinity, of our knowledge, does Tennemann refer. The latter is not philosophy in his view at all. In the translation, *Vernunft* (Reason), the faculty of the absolute in Kant's system, and here used strictly in that sense, is diluted into 'Mind;' and the four grand Categories are omitted, according to which reason endeavours to carry up the knowledge furnished through the senses and understanding, into the unconditioned.

to itself sufficiently for this instinctive impulse of the understanding,* and without knowing the appropriate means to be employed, or the distance by which it is removed from its object. Insensibly this impulse becomes more deliberate, and regulates itself in proportion to the progress of the understanding,† which gradually becomes better acquainted with itself. Such a deliberate impulse is what we call philosophy.‡

Literal Translation, § 2.—‘Man, through the tendency of his Reason (Vernunft), strives after a systematic completion (Vollendung) of his knowledge considered in Quantity, Quality, Relation and Modality, and consequently endeavours to raise himself to a science of the ultimate principles and laws of Nature and Liberty, and of their mutual relations. To this he is at first impelled by the blind feeling of a want; he forms no adequate appreciation of the problem thus proposed by reason; and knows not by what way, through what means, or to what extent, the end is to be attained. By degrees his efforts become more reflective, and this in proportion to the gradual development of the self-consciousness of reason. This reflective effort we denominate the act of *philosophizing*.’

§ 3.—‘Thereupon arise various attempts to approximate this mental object of the understanding,§ attempts more or less differing in respect of their principles, their methods, their consequences,|| their extent, and, in general, their peculiar objects. In all these attempts, (which take the name of *Philosophic Systems*, when they present themselves in a scientific form, and the value of which is proportionate to the degree of intelligence manifested by each particular philosopher,) we trace the gradual development of the human understanding,¶ according to its peculiar laws.’

Literal Translation, § 3.—‘Out of this effort arise the various attempts of thinkers to approximate to this Idea of reason, or to realize

* ‘Understanding;’ just the reverse—‘Reason;’ original, Vernunft. The author and his translator are in these terms, always at cross-purposes. ‘Instinctive impulse of the understanding’ is also wrong in itself, and wrong as a translation. The whole sentence, indeed, as will be seen from our version, is one tissue of error.

† ‘Understanding;’ the same error; ‘Reason.’ The whole sentence is ill rendered.

‡ ‘Philosophy;’ ‘das Philosophiren,’ not philosophy vaguely, but precisely, philosophic act—philosophizing.—‘Streben’ here, and before, is also absurdly translated ‘impulse;’ a ‘deliberate impulse!’ a round square!

§ ‘Object of the Understanding;’ the opposite again; original, ‘Idee der Vernunft.’

|| ‘Consequences;’ wrong; ‘Consequenz.’

¶ ‘Understanding;’ usual blunder for Reason, and twice in this §. It is so frequent in the sequel, that we cannot afford to notice it again. The whole paragraph is in other respects mutilated, and inaccurately rendered.

it in thought; attempts more or less differing from each other in principle, in method, in logical consequence, in result, and in the comprehension and general character of their objects. In these attempts (which, when they present themselves in a form scientifically complete, are denominated *philosophic systems*, and possess a value, varying in proportion to the pitch of intellectual cultivation, and to the point of view of the several speculators) the thinking reason develops itself in conformity to its peculiar laws.'

§ 4.—' But the development of human reason is itself subject to external conditions, and is sometimes seconded, sometimes retarded, or suspended, according to the different impressions it receives from without.' *

Literal Translation, § 4.—' But the development of human reason does not take place without external excitement; it is consequently dependent upon external causes, in as much as its activity through the different direction given it from without is now promoted in its efforts, now checked and held back.'

§ 5.—' To give an account of the different works produced by the understanding, thus in the progress of improvement, and favoured or impeded by external circumstances, is, in fact, to compose a history of philosophy.' †

Literal Translation, § 5.—' An account of the manifold efforts made to realize that Idea of reason (§ 2) in Matter and Form, (in other words to bring philosophy as a science to bear,) efforts arising from the development of reason, and promoted or held in check by external causes—constitutes, in fact, the History of Philosophy.'

§ 6.—' The subject-matter‡ of the history of philosophy, is both external and internal. The internal or immediate embraces, 1. The efforts continually made by the understanding to attain to a perception of the first principles of the great objects of its pursuit, (§ 2,) with many incidental details relating to the subject of investigation, the degree of ardour or remissness which from time to time have prevailed; with the influence of external causes to interest men in such pursuits, or the absence of them. § 2. The effects of philosophy, or the views, methods, and systems it has originated; effects varying with the energies out of which they sprang. In these we see the understanding avail itself of materials perpetually accumulating towards constituting philosophy a science, or rules and principles for collecting materials to form a scientific whole; or finally, maxims relating to the method to be pursued in such researches. || 3. And lastly: We observe the development of the understanding as an instrument of phi-

* Mangled and incorrect.

† Ditto.

‡ ' Subject-matter; ' Stoff,' matter, or object-matter: see note on § 1.

§ The whole sentence execrable in all respects; we cannot criticise it in detail.

|| In this sentence there are *nine* errors, besides imperfections.

losophy, that is to say, the progress of the understanding towards researches in which it depends solely on itself; in other words, its gradual progress towards the highest degree of independence; a progress which may be observed in individuals, in nations, and in the whole race of man.*

Literal Translation, § 6.—‘The matter about which the history of philosophy is conversant, is consequently both *internal* and *external*. The *internal* or proximate matter, comprehends, in the first place, the continued *application of reason* to the investigation of the ultimate principles and laws of Nature and Liberty; for therein consists the act of *philosophizing* (§ 2). And here is to be observed great differences in regard to subject and object—to the extensive application and intensive force of the philosophizing energy—to internal aims and motives (whether generous or interested)—as likewise to external causes and occasions. It comprehends, secondly, the *products of the philosophizing act*, in other words, *philosophic views, methods, and systems*, (§ 3), which are as manifold as the efforts out of which they spring. Through these reason partly obtains materials becoming gradually purer, for philosophy as science, partly rules and principles by which to bind up these materials into a scientific whole, partly, in fine, maxims for our procedure in the search after philosophy. Thirdly, it comprehends the *development of reason*, as the instrument of philosophy, *i. e.* the excitation of reason to spontaneous enquiry, in conformity to determined laws through internal inclination, and external occasion, and herein the gradual progress manifested by individuals, nations, and the thinking portion of mankind. This therefore constitutes an important anthropological phasis of the history of philosophy.’

§ 7.—‘The external matter consists in the causes, events, and circumstances which have influenced the development of philosophic reason, and the nature of its productions. To this order of facts belong: 1. The individual history of philosophers, that is to say, the degree, the proportion, and the direction of their intellectual powers; the sphere of their studies and their lives, the interests which swayed them, and even their moral characters.† 2. The influence of external causes, that is to say, the character and the degree of mental cultivation prevalent in the countries to which they belonged; the prevailing spirit of the times; and, to descend still farther, the climate and properties of the country; its institutions, religion and language.‡ 3. The influence of individuals in consequence of the admiration and imitation they have excited, by their doctrines or example; an influence which betrays itself in the matter as well as in the manner of their schools.’§ (Bacon, Locke, Leibnitz.)

* In this sentence, what is suffered to remain is worse treated than what is thrown out.

† In this sentence there are *four* inaccuracies.

‡ In this sentence there are *two* omissions, one essential to the meaning, and *one* inaccuracy.

§ Compare the literal version!

Literal Translation, § 7.—‘The external matter consists in those causes, events, and circumstances, which have exerted an influence on the development of the philosophizing reason, and the complexion of its productions. To this head belong, in the first place, the individual genius of the philosopher, *i. e.* the degree, the mutual relation, and the direction of his intellectual faculties, dependent thereon his sphere of view and operation, and the interest with which it inspires him, and withal even his moral character. In the second place, the influence of external causes on individual genius, such as the character and state of cultivation of the nation, the dominant spirit of the age, and less proximately the climate and natural qualities of the country, education, political constitution, religion, and language. In the third place, the effect of individual genius itself (through admiration and imitation, precept and example) on the interest, the direction, the particular objects, the kind and method of the subsequent speculation—an influence variously modified in conformity to intellectual character, to the consideration and celebrity of schools established, to writings, their form and their contents.’ (Bacon, Locke, Leibnitz.)

§ 9.—‘History in general is distinguished, when properly so called, from Annals, Memoirs, &c., by its form: *i. e.* by the combination of its incidents, and their circumstantial development.’*

Literal Translation, § 9.—‘History, in the stricter signification, is distinguished by reference to its *form*, from mere annals, memoirs, &c., through the concatenation of events, and their scientific exposition,’ [*i. e.* under the relation of causes and effects.]

We shall next take a paragraph from the account of Aristotle’s philosophy, in which an Oxford Examining Master may be supposed at home. With the exception, however, of four popular treatises, we suspect the Stagirite is as little read or understood in Oxford, as in Edinburgh.

§ 140.—‘Aristotle possessed in a high degree the talents of discrimination and analysis, added to the most astonishing knowledge of books, † and the works of nature. To the latter, more especially, he had devoted himself. He rejected the doctrine of ideas; maintaining that all

* ‘Circumstantial developement;’ ‘*pragmatische Darstellung.*’ No word occurs more frequently in the historical and philosophical literature of Germany and Holland, than *pragmatisch*, or *pragmaticus*, and *Pragmatismus*. So far from ‘*pragmatisch*’ being tantamount to ‘circumstantial,’ and opposed (see § 12 of translation) to ‘scientific,’ the word is peculiarly employed to denote that form of history, which, neglecting circumstantial details, is occupied in the scientific evolution of causes and effects. It is, in fact, a more definite term than the *histoire raisonnée* of the French. The word in this signification was originally taken from Polybius; but founded, as is now acknowledged, on an erroneous interpretation.’ (See Schweigh. *ad Polyb. L. 1. c. 2*—C. D. Beckii *Diss. Pragmaticæ Historiæ apud veteres ratio et judicium*,—and Borgeri *Orat. de Historiæ pragmatica.*)

† Tennemann does not make Aristotle a bibliographer.

our impressions and thoughts, and even the highest efforts* of the understanding, are the fruit of experience; that the world is eternal, even in its form, and not the work of a creative providence. In the theory of composition he drew a distinction between the *matter*, which he referred to philosophy, and the *form*, which he derived from poetry.† Instead of following his master in his way of reasoning from the universal to the particular, he always takes the opposite course, and infers the first from the latter. His writings contain valuable remarks on the systems of his predecessors; his *own* being that of Empiricism, modified, in a slight degree, by the Rationalism of Plato.

Literal Translation, § 140.—‘Aristotle possessed in a high degree the talent of discrimination, and an extensive complement of knowledge derived from books, and from his own observation of nature. The investigation of nature was, indeed, his peculiar aim. He consequently rejected Ideas, and admitted that all mental representations (Vorstellungen,) even the highest of the understanding, are, as to their matter *given*, being elaborated out of experience; and that the universe is eternal even in its form, and not fashioned by a plastic intelligence. He had not a genius (Sinn) like Plato for the Ideal [the object of reason proper], but was more *the philosopher of the intellect or understanding* (Verstand); one, who in his intellectual system (Verstandessystem)—an Empirism modified by Plato’s Rationalism—did not, like that philosopher, proceed from the universal to the particular, but from the particular to the universal.’

§ 145.—‘Physiology (*sic*) is indebted to Aristotle for its first cultivation; for an essay, imperfect indeed, but built upon experiment associated with theory. The soul he pronounced to be exclusively the active principle of life; the primitive form of every body capable of life, *i. e.* organized. . . . His remarks on the characteristics of our means of knowledge, that is, the senses,‡ are deserving of particular attention; as well as his observations on the Common Sense; and on Consciousness|| (the existence of which he was the

* The question of origin refers not to the subjective efforts of our faculties, but to the objective knowledge about which these efforts are conversant. The sentence is otherwise mutilated, and its sense destroyed.

† What this may possibly mean we confess ourselves at a loss to guess. Is it an attempt at translating some interpolation of Wendt in the *last* edition of the Grundriss?—ours is the *fourth*. It cannot surely be intended for a version of what is otherwise omitted by Mr Johnson.

‡ ‘On the characteristics of our means of knowledge, that is, the senses, are,’ &c. The original is—‘ueber die Aeusserungen der Erkenntnissthaetigkeit d. i. ueber die Sinne, den Gemeinsinn,’ &c. See *Literal Translation*.

|| Neither by Aristotle nor by any other Greek philosopher, was Consciousness falsely analysed into a separate faculty, and the Greek language contains no equivalent expression; a want which, considering

first distinctly to recognise); on Imagination, Memory, and Recollection. Perception is the faculty which conveys to us the forms of objects. Thought is the perception of forms or ideas by means of ideas; * which presupposes the exercise of Sensation and Imagination. Hence a passive and an active Intelligence. The last is imperishable, (Immortality independent of Conscience† or Memory). The thinking faculty is an energy distinct from the body, derived from without, resembling the elementary matter‡ of the stars. Enjoyment is the result of the complete development of an energy; which, at the same time, perfects that energy.§ The most noble of all enjoyments is the result of Reason.'

Literal Translation, § 145.—' Psychology is indebted to Aristotle for its first, though still imperfect, scientific treatment upon the principles of experience, although with these he has likewise combined sundry speculative views. The soul is the efficient principle of life (life taken in its most extensive signification)—the primitive form of every physical body susceptible of animation, *i. e.* of one organically constituted. His remarks are especially interesting on the manifestation of our cognitive energies, *i. e.* on the Senses—on the Common Sense, the first approach to a clear indication of Consciousness, (die erste deutlichere Andeutung des Bewusstseyns)—on Imagination, Reminiscence, and Memory. The Perceptive and

the confusion and error which the word (however convenient) has occasioned among modern philosophers, we regard as any thing but a defect. That we cannot *know* without *knowing that we know*, and that these are not two functions of distinct faculties, but one indivisible energy of the same power, this is well stated by Aristotle in explaining the function of the Common Sense; and to this Tennemann correctly refers. It is the error of his translator to make Aristotle treat explicitly of consciousness by name.

* No meaning, or a wrong meaning. The term *Idea* also, in the common modern signification, should have been carefully avoided, under the head of Aristotle.

† Conscience is not used in English for Consciousness. Was Mr Johnson translating from the French?

‡ The word 'matter' is here wrong.

§ 'Development of an *energy*,' and 'perfecting an *energy*,' in relation to Aristotle's doctrine of the Pleasurable, is incorrect. The word in the original is, as it ought to be, *kraft*, power, or faculty. The term 'complete' also does not render the original so well as 'perfect.' 'The perfect exertion of a power' is here intended to denote both subjectively the full and free play of the faculty in opposition to its languid exercise or its too intense excitement, and objectively, the presence of all conditions, with the absence of all impediments to its highest spontaneous energy. Aristotle's doctrine of Pleasure, though never yet duly appreciated, is one of the most important generalizations in his whole philosophy.—The end of the section is otherwise much mutilated.

Imaginative act (*Anschauung*) is an apprehension of the forms of objects; and Thought, again, an apprehension of the forms of those forms which Sense and Imagination presuppose. Hence a *passive* and an *active Intellect* or *Understanding*. To the latter belongs indestructibility (immortality without consciousness and recollection.) Thought is, indeed, a faculty distinct from the corporeal powers, infused into man from without, and analogous to the element of the stars. Pleasure is the result of the perfect exertion of a power;—an exertion by which again the power itself is perfected. The noblest pleasures originate in Reason. Practical Reason, Will, is, according to Aristotle, and on empirical principles, determined by notions [of the Understanding], without a higher ideal principle [of Reason properly so called.]'

We conclude our extracts by a quotation from the chapter on Kant.

§ 373.—' His (Kant's) attention being awakened by the Scepticism of Hume, he was led to remark the very different degree of certainty belonging to the deductions of Moral Philosophy,* and the conclusions of Mathematics; and to speculate upon the causes of this difference. Metaphysics, of course, claimed his regard; but he was led to believe, that as yet the very threshold of the science had not been passed. An examination of the different philosophical systems, and particularly of the jejune Dogmatism of Wolf, led him to question whether, antecedently to any attempt at Dogmatic philosophy, it might not be necessary to investigate the *possibility* of philosophical knowledge, and he concluded that to this end an enquiry into the different sources of information,† and a critical examination of their origin and employment, were necessary; in which respect he proposed to complete the task undertaken by Locke. He laid down, in the first place, that Moral Philosophy and Mathematics are, in their origin, *intellectual sciences*.‡ Intellectual knowledge is distinguished from experimental by its qualities of *necessity* and *universality*. On the possibility of intellectual knowledge depends that of the philoso-

* 'Moral Philosophy;' 'Philosophie.' Thrice in this §.

† 'Information;' 'Erkenntnisse.' The version is incorrect; even *Knowledge* does not adequately express the original, both because it is not also plural, and because it is of a less emphatically subjective signification. *Cognitions* would be the best translation, could we venture also on the verb *cognize* as a version of *Erkennen*.

‡ 'Intellectual sciences;' 'rationale oder Vernunft-Wissenschaften.' *Intellectus* or *Intellekt* is, in the language of German philosophers, synonymous with *Verstand*, *Understanding*. The translator therefore here renders, as he usually does, one term of the antithesis by the other. The same capital error is repeated in the two following sentences,

phical sciences.* These are either synthetic or analytic; the latter of which methods is dependent on the first.† What then is the principle of synthetical *a priori* knowledge in contradistinction to experimental; which is founded on observation? The existence of *a priori* knowledge is deducible from the mathematics, as well as from the testimony of common sense;‡ and it is with such knowledge that metaphysics are chiefly conversant. A science, therefore, which may investigate with strictness the possibility of such knowledge, and the principles of its employment and application, is necessary for the direction of the human mind, and of the highest practical utility. Kant pursued this course of enquiry, tracing a broad line of distinction between the provinces of Moral Philosophy and the Mathematics, and investigating more completely than had yet been done, the faculty of knowledge.§ He remarked that synthetical *a priori* knowledge imparts a formal character to knowledge in general, and can only be grounded in laws affecting the Individual, and in the consciousness which he has of the harmony and unison of his faculties.|| He then proceeds to analyse the particulars of our knowledge, and discriminates between its elementary parts so often confounded in practice, with a view to ascertain the true nature of each species: the characteristics of necessity and universality which belong to *a priori* knowledge being his leading principles.**

* 'Philosophical sciences,'—'philosophische Erkenntnisse,' philosophic knowledge or cognitions. This and the following errors would have been avoided by an acquaintance with the first elements of the critical philosophy.

† 'The latter of which methods is dependent on the first.' These few words contain two great mistakes. In the first place, there is no reference in the original to any synthetic and analytic *methods*, but to Kant's thrice celebrated distinction of synthetic and analytic *cognitions* or *judgments*, a distinction from which the critical philosophy departs. In the second, there is nothing to excuse the error that analytic cognitions are founded on synthetic. Analytic cognitions are said by Tennemann to rest on the primary law of thought, *i.e.* on the principle of contradiction. (See *Critik d. r. V.* p. 189, etc.)—The present is an example of the absurdity of translating this work without an explanatory amplification. The distinction of analytic and synthetic judgments is to the common reader wholly unintelligible from the context.

‡ 'Common sense.' Kant was not the philosopher to appeal to common sense. 'Die gemeine Erkenntniss' is common knowledge, in opposition to mathematical. (See *Crit. d. r. V. Einl.* § 5.)

§ This sentence is inaccurately rendered, and not duly connected with the next.

|| This sentence is incomprehensible to all; but its absurdity can be duly appreciated only by those who know something of the Kantian philosophy.

** The same observation is true of this sentence and of the following section, which we leave without note or comment.

Literal Translation, § 381.—‘Awakened by the scepticism of Hume, Kant directed his attention on the striking difference in the result of meditation in mathematics and in philosophy, and upon the causes of this difference. Metaphysic justly attracted his consideration, but he was convinced that its threshold had yet been hardly touched. Reflection, and a scrutiny of the various philosophical systems, especially of the shallow dogmatism of the Wolfian school, suggested to him the thought that *previous* to all dogmatical procedure in philosophy, it was necessary, *first to investigate the possibility of a philosophical knowledge*; and that to this end, an enquiry into the different sources of our knowledge—into its origin—and its employment, (in other words, Criticism,) was necessary. Thus did he propose to accomplish the work which had been commenced by Locke. Philosophy and mathematics, he presupposed to be, in respect of their origin, *rational sciences*, or sciences of *reason*. *Rational knowledge* is distinguished from *empirical* by its character of *necessity* and *universality*. With its possibility stands or falls the possibility of philosophical knowledge, which is of two kinds—*synthetic* and *analytic*. The latter rests on the fundamental law of thought; but *what is the principle of synthetic knowledge a priori* as contrasted with empirical, of which perception is the source? That such knowledge exists, is guaranteed by the truth of mathematical, and even of common knowledge, and the effort of reason is mainly directed to its realization. There is therefore a science of the highest necessity and importance, which investigates on principles the possibility, the foundation, and the employment of such knowledge. Kant opened to himself the way to this enquiry, by taking a strict line of demarkation between philosophy and mathematics, and by a more profound research into the cognitive faculties than had hitherto been brought to bear; whilst his sagacity enabled him to divine that synthetic knowledge *a priori* coincides with the *form* of our knowledge, and can only be grounded in the laws of the several faculties which co-operate in the cognitive act. Then, in order fully to discover these forms of knowledge, in conformity to the guiding principles of universality and necessity, he undertook a dissection of knowledge, and distinguished [in reflection] what in reality is only presented combined, for the behoof of scientific knowledge.’

§ 375 . . . ‘The laws of ethics are superior to the empirical and determinable free-will which we enjoy in matters of practice, and assume an imperative character, occupying the chief place in practical philosophy. This categorical principle becomes an absolute law of universal obligation, giving to our conduct an ultimate end and spring of action; which is not to be considered as a passion or affection, but as a moral sense of respect for law.’

Literal Translation, § 383. . . ‘The moral law, as opposed to an empirically determined volition, appears under the character of a *Categorical Imperative*, (absolute Ought [unconditional duty],) and takes its place at the very summit of practical philosophy. This imperative, as the universal rule of every rational will, prescribes with rigorous neces-

sity *an universal conformity to the law [of duty]*; and thereby establishes the supreme absolute end and motive of conduct, which is not a pathological feeling, [blind and mechanical,] but a reverence for the law [rational and free].'

That Mr Johnson makes no scruple of violating the good faith of a translator, is a serious accusation—but one unfortunately true. This is principally shown in the history of those philosophers whose speculations are unfavourable to revealed religion. Speaking of Hume, Tennemann says, 'On the empirical principles of Locke, he investigated with a profoundly penetrating genius the nature of man as a thinking, and as an active being. This led him through a train of consequent reasoning to the sceptical result that, &c. . . . And in these investigations of Hume, philosophical scepticism appeared with a terrific force, profundity (*Grundlichkeit*), and logical consequence, such as had never previously been witnessed, and at the same time in a form of greater precision, perspicuity and elegance.' Thus rendered by Mr Johnson:—'Taking the experimental principles of Locke as the foundation of his system, he deduced from them many acute but specious conclusions respecting the nature and condition of man, as a reasonable agent. He was led on by arguments, the fallacy of which is lost in their ingenuity, to the inference that, &c. . . . The investigations of Hume were recommended, not only by a great appearance of logical argumentation, but by an elegance and propriety of diction, and by all those graces of style which he possessed in so eminent a degree, and which made his scepticism more dangerous than it deserved to be.' The same tampering with the text we noticed in the articles on Hobbes and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. We hardly attribute to intention what Mr Johnson says of Krug, that 'he appears to add little to Kant, except a superior degree of obscurity.' Krug is known to those versed in German philosophy, not only as a very acute, but as a very lucid writer. In his autobiography, we recollect, he enumerates perspicuity as the first of his three great errors as an author; reverence for common sense, and contempt of cant, being the other two. Tennemann attributes to him 'uncommon clearness.'

As a specimen of our translator's contemptuous vituperation of some illustrious thinkers, we shall quote his notes on Fichte and Schelling, of whose systems, it is almost needless to say, his translation proves him to have understood nothing. After reversing in the text what Tennemann asserts of Fichte's unmerited persecution, we have the following note: 'It is painful to be the instrument of putting on record so much of

‘ nonsense and so much of blasphemy as is contained in the
 ‘ pretended philosophy of Fichte; the statement, however, will
 ‘ not be without its good, if the reader be led to reflect on the
 ‘ monstrous absurdities which men will believe at the suggestion
 ‘ of their own fancies, who have rejected the plain evidences of
 ‘ Christianity.’ On Schelling’s merits we have the following
 dignified decision: ‘ The grave remarks of the author on this
 ‘ absurd theory, might perhaps have been worthily replaced by
 ‘ the pithy criticism of Mr Burchell, apud the Vicar of Wake-
 ‘ field, as applied to other absurdities, videlicet—*Fudge—Fudge*
 ‘ —*Fudge.*’

But enough! We now take our leave of Mr Johnson, recom-
 mending to him a meditation on the excellent motto he has pre-
 fixed to his translation—*Difficile est in philosophia pauca esse ei*
nota, cui non sint pleraque aut omnia.

ART. VIII. 1. *An Account of the Most Important Public Records of Great Britain; and the Publications of the Record Commissioners, together with other Miscellaneous, Historical, and Antiquarian Information.* By C. P. COOPER, Esq. London: 1832.

2. *A Proposal for the Erection of a General Record Office, and other Buildings, on the Site of the Rolls Estate.* London: 1832.

THE public records of this country, under which phrase may be included all those documents which contain the materials for forming and illustrating English History, have long excited the interest and engaged the attention of all who have reflected upon their worth and importance, and who feel how much the national credit is concerned in their preservation. It has been asserted by writers whose laborious studies and accurate knowledge give unquestionable authority to their opinions, that in number, value, antiquity, and authenticity, the Diplomata, and other historical remains possessed by us, surpass those of any other country; and the proof, as far as it has hitherto been applied to these assertions, bears them out fully. From so early a period as the reign of Edward the Second, their arrangement and security was provided for by the royal care; and in the reign of Edward the Third, if not before, the attention of the Legislature was directed to the same object. The Tower was selected as the place for depositing them, where their custody was committed to an officer appointed expressly for that purpose; and they were regarded with all the solicitude which their acknowledged importance as the evidence

of the people's rights entitled them to. At various subsequent periods of our history, provisions were made for their preservation and arrangement. In more recent times, and more especially in our own days, their inestimable worth, as the only accurate sources from whence the materials of our history can be drawn, has been more generally understood; and some of the most distinguished members of the political and literary world have laboured in the attempt to draw them from the obscurity and neglect into which they had fallen, and to make them universally accessible; while the countenance of the Government, and the public money, have been bestowed with munificent liberality upon the encouragement of the same useful and honourable design. With this recognition of the worth and importance of the object, a happier and more beneficial result might have been reasonably expected, than has hitherto attended it; and the nation ought to have been spared the mortifying reflection, that in no country are the public records kept in a manner so improper and injudicious as in England; nowhere are their contents less generally known, or less accessible to the public; while as yet the instances in which their contents have been made available to the general purposes of history, have been extremely rare and inconsiderable. To trace the causes by which public wrong has been committed, and discredit brought upon the national reputation, would be an ungracious,—perhaps an useless labour; but to demand strenuously that those causes should be no longer permitted to exist, and that the treasures we possess should be resorted to with proper and becoming zeal, and made to serve the important purposes of which they are capable, is at once reasonable and necessary.

In the public records of this country, no one will doubt that the materials for that history of England which, for the honour of England, ought not to remain unwritten, are contained. The origin of our most venerated and valuable institutions, the progress of that varied and eventful march in which the energy, courage, patience, and intelligence of our ancestors, led them from obscurity and insignificance to the worthy and proud rank which our country occupies in the civilized world, are to be traced in those documents which have been laid up with so much care for the information and example of posterity. From the same sources may we best follow out the workings of that love of freedom, which, even in its earliest and most helpless time, braved the wildest rage of power and oppression, and which waged the unequal conflict, until it was terminated by the triumphant establishment of social liberty upon the ruins of feudal domination. The small beginnings of that commerce which English enterprise has spread over the whole universe,

and which collects from the uttermost parts of the earth their rich and uncompelled tributes; the rise and gradual progress of arts; the feats by which the national renown was won; and the forcible examples which teach how that renown, so honourably achieved, may be maintained with no less honour, are chronicled in the same rolls. Those tales of virtue and valour which cannot die, and the relation of which stirs the heart like a trumpet's sound—those lessons of practical wisdom which the times past afford to the time present, and which utter the precepts of the mighty dead, like the admonitions of parental authority—these rich and moving stores, and more than these, are contained in the history of that country which we exult in calling our Fatherland.

All that has hitherto been done towards writing the history of England—however great the merit of the various authors who have exerted their powers upon this subject, and great that merit has been in many instances, and none of them would we willingly seek to disparage—has fallen far short of what our history ought to be, and is capable of being made. With reference to the materials with which such writers have had to deal, many of them have surpassed all the expectations that could reasonably have been formed of them; but that they are often inexact, and uninformed of facts, the knowledge of which is indispensable to the composition of a satisfactory history, is too notorious to be disputed. Nor could this defect be hitherto avoided. In a field so vast as that to which their toils were directed, it was impossible that any one man's exertions, however indefatigable, or that his powers of observation, however minute, could reach every part; and yet every part should have been visited, and must yet be visited, before such a history shall be written as will be worthy of the country to which it is to be dedicated. No less obvious is it that the first steps to be taken towards the formation of such a history, consist in a careful collection and able examination of all the documents, public and private, in which our national depositories are so rich. The extensive nature of this task demands much time, and many hands. When completed, it will not form of itself a history, but it will furnish to the future historian the materials upon which he may work, and without which all his efforts, however assiduous, all his talents, however brilliant, will be spent in vain.

In other countries this truth has been most sensibly felt; and much has been done, in almost all the continental nations at least, to collect and arrange the various documents and records of which they are possessed, and to make them as public as possible. In France, the study of the national history and antiquities was first encouraged; and it was pursued with so

much ardour, and with such signal success, that the works produced under its influence may be referred to as some of the most elaborate and meritorious that anywhere exist. The circumstances under which they were entered upon, were, it must be admitted, singularly favourable; and although the political convulsions by which that country has been assailed, and which have shaken her institutions to their very bases, have sometimes suspended the operations which had been commenced; still, in each succeeding interval of tranquillity, they have been renewed, while the public interest and respect which these monuments of the nation's history have inspired, has protected them,

— “ when temple and tow'r
Went to the ground.”

The project of making a general collection of all the authentic documents which bore relation to the history of France, engaged the attention of the learned in that country many years ago; and Colbert and d'Aguesseau were among the first who laid the foundation for such a collection. In 1759, the establishment of the *Depôt des Legislation*, in which all the written laws of the kingdom, including those in the *Chancellerie*, and in the *Archives Royales*—or, as we should say technically, among the State Papers—were gathered, suggested the expediency of making a similar assemblage of all the historical documents which it was then possible to discover; and in 1762, by a royal ordinance of Louis XV., this suggestion was carried into effect. The manner in which the searches for these documents were to be conducted, and the means by which the expense of them should be defrayed, were regulated by orders of the Royal Council; but it was the public spirit which the announcement of the project excited, and the zealous co-operation of those persons whose acquirements best qualified them for the discharge of the services they volunteered, that gave vigour to the undertaking, and insured its success. Several years were spent in discussing the principles, and tracing out the plan, upon which the necessary enquiries should be conducted; and, in 1786, the clergy lent the full force of their assistance and influence to the work. They engaged to provide from their own funds no inconsiderable share of the necessary expenses, and contributed still more efficiently by the assistance of some of their most learned members. The fraternities of St Maur and St Vannes engaged, with the utmost ardour, in this worthy pursuit. They despatched some of the ablest of their congregation to those places in which searches were to be made; while others were occupied in arranging and extracting the information which the labours of their brethren had procured. Their example was followed not only by many

churchmen, but by many public bodies in the provinces, who showed themselves sensibly alive to the known advantages to be derived from its prosecution; and who contributed largely to the collection and editing of such of the materials as related to their several districts. An essential service to the design was also rendered by the transmission, through the several intendants of provinces, of lists of all the depositories of records and historical manuscripts, and of their several contents, within the limits of their jurisdictions.

The royal authority, and the influence of the various eminent persons who were interested in the work, insured for the learned men who had undertaken the task of exploring them a ready access to all these documents. In Brittany, under the auspices of M. Georgelin, a society was formed for the purpose of collecting materials for the history of that province. Individuals of great learning, and of no less zeal, were in most places found to assist these operations; and where there happened to be none such, or when the searches required extraordinary skill and knowledge, the Benedictines readily supplied the assistance of their fraternity. While the work was proceeding rapidly and vigorously in France, it was carried on with no less energy in other countries. M. de Bréquigny was sent to London, and M. La Porte du Theil to Rome, to prosecute researches in the public depositories there; while other well qualified persons employed themselves in making similar searches in Catalonia, in the Low Countries, and in some of the German cities. It had been intended, when these labours were commenced, that the funds necessary for defraying the expense incident to them, should have been furnished by the Government; but the patriotism of individuals, and the assistance of the ecclesiastical and civil bodies, was so efficiently bestowed, as to lighten most materially the burden which these charges would have otherwise occasioned. A sum less than L.2000 sterling, per annum, was paid by the Treasury, and was applied, with strict and wise economy, as the reward of meritorious labours. An establishment was provided for receiving the fruits of all the searches which had been instituted; and the arrangement of them in convenient order was conducted under the superintendance of M. Moreau, then historiographer of France; while the royal favour was bestowed upon the several contributors to the work in the shape of honourable and gratifying distinctions.

By such means, this vast and difficult literary enterprise was brought in a very short time to a satisfactory result. The very activity which was displayed in its management, seemed to be the only material obstacle it encountered. As to the royal

archives, a catalogue of their contents was all that was necessary; because it furnished to students and enquirers of all kinds a familiar means of consulting such of the various documents as it was necessary to refer to. Of the records and papers deposited in other places, a full copy of the titles, with a drawing of the seal, if there happened to be one, and a traced copy of the writing, was in the first instance required; but it being found that some of these had been published in former collections, a general catalogue of all the records which had been printed, was prepared at the expense of the king, and distributed to each of the persons occupied in making the searches. Three folio volumes of this catalogue were completed under the superintendence of M. de Bréquigny, beginning with a letter of Pius I. to the Bishop of Vienna, supposed to be of the year 142 or 166, and finishing with the reign of Louis VIII., in 1179. The printing of the 4th volume had been carried as far as the year 1213, when this and the other works which had been undertaken, were interrupted by the Revolution.

The main object of the collection had been at the same time pursued with unremitting ardour; and it soon presented a numerous assemblage of original charters, and of accurate copies of charters, and other historical instruments; of descriptive catalogues of the contents of other depositories; ancient terriers; collections formed by private individuals, and the notes and memoranda of learned men, who had been engaged in analogous researches, including several curious and interesting manuscripts, relating to the history of France. Among these latter was the magnificent manuscript, on vellum, containing the proceedings against Joan of Arc, a Life of Gaston de Foix, a History of Dijon, a manuscript concerning the murderers of the Duke of Orleans, the proceedings relative to Pope John XXII., and several other works, which, though not strictly falling within the scope of the original design of the collection, were justly thought to be so valuable, that their acquisition ought not to be neglected.

It was intended to publish the whole collection of the records which had thus been procured. The first volume of the 'Collection des Chartes,' and the two first volumes of the 'Letters of Pope Innocent the Third'—the most able jurisconsult of his times, and who possessed a very extensive influence over the affairs of France, as well as with regard to the other States of Christendom—were the earliest publications which appeared, the former having been prepared for the press by M. Bréquigny, and the latter by M. La Porte du Theil, who had collected at Rome the materials of which it was composed. But the impulse which the formation of the collection had given to the study of

history in France, produced results infinitely more extensive than the founders had calculated upon. The reputation and importance which it had acquired, gave birth to several of those grand historical works which redound to the lasting honour of French literature, and will remain as models for the imitation of every people who are as solicitous as they ought to be of their country's renown. The treasures which this collection included, furnished materials for the 'Recueil des Ordonnances,' the 'Recueil des Historiens de France,' 'L'Art de Verifier les Dates,' and the new 'Collection des Conciles.' At this period, one of the most memorable in the literary history of France, under the protection of the government, and by means of the royal encouragement, were produced those four grand collections, the merit of which is equal to their extent. At the same time, the 'Gallia Christiana,' the 'Collection des Chartes,' the 'Lettres Historiques des Papes,' the 'Table Chronologique des Chartes Imprimées,' the 'Histoire Litteraire de la France,' and the Histories of several of the Provinces, by the Benedictines of St Maur, the 'Glossaire Français of Ste Palaye and Mouchet,' the complete edition of 'Froissard, by M. Dacier,' the 'Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits,' and the 'Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres;'—all works of extraordinary learning and acknowledged merit—were in progress. In 1786, these were proceeding with such energy and activity as promised the most brilliant success; in 1791, nothing remained of them but the melancholy reflection that enterprises so grand and so useful had been crushed under the political convulsions which ensued. The persons who had been engaged upon them were dispersed, and the materials themselves consigned to neglect, until quieter and less busy times drew the public attention to their value. While, in the frenzy which possessed the nation at the Revolution, the repositories in the provinces from which these materials had been collected were mercilessly destroyed, those of the metropolis were left unhurt, almost untouched; and their value has now greatly increased by their having become the only sources from which the ravages committed in the delirium of popular excitement can be repaired. A commission appears to have been issued by the National Assembly, directed to certain literary men and academicians, authorizing them to select from the national repositories such articles as might belong to French history, and directing that whatever appeared to be of no great merit should be destroyed. The latter part of the order was carried into effect at the Place Vendôme; but the collections of historical materials which were spared, and which filled from seven to eight hundred boxes, were lodged in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, where they now remain.

The value of these materials to the future historians of France will be incalculable; but the greater part of that value is to be attributed to the generous and sagacious protection afforded by the government, and to the prudent and zealous care with which the collection was made, and was rendered accessible and useful for the purposes of history. Among its contents are a catalogue and copies of documents which relate to France, existing in the archives of the Austrian Low Countries, consisting of 210 volumes in folio, made by order of the King in 1746, and the two following years, by Courchelet d'Esnans, Conseiller au parlement de Besançon; the collection of original documents, or ancient copies of the President Fontette, in 66 portfolios,—a portion of the catalogue of which is contained in the Bibliothèque du Père Le Long; the collection made by M. de Bréquigny in London, from various depositories, and which consists of 90 folio volumes; a collection, in 52 vols. 4to, of such of the letters of the Popes of the 13th and 14th centuries, as relate to the history of France, made by M. La Porte du Theil during his residence of seven years at Rome,—independently of 20,000 extracts from, or notices of, historical pieces drawn also from the same sources; catalogues of the ancient archives of the principal cities in France; collections relating to the particular histories of separate provinces, Picardy, Burgundy, Franche Comté, Languedoc, &c.; the greater part of the labours of the Benedictines, yet remaining in manuscript, on the civil or literary history of Gaul and France; and a great quantity of records and documents collected in various parts of the kingdom at the time of their dispersion in the commencement of the Revolution, and from that period to the present. Some of those works which the Revolution interrupted have been since resumed; but the greater part of them remain suspended until some more favourable period shall arrive, when the spirit which once animated the French to be foremost in the study of the history of the Middle Ages shall revive. The works which have been continued under the superintendence of the Academy of Inscriptions, are 'Les Historiens de France,' 'Les Ordonnances de la Troisième Race,' 'L'Histoire Littéraire de la France,' and 'Les Extraits et Notices des Manuscrits.'

The greater part of the collections which were thus made in France, and the works which were founded upon them, were either undertaken directly by the Benedictines, or were carried on with their co-operation; and it should seem that works of a similar kind can never be so well performed as by a society in co-operation; the constitution of which prevents the operation of those accidents by which the enterprises of individuals are so often thwarted. In the fraternities which have been mentioned,

there were, besides the learned and experienced persons to whom the most important parts of the task were intrusted, no lack of younger men, who, having been educated in the same studies, and being familiar with the same pursuits as their superiors, were able to take upon themselves the laborious duties of searching for and transcribing documents, and of rendering effectual assistance to the more learned members in their lifetime, and of filling up their places when they had become vacant. Thus, upon the death of the ablest of the body, the fruits of his exertions were not lost; his papers and manuscripts passed into the hands of a pupil whom he had probably trained to similar studies, and who himself, in his turn, qualified other pupils to succeed to his post when he should occupy it no longer. In order to supply a somewhat similar machinery to the continuation of those historical works,—the commencement of which had reflected so much glory upon the nation, that the Frenchmen of the present day are unwilling to see it depart from them,—an institution has been formed under the title of *L'Ecole des Chartes*, for the purpose at once of instructing young men in the language and characters of the ancient documents which are preserved in the public repositories, and of qualifying them to continue the publication of the stores which yet remain unexhausted. The utility of such an institution is apparent; and if applied to the records of our own country would be at once the readiest, the most rapid, and the most economical mode of accomplishing those objects which the interests of the national literature demand. It would dissipate that notion which has been so successfully inculcated by the persons interested in having it believed, that the task of deciphering ancient writings requires extraordinary skill; and would prevent the abuse which has been too often practised here, of exacting for labour performed by mere clerks, remuneration which would be exorbitant, even if it had been bestowed upon real talent and rare acquirements. In some departments of the study of records, such talents and acquirements are essential; wherever they are employed, their value will be recognised; nor is there any reason to apprehend that either the reward or the fame which belong to them will be withheld. But the true respectability and dignity of literature are disgraced, as much as the public confidence is abused, by practices which have been permitted, but which can now never be safely repeated.

The example of France has been successfully followed by other continental nations, who have of late evinced a very earnest desire to make such materials as they possess available to the purposes of history, and the interests of general literature. Several publications are now before us, which give to-

kens of the workings of this spirit, and which are not less creditable to the learning and taste of the persons by whom they have been executed, than they are creditable to the governments under whose auspices they have been entered upon. At Frankfort on the Maine, a society has been formed, consisting of some of the most distinguished literary men of every part of Germany, for the purpose of seeking out, from the original sources, the history of Germany during the middle ages. Two folio volumes, under the title of 'Monumenta Germaniæ Historica,' have appeared, containing the annals and chronicles of the earliest of the monkish writers, and the works of other historians, and which are edited by M. G. E. Pertz, the keeper of the records at Hanover. But the value or the activity of this society is not to be judged of by this publication alone. They have ransacked, with the staunch zeal of true antiquaries, and with judicious care, the public libraries of almost every nation in Europe. Six volumes of their proceedings attest the diligence with which they have sought out the treasures that lie concealed in England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia; many of which will prove of excellent use to all students of the history of the middle ages. The several governments of Germany have contributed to the expense of this important work; and the archives and public depositories of records,—including among them the state-paper office of Vienna,—have been freely opened to their research.

In Sweden, the 'Diplomatarium Suecanum,' edited by Joh. Gust. Liljegren, a collection of *diplomata*, beginning with the year 819, has recently been published. At about the same time appeared at Buda, the 'Codex Diplomaticus Hungariæ, ecclesiasticus ac civilis,' by George Fejer, the King's librarian. Still more recently, the Prussian government has caused the 'Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis,' which was commenced in 1785, to be resumed; the first volume of which was published in the course of the last year at Berlin. Nor should there be omitted from this scanty enumeration of the works connected with this subject, which have recently appeared, Dr Böhmer's elaborate and useful publication, entitled, 'Regesta Chronologica Diplomatica Regum atque Imperatorum, inde a Conrado I. usque ad Henricum III.;' a work eminently calculated to assist the prosecution of enquiries into that period of modern history which it embraces. The government of Russia has recently given directions for the arrangement of all the Slavonic and other documents which relate to the history of that empire; in Lusatia, a private selection of a similar kind has been formed; and in Bavaria, and other smaller states, the classification of the public archives has been engaged in with a degree of ardour which

manifests the general sense that is entertained of the importance of the subject.

If, from the contemplation of all that has been done and is in progress abroad, we turn to an enquiry into the use which in England has been made of the materials in which we are so rich, or into the contributions which we have made to the general history of the middle ages, or even to the accurate history of England, the contrast must needs be as mortifying to our national pride, as it is disgraceful to our reputation. More than thirty years have elapsed since, by a Royal Commission, full authority was given to carry into execution the measures which it had been ascertained were expedient for the preservation of the public records of the kingdom. Sums of money, to a very large amount in the whole, have since been voted by Parliament, to effect the objects for which that Commission was appointed. Notwithstanding these means, and although the assistance and superintendence of some of the most eminent men in the country were given to the plan which was then laid down, the work has not prospered in any degree commensurate with the expense which has been incurred.

An edition of the Statutes of the Realm has been published, but it is neither complete nor correct; a new edition of Rymer's *Fœdera* has been partially published; but it turns out to be so full of errors, that it cannot be proceeded in. A great part of the contents supposed to be new, had been frequently printed before; many important documents were omitted; some of those which the new edition contained had not been collated with the originals, and were consequently in many respects erroneous. When the present Commissioners took up the consideration of this subject, the work had proceeded to the sixth year of the reign of Richard the Second (1383.) They found that to continue it would be worse than useless; to commence a new edition, too costly and extensive an undertaking, having regard to the other subjects which had a paramount claim to their attention; while the quantity of inedited materials was so vast, that they were compelled to postpone the consideration of the best means by which they could supply the deficiencies of the expensive publication which had been commenced, and make the documents which had been transcribed for its continuation available to the public. The first appears almost a hopeless task; the latter might be easily effected by publishing in volumes of a moderate size, and at such prices as would place them within general reach, the inedited documents which have been drawn from the Tower, the Rolls Chapel, the Chapter House, and the State Paper Office; and which would, in that shape, form a useful supplement to the *Fœdera*, and valuable contributions to the

materials for English History. In the mean time the Commissioners have stopped the progress of the work, the uselessness of which they had detected. The publication of the 'Parliamentary Writs' has also been suspended. No difference of opinion appears to be entertained as to the skill and ability with which the editor of this work has performed his task; but the great expense with which it has been, and, if it were to be continued upon the same scale, would in future be attended, has suggested very reasonable doubts of the propriety of pursuing it. The cost, too, of this work has a pernicious effect by way of example; and if in the future proceedings of the Record Commission it should be considered as a standard for the remuneration of the persons employed, the extent of the Commissioners' labours will be most injuriously circumscribed, and the funds placed at their disposal will fall far short of the purposes to which they might be made to extend. The form of publication is upon the face of it wasteful. The utmost luxury of printing and paper is thrown away upon such works; and upon this subject a useful lesson might be learnt from the practice of other nations;—an apt illustration of which occurs in an elaborate work, of a somewhat similar character with that on the 'Parliamentary Writs,' respecting the Feudal Titles of France;* two modest octavos, closely printed, here containing a mass of historical and antiquarian information, the result of very extensive research, digested with remarkable ability.

The most important duties of the Commissioners seem to be, to make enquiry into the state of the Record Offices; the salaries of the officers; the rules and regulations of the various depositories; and whether any and what reforms and improvements may be beneficially introduced therein. Short though the period has been during which the present Commissioners have addressed themselves to the discharge of these duties, they have done enough to show that they are fully sensible of their importance, and that they are in no respect open to the charge of indifference or neglect.

The most serious complaint that can be alleged against the present state of our Records is, that they are scattered in various parts of the metropolis; that some of them are so ill kept† as to

* *Noms Féodaux; ou noms de ceux qui ont tenu fiefs en France, depuis le XII.^e Siècle, jusque vers le milieu du XVIII. : extraits des archives du Royaume, par un Membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.* Paris, 1826.

† The Pipe Rolls are in great danger of being wholly spoiled by the dampness of the cellar in which they are kept; while some of the most valuable records in the Tower are placed over a gunpowder magazine.

render it extremely probable that they will be wholly lost, unless they shall be immediately rescued from the peril in which they are placed; that they are for the greater part unarranged, and without indexes; and that the access to all of them is either so inconvenient or so expensive, as to prohibit those who are not in the possession of great wealth from availing themselves of their contents.

The public records of England may be divided into two classes;—the one comprehending those documents which relate to our domestic history; the other those which illustrate the foreign transactions and the various treaties and negotiations which have taken place between this and other countries. The places in which they are deposited are so various as to make it impracticable for any one to undertake a complete search among them for the materials which probably only require seeking in order to be found. These are the Chapter House at Westminster, the Tower of London, the Parliamentary Depositories, the State Paper and other State Offices, the Rolls Chapel, the Archives of the various Courts of Justice, Civil and Ecclesiastical, the Cathedrals, the Universities, the Inns of Court, the Libraries at Lambeth, and the British Museum, and those belonging to the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. It has been admitted in the most express terms, and is of itself sufficiently obvious, that in order to make the miscellaneous and varied contents of these depositories useful to the public, whose absolute property many of them are, and in all of which they have an interest that will not be disputed, the first step to be taken will be the classifying and arranging them in chronological order; and the next, the publication of accurate and full indexes of the materials of which they consist. To enumerate the several depositories in which this indispensable proceeding remains yet to be accomplished, would be to occupy a much larger space than can here be devoted to such a subject; but one instance may suffice to show with how much reason a remedy for this grievance is called for.

The Tower of London, from the nature and extent of its contents, may be justly said to be the most important of them all. In the year 1800, the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the state of the public records, recommended that indexes and calendars should be forthwith completed. Something, no doubt, has been done in compliance with this recommendation, but so imperfectly, that such calendars as have been published must be reconstructed before they can be usefully resorted to. Of these, the Calendars of the Charter Rolls are extremely imperfect; and although the errors and omissions up to the latter part of the

reign of Edward the Second have been supplied by the officers in that establishment, these Calendars still remain wholly insufficient. The Calendar to the Patent Rolls is in a similar state; and although a new Calendar has been begun, it does not extend beyond the 38th of Henry the Third. The Calendars of the Close Rolls do not notice one instrument out of ten; and the new Calendar reaches only to the end of the reign of King John. To the Almain Rolls there is only a defective Calendar; nor are those of the French, Norman, and Gascon Rolls, which have been printed by Carte, more free from errors and imperfections. The 'Inquisitiones post mortem'* have Calendars in which the names of the heirs found by the inquisition,—generally the most valuable part of the information,—have been omitted; a circumstance which the utmost extent of charity can hardly refer to accident. The Fine, Liberate, Redisseisin, Parliament, Welsh, and Roman Rolls, the Forest proceedings, the numerous bundles and files of writs of Certiorari and the returns, and the private petitions to Parliament, remain unindexed. In short, to use the words of the present keeper of the Records in the Tower, 'with respect to the Calendars to the Records in the office, it may be observed, that they are all more or less defective. They were for the greater part formed in the 17th century, with the sole object, it would seem, of enabling the officers to satisfy enquiries relating to subjects of general interest, —such as grants of land or offices in perpetuity, titles of honour, creations and privileges of corporations, grants of fairs and markets, and free warren, foundations and endowments of monasteries, descent of land, &c.; and the notices excerpted for this purpose were generally as brief as possible,—a mere indication being all *that they themselves required* for the purpose of reference.' In pursuing the object above-mentioned, many classes of Records were left wholly without Calendar or Index; and of those which had any apparatus of this sort, generally by far the larger portion of the instruments on the several Rolls, &c., were left unnoticed; as being either of a personal, or, with reference to the object of those officers, of an unimportant description.

* These Records, considering their vast importance, not only in evidencing the descents of peerages, and of families of distinction, but as regards manorial rights in general, are in such a state, from the manner in which the bundles are squeezed and folded up, as to be in very many instances totally illegible.—*Mr Illingworth's Report to the Record Commissioners, 20th May, 1831.*

The value of these documents for the general purposes of history, is too apparent to require any observation; but it will be remembered that this is not their only value. They are in many instances the only evidence of private titles; and the right of the public generally to have access to them, as well for the purpose of searching, as of making copies, has been recognised ever since the reign of Edward III. (See *Rot. Parl.* 46. *Ed. III.* p. 314.) The manner in which that right is abridged under the existing system, has been stated in forcible terms, by a gentleman whose practical knowledge and long experience of the subject gives great weight to his opinions. Mr Illingworth, in his Report to the Commissioners, says, ‘ Under the present want of ‘ copious public indexes in many of the record offices, not only ‘ the public at large, but even solicitors, are, in general, at a ‘ loss how or where to obtain information, so constantly required ‘ in tithe and other suits, and in deducing titles through the ‘ Crown, without calling in the assistance of persons termed ‘ Record Agents, or Antiquaries, who have made this branch of ‘ the law their more particular study; of these, there are not ‘ above eight, and of whom only four are regular professional ‘ men. Whereas, if proper indexes were made in every office, ‘ and circulated by means of the press, great labour and ex- ‘ pense would be saved to suitors and others; who, by them- ‘ selves or their immediate attorneys, would be enabled to gain ‘ the required information, without the intervention of such ‘ middlemen of antiquaries.’ If the evil were confined to the mere inconvenience of expense, it would be sufficiently reprehensible; but it is said there have been instances in which it has assumed a graver shape; and that, it being obviously in the power of the clerks, who are employed as record agents, to withhold from the parties opposed to their clients information of which, for want of public indexes, these clerks are alone possessed, and also to communicate to such clients the evidence which the opposite party is seeking for, or perhaps may have obtained, they have upon certain occasions availed themselves of this power. The possibility also of suppressing, if not of destroying records, the production of which would be inconvenient, is fraught with too much danger to be longer permitted. The practice of exacting large fees for searching, and enormous payments for having copies made of the records, is an abuse which one would think was too much for the endurance of the people in the nineteenth century, when in the fourteenth it was ordained, in the words of the Parliamentary provision of Edward III. before referred to, ‘ par Estatut, q Serche et Ex- ‘ emplification soient faitz as tout gentz de queconq’ Recorde q ‘ les touche en ascun maniere, auxi bien de ce q chiet encontre

‘le Roi come autres gentz.’ It must be confessed, however, that the keepers of these records evince unquestionable impartiality in the manner of enforcing their demands; and that the King is as little exempt from their exactions as any private individual. When upon a recent trial of the right of the Crown to certain copper mines in Cornwall, it was necessary to make searches at the Tower, although the person making these searches produced to the keeper official orders, by which he was directed not to pay any fees, that functionary prohibited his making any future searches in that establishment, till the fees demanded from the Crown had been paid. The consequence was, that the fees were paid, under a protest, indeed, on behalf of his Majesty, which was as little regarded as most other protests commonly are.

To the historian, or to the student, the demand of such, or almost of any fees, would amount to a prohibition; and even if the fees were abolished, the want of indexes and calendars would prove a great, if not an insuperable, objection to their making use of the treasures contained in the Record offices. To collect sufficient materials for a note of half a dozen lines, illustrating a passage of history, might cost weeks of research, and more money to boot, than the author’s remuneration could amount to; while such a document as might be most usefully printed in an appendix, would be to be bought at hardly a less rate than its weight in gold. It is in vain therefore to expect, while such a system shall exist, that any extensive addition can be made to the history of the country; and yet the slightest consideration of the contents of these depositories is sufficient to prove, that they are capable of throwing the most interesting and valuable light upon those portions of our annals which remain in the deepest obscurity. The familiar and prominent facts of our history have been repeated by one author after another, the groundwork being the same always, and the versions differing only in proportion to the genius and accomplishments of the several writers. The matchless style and profound sagacity of Hume have shed a lustre upon materials which no powers short of his could have rescued from the dulness and darkness with which neglect or accident had overshadowed them; but was it for such a writer as Hume to waste his rare talents upon the irksome task of ransacking the mouldering stores which choke up our public repositories? All that can be hoped for is, that when the materials for our history shall have been elucidated and arranged; when students may learn in their own closets, from accurate calendars, the existence of all that may seem to be available for their purposes, and shall be enabled by gratuitous and convenient access to the particular documents to ascertain their actual value, some persons will be

found competent to the task of painting 'our fathers as they lived.'

Among the stores in the Tower of London lie the means of effecting this object, particularly with reference to the earlier and most obscure portions of our history. An immense collection of royal letters and state papers, miscellaneous rolls relating to the revenue, expenditure, debts and accounts of the Crown, New Year's gifts, the royal household, mint, foreign bills of exchange, military and naval affairs, instruments relating to treaties, truces, and infractions of peace, chiefly between England and France; mercantile matters, foreign possessions of the Crown, proceedings in the Admiralty, military and other courts of the great officers of the Crown, pardons, protections, petitions, subsidy rolls, Scotch homage rolls, pardon rolls, privy seals, signet bills, writs of various descriptions from Edward I. to Edward IV., exist there, without calendar or index; and in such masses as to defy the patience of any enquirer, however ardent. It need not be said that in such a variety of documents their value must vary considerably, or that many of them are of little use; but each of them is at least worthy of being examined; and there are few of them which, if properly scrutinized by apt labourers, would not at least contribute to the elucidation or ratification of some branch of history. Some of them would render still more important services; and, by pointing out the daily habits and most familiar occurrences of the lives of our kings and other eminent personages who figure in our history, lead us to a much more accurate estimate of their genius than any that has hitherto been formed. With this view, the close rolls are among the most minute and interesting of those documents which remain unexplored. The character of King John has had but scanty justice done to it; and perhaps those who have formed their notions of that monarch from the ordinary accounts of him, will be surprised to find him writing to the Abbot of Reading to acknowledge the receipt of 'six volumes of books, containing the whole of the 'Old Testament, Master Hugh de St Victor's treatise on the 'Sacraments, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, the Epistles of 'St Augustine on the City of God, and on the 3d part of the 'Psalter, Valerian de Moribus, Origen's treatise on the Old 'Testament, and Candidus Arianus to Marius;'—and that on another occasion shortly afterwards he acknowledges the receipt of 'his copy of Pliny,' which had been in the custody of the same Abbot. Still less does it consist with the commonly adopted notions of his selfish tyranny, that he should address Bryan de Insula in terms like the following: 'Know that we 'are quite willing that our chief barons, concerning whom you

' wrote to us, may hunt while passing through your bailiwick,
 ' provided that you know who they are and what they take; for
 ' we do not keep our forests, nor our beasts, for our own use
 ' only, but for the use also of our faithful subjects. See, how-
 ' ever, that they are well guarded on account of robbers, for the
 ' beasts are more frightened by robbers than by the aforesaid
 ' barons.' Of the reign of Henry III. the particulars are still
 more minute. Notwithstanding its connexion with superstitions
 which exist no longer, we may sympathize with the pious charity
 that suggested that monarch's order ' for feeding as many poor
 ' persons as can enter the greater and lesser hall at Westminster
 ' on Friday next after the octaves of St Matthew, being the an-
 ' niversary of Eleanor, the King's sister, formerly Queen of
 ' Scotland, for the good of the said Eleanor's soul.' His taste
 for the fine arts, and his encouragement of its professors, are
 frequently to be traced in the entries upon these rolls. In one
 of them he gives directions for having the great chamber at
 Westminster painted with a good green colour after the fashion
 of a curtain; and in the great gable of the same chamber near
 the door this device to be painted,—' Ke ne dune ke ne tine, ne
 ' prent ke desire;' and another runs thus,—' The King, in pre-
 ' sence of Master William the painter, a monk of Westminster,
 ' lately at Winchester, contrived and gave orders for a certain
 ' picture to be made at Westminster in the wardrobe where he
 ' was accustomed to wash his face, representing the King who
 ' was rescued by his dogs from the seditions which were plotted
 ' against that King by his subjects, respecting which same pic-
 ' ture the King addressed other letters to you Edward of West-
 ' minster. And the King commands Philip Lavel his treasurer,
 ' and the aforesaid Edward of Westminster, to cause the same
 ' Master William to have his costs and charges for painting the
 ' aforesaid picture without delay; and when he shall know the
 ' cost, he will give them a writ of liberate therefor.' For the
 illustration of the elder historians, and as a means of ascertain-
 ing how far narrations of events which appear doubtful or impro-
 bable, are correct, these and other buried documents possess great
 value. That blackest charge against the memory of King John,
 by which he is implicated in the murder of his nephew Prince
 Arthur, has been brought forward in forms so various, that com-
 mon charity has induced many men to withhold their credence
 from an accusation which rests on vague and uncertain tradi-
 tions. It is said, however, that Arthur's death, by whatever
 means it was brought about, took place at Rouen; it has been
 ascertained very lately for the first time, by inspection of the
 attestations of records, that John was at that place on that day;

a circumstance not in itself enough to lead men to a very violent suspicion of his guilt, if the manner of the Prince's death had not been sudden and mysterious; but which, bringing the charge at least somewhat nearer, may probably lead to further discoveries. Of less importance, but yet not without interest,—if it be interesting to know accurately the early manners of a people, and to trace their progress from periods when those lights of science which are now beaming in full radiance over the land, had just begun to glimmer above the horizon,—is the following instance. Mathew Paris relates, that in 1255, an elephant was sent by the King of France to Henry III., and that it being the first animal of that species that had been seen in England, the people flocked in great numbers to behold it. Upon the close rolls is entered a writ tested at Westminster the 3d of February, 39. H. III. (1255,) directing the sheriff of Kent to 'go in person to Dover, together with John Gouch, the King's servant, to arrange in what manner the King's elephant, which was at Whitsand,* may best and most conveniently be brought over to these parts, and to find for the same John a ship and other things necessary to convey it; and if, by the advice of the mariners and others, it could be brought to London by water,' directing it to be so brought. That the stranger arrived safely, is evident from a similar writ, dated the 23d of the same month, commanding the Sheriffs of London to 'cause to be built at the Tower of London, a house forty feet in length and twenty in breadth, for the King's elephant.' Economy however, it seems, was not neglected by the monarch in his *menus plaisirs*; for the Sheriffs are expressly charged to see that the house be so strongly constructed that, whenever there should be need, it might be adapted to and used for other purposes; and the costs are to be ascertained 'by the view and testimony of honest men.'

The authenticity of the entries on these rolls is from their very nature beyond dispute. They contain the enrolment of the royal commands given to the Chancellor, either personally by the King, or transmitted to him, by messengers, under the warrant of the King's Signet, or the Privy Seal. As the Chancellor was commonly with the King, and personally cognisant of

* The shortest and most convenient passage from France to England appears to have been from Whitsand to Dover. The tenure of certain lands in Coperland near Dover, was the service of holding the King's head between Dover and Whitsand whenever he crossed there.

the occasions which suggested the royal mandates, the greater portion of them were communicated *per ipsum regem*. Having issued the letters, patent or close, as the nature of the command required, by which obedience to them was exacted, those letters were entered upon the rolls, which thus became an authentic record of all the matters which they contained. From the substance of these rolls, and the manner in which they were kept, they form in some sort a diary of the proceedings of the sovereigns and their courts through the reigns to which they relate; and, however trifling some of them may seem, they cast, in the whole, so much light upon the domestic and personal history and biography of many individuals, and indicate with such clearness and accuracy the forms of government, politics, arts, opinions, modes of living, costumes, and manners of our ancestors during the periods over which they extend, that no historian can safely omit to consult them. A complete transcript of them has been lately made, and is now preparing for publication, under the direction of the Record Commission; so that in this instance, at least, the two first complaints, which have hitherto prevailed, of the manner in which the public documents have been sealed up and hidden from public inspection, will be removed.

The masses of correspondence relating to the foreign transactions of the nation, will also prove a fruitful source of information whenever they shall be laid open. Besides these, the proceedings before the Privy Council, in those periods of our history when the interference of the monarch was invoked and exercised upon occasions which no longer fall within the scope of the royal authority, will supply many deficiencies and rectify many inaccuracies with which our public and private history abounds; and these, excepting the rare visits which have been paid to them by some modern writers who have possessed sufficient influence to procure, by great favour, that opportunity of consulting them which ought to be acceded to every enquirer, remain untouched and almost unknown. That a more liberal and wise system formerly prevailed is sufficiently evident. The present secretary to the existing Record Commission, to whose labours the public is already indebted for the suspension of some of the most notorious abuses, makes, in the work which has given rise to these observations, some remarks, in the justice of which it is impossible not to concur. ‘The existence of
‘ numerous transcripts and abstracts of records made during the
‘ course of the 16th and 17th centuries by private individuals,
‘ for their own use, sufficiently proves that in those days the
‘ offices were accessible to the antiquarian and historian willing
‘ to explore their recesses; and that the guardianship of the

‘ sources from which the only correct information respecting the
‘ rise and the course of our civil institutions can be derived,
‘ was not then intrusted to keepers and clerks, privileged to
‘ debar all approach to those unwilling to bestow a bribe, which
‘ none but the wealthy collector can afford.

‘ Some modification of the system of the offices is probably not
‘ far distant; which will once more place them within the pale
‘ of our national literature, and unlock their stores for the in-
‘ vestigation of the learned. Such a change, it has been some-
‘ times said, would be incompatible with the safety of the
‘ Records; but the evils anticipated cannot lead more surely to
‘ their destruction than do the existing abuses; and the whole of
‘ these evils may be averted by suitable regulations. The com-
‘ piler, indeed, is convinced that such a reform would be the
‘ surest and cheapest measure that could be adopted for the ulti-
‘ mate preservation of the Records. A large portion of the most
‘ valuable of our monuments has, since the reign of Elizabeth,
‘ mouldered and perished under the eyes of successive careless,
‘ avaricious, or ignorant keepers; and their contents are now
‘ known only from the exscripts and abstracts that we owe
‘ to the unimitated zeal or liberality of some of the ancient
‘ officers. Open the mines of the Record Offices to literary
‘ men, and there will not be wanting Dodsworths and Cartes,
‘ whose diligence, immeasurable by the standard of public and
‘ official labour, shall, in less than twenty years, have examined
‘ their contents, and separated the dross from the metal; and
‘ have transmitted, by means of transcription or the press, for
‘ the use of our remotest descendants, all the materials that can
‘ serve to illustrate the antiquities, and the general and local
‘ history of the country.’

But although much remains to be done with the materials we possess, there exist in other countries documents not less valuable, and equally indispensable to the successful prosecution of the objects connected with the English history. There are periods of our history, as yet almost wholly untouched, in which the policy and interests of this country and of France were so interwoven, that they may be said to have been the same; while the origin of many of our institutions, and some of our most ancient usages, is to be traced in, and can be best illustrated by, those of our other continental neighbours. To the earlier portion of our annals, this observation more stringently applies; and in much later times, in those periods upon which it appears to have been assumed, that we have obtained all the information that can be derived, the true picture of the state of affairs cannot be finished without the lights which documents

the existence of some of which is known, and others have yet to be discovered, are capable of furnishing. To point them out particularly, would be to go over a very wide space, including nearly the whole series of our history; but it cannot have escaped the most superficial historical enquirer, that the period of the Black Prince's sovereignty in Guienne, of Henry the Fifth's conquests in France, and of the Duke of Bedford's Regency, which succeeded them, have as yet been traced only in the merest outline. And who can doubt, that if we were in possession of all that may be to be procured respecting the residence of the later members of the Stuart family in France, the intrigues of which they were the objects, and which they and their adherents so industriously fostered, an extensive and valuable addition would be made to our history? How many profitable lessons might be learned by posterity, if we could trace accurately the workings of that party spirit which induced the corrupt and disappointed adherents of those monarchs who were most inveterately hostile to the liberties of this country, to engage in treasonable practices as base as they might have been dangerous;—that political profligacy which prepared such men to barter, with malignant selfishness, all the treasures of freedom for the corrupt gain they hoped would be the reward of their treachery! How just is it that posterity should know the extent of the guilt of those bad men, and the amount of the danger which the integrity and energy of the champions of the constitution, in that day, were happily enabled to avert! Let us consider only as an instance, the share which Bolingbroke must have taken in some of the measures to which we allude; and see how scanty a light any published history throws upon them. Little more is known of it than that which he has himself stated in his letter to Sir William Wyndham; and who can read that tract without feeling an unconquerable craving to know much more than it discloses of the designs that were a-foot at that time in the French court, where, in his own words, 'such as could write had their letters to show; and such as had not arrived at that pitch of erudition, had their secrets to whisper.'

It was this desire which, several years ago, induced Mr Fox to take measures for procuring from the public depositories of France transcripts of such of their contents as could elucidate that portion of the history of England which he had then formed the intention of writing, and of which so small a portion was completed. The short duration of the peace prevented the fulfilment of his intentions, and his object remains still to be accomplished. Those now at the head of the Record Commission have availed themselves of the favourable opportunity which the actual condition of the Continent

presents, to procure from the French archives, and other repositories, copies of such of the records and documents they contain as belong to English history. Catalogues have been made in Paris of all these documents, which are now in course of publication, and will be followed speedily by the printing of such of them as seem best calculated to supply the deficiencies that have hitherto existed. Under the same auspices, an extensive correspondence has been entered into with the keepers of public libraries and other functionaries, and with the persons most distinguished for their acquaintance with the history of the middle ages in the various cities of the Continent, for the purpose of ascertaining what materials exist in the several depositories, or within the knowledge of the persons whose assistance has been thus invoked, that can bear upon the same interesting subject. Already it has been discovered, that materials to a much more vast extent than has hitherto been supposed, are scattered about in various remote quarters, and that they may be obtained readily, and without any great expense.

The nature and value of these documents is extremely various. Of the earliest kinds, the Lives of Saints are the most numerous. If they did no more than chronicle the personal history of the individuals to whom they relate,—the self-denying lives, and miraculous attributes with which superstition has invested them,—their worth, in an historical point, would not be very considerable; but it must be remembered, that many of these sons of the Church played important parts, and that the biography of such personages cannot fail to abound with references to the character and conduct of the princes whose favour they enjoyed, or whose persecution threatened them, and of their contemporaries generally, and the spirit of the times in which they flourished.

The correspondence which was kept up between the ecclesiastics of England and those of other countries, is, for a similar reason, not to be neglected; and even if none of them should be found to contribute very largely to the illustration of politics and manners, their use in rectifying dates is beyond dispute. Upon the literary history of Europe, they have, however, a direct and important bearing, in which the share of England is by no means inconsiderable. The value which was attached at a very early period to the Scottish manuscripts deposited in the Monastery of St Gall, is sufficiently attested;* and the catalogue

* Tanto in pretio fuerint libri sic (Scotice) scripti, vel inde patet quod postea, in eodem catalogo, notetur Carolum Magnum unum, Scotice scriptum, pro dono gratanter accepisse.—Gerbertus, *Iter Alemannicum*, p. 97.

of its contents, recently published by Haenel, proves that they deserved the estimation in which they were held. Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, famous for his encouragement of learning, and for the ardour with which he collected the productions of literature, is said to have procured from England some of the best scribes and illuminators, by whom the works composing his library were executed. A literary intercourse between France and Ireland was kept up at so early a period as the 7th century through the means of St Gertrude; and in the 8th century, the Abbey at York was the place from which the Ecclesiastics of France derived the treasures of the monastic libraries of Scotland and Ireland. The encouragement bestowed by Charlemagne upon literary pursuits has been judiciously regarded in the light of a continuation of that impulse which was first given by the school in which Alfred, Beda, and Alcuin, were formed; and among the proofs adduced in support of this theory, it has been established that Clement, a Scottish monk, was among the most distinguished of those persons who aided the restoration of letters under Charlemagne; and that a British bishop, named Mark, at the invitation of Charles the Bald, with other learned men accompanying him, established himself at the Abbey of St Gall, the library of which he enriched by a legacy of several books. A collection similar to that made in Rome by M. du Theil for the French government, is now in England. When Mr Hamilton was returning from his mission to Naples, in 1824, he obtained from the Pope permission for the Abbate Marini to supply the British government with copies of ancient letters registered in the Vatican, and addressed by the Papal See to England, Scotland, and Ireland. A collection of transcripts, consisting of about thirty-five volumes, or bundles, was accordingly furnished by the Abbate, at the expense of this government; and the last portion having arrived in England, in 1829, they were deposited in the State Paper Office, where they remain. The examination and arrangement of these documents, and the formation of a catalogue of their contents, is among the tasks which now invite the labours of the Record Commissioners.

Treaties, and diplomatic papers of all kinds, however minute in themselves, and however obscure the powers to which they relate, are of essential importance. Their value is recognised in Rymer's *Fœdera*, which, with all its defects, is one of the most useful aids that has been afforded to the study of history. There is another description of collections in which the foreign depositories are known to be extremely rich, and which exceed perhaps all the rest in interest and value—the memoirs and correspondence of ambassadors and ministers from

foreign states who have visited England. Of these, many have been published; and some of the most curious and novel illustrations of our history, have been afforded to such writers as have consulted those which remain in manuscript. It is obviously the main business of persons filling the character of ambassador, to collect all possible information respecting the nations they visit. The narrations of such men must, almost of necessity, present a picture, the liveliness and fidelity of which is always striking, and often surpassing the accounts given by persons more closely connected with the events they describe. Thus the court of Queen Elizabeth, in the later years of her reign, is nowhere described in colours so vivid as in the despatches of the Comte de Beaumont, who was Henry the Fourth's ambassador here; and the correspondence of La Boderie throws a similar light upon that portion of the reign of James the First, in which he resided at the English court in a similar capacity. To place such materials within the reach of the historical student, and to associate them with the stores of which we are the possessors, is one of the objects which engage the attention of the Record Commission at this moment, and which cannot fail to be attended with happy results, if diligently pursued, aided, as their efforts have been, and are, by the co-operation of the persons in authority abroad.

Unless, however, a wholly different method of keeping the collection which will thus be formed, shall be adopted, the labours of the Commission will have been in vain—a result, however, which there is now no reason to fear. One of the most important measures for facilitating the public access to records, is to assemble them, or at least all such of them as can be required for reference, in one edifice. If it were necessary to expend some portion of the public money for this purpose, its importance and utility would justify such a measure; but it has been satisfactorily demonstrated that no such necessity exists. In the second of the works placed at the head of this article, are detailed the means by which a General Record Office, capable of containing all records of a public nature, may be erected. Such an establishment, of the best description, and which is fortunately under the direction of one who has contributed essentially, by his various labours, to promote the objects of the Record Commission, we possess in Scotland. The spot proposed for the new erection, in England, is that plot of ground called the Rolls Estate, in Chancery Lane; a great part of which is wholly vacant, and the remainder is occupied by the Rolls-house, and some public offices, and by buildings of little value. It has been estimated, and the calculation appears to be in no

degree exaggerated, that upon this spot a Record-Office, courts for the Barons of the Exchequer, and the Master of the Rolls, during their sittings out of term, public offices, and chambers for professional men, may be erected in such a manner, that the rental will be sufficient to defray all the expenses of the building, and, at the same time, secure to the successive Masters of the Rolls the same income which is at present derived from the estate. The money requisite for carrying this design into execution, may also be obtained without calling for any assistance from the Treasury, by borrowing from the suitors' fund in the Court of Chancery, upon the security of the buildings, such sums as their erection will require. That fund consists of accumulations of interest upon monies unclaimed, the owners of which are unknown, and will probably remain so for ever. To these accumulations, even if the principal should be claimed, no one can ever pretend any right; they form public property, and so much of them as has hitherto been applied, has been devoted to public purposes, of which none can be conceived more worthy than that at which the proposal aims. Such records as are of a purely literary nature, ought to be transferred to the British Museum, already rich in such stores, where the preservation will be ensured, and where public access to them will be convenient and familiar. Those of a legal character should be deposited in the building here described, or in some similar establishment; and the authority of the legislature may as easily as properly be obtained, to avoid the possibility of their value in the shape of evidence being diminished by their change of custody.

The defects of the former system having been exposed, there remains little difficulty in applying an adequate remedy. The first purpose to be accomplished is the opening of the Record Offices, and making the public acquainted with their contents by means of correct indexes. The next is to complete those contents by the addition of all such materials as can be drawn from the foreign depositories—an object which the proceedings already instituted by the present Board, are calculated to accomplish at no considerable expense, and without delay. For what has hitherto been done, the public thanks are deserved by the Commissioners; and there is no reason to doubt that their future exertions will be equally creditable to them.

ART. IX.—*A Plan of Church Reform. With a Letter to the King.* By LORD HENLEY. Fourth Edition. London: 1832.

THE publication of this tract may justly be regarded as an occurrence of very considerable importance, whether we mark the quarter it comes from, the period of its appearance, or the sensation which it has produced.

Lord Henley is a nobleman, distinguished by many virtues and acquirements;—by none more than a zealous and conscientious devotion to the interests of religion; but he is not a wild enthusiast; his piety is rational and active, and such as ‘brings forth the fruits of good living.’ Nor is he a recluse, unacquainted with the habits of the world; for he fills an important and laborious office in the Law, and has enriched the Library of the Lawyer by some valuable works. As little can his religious opinions be suspected of any bias towards sectarianism; for he is a most steadfast friend of the Established Church,—attached to its ordinances and devoted to its interests with a warmth of affection which rarely can be found among her lay children, and certainly cannot be exceeded by the zeal of any who minister at her altars. Lastly, he keeps himself aloof from the party contentions of the day;—has no leaning whatever towards the principles of innovation, nor any disposition to ‘meddle with them that are given to change’—averse to it, not loving it for its own sake, and only reconciled to the risk of it when he feels its necessity, and perceives that greater mischief can in no other way be prevented, or when reflection has shown that abuses exist, which it would be a breach of duty not to attempt removing. We believe that no reader will rise from the perusal of his able, pious, and interesting work, without an intimate persuasion that he has been contemplating the genuine and heartfelt sentiments of one who writes in the discharge of a solemn duty;—who would be the very last man in all England to approve, or even to endure, the ribaldry with which the Established Church is so frequently assailed, and who has nothing in common even with the more temperate and argumentative of its opponents.

The time at which this publication appears is also calculated to arrest our attention. The state of the Church has never, at any period since the Reformation, excited more general and more anxious solicitude. The admitted abuses of the establishment are as anxiously canvassed by its adversaries, as its merits are strenuously asserted by its friends; with this difference, however, that among the latter scarcely any can be found hardy

enough to deny that some reform is wanted, while a very large proportion of the former are disposed to allow it little if any praise. The state of Ireland, where every question almost, in political controversy, bears immediate reference to some ecclesiastical abuse, and all men are agreed, that as they now exist, things cannot by possibility go on, renders the discussion, and the speedy settlement of this great question, no longer a matter of choice. But if that part of the empire could be wholly left out of view, the people of this country have become resolved, that the evils allowed to exist in our own Church shall no longer be suffered to pass uncensured, or to remain without a remedy. At a moment when so many uncompromising enemies of the Establishment were preparing for extremities, and seemed anxious that its supporters should cling to every part of the system, which to reform is assuredly to strengthen, one of its most strenuous and sincerely attached friends comes forward with proposals of reformation, which might satisfy the desires of very unsparing reformers, but which assuredly are enough to prove that all churchmen are not bigoted and blind in their devotion to the Establishment, and that the most zealous and pious of their body are resolved to render the institutions which they most tenderly cherish more worthy of their regards.

The work of Lord Henley has been received not only with the respect which its own merits, and those of the noble author, were entitled to command, but with all the attention which the extraordinary interest of the subject was calculated to excite. That it has turned the thoughts of the clergy towards the great topics of Church Reform, we cannot take upon ourselves to affirm; because there can be no doubt, that long before it appeared, these must have engrossed their serious attention. But this well-timed publication has undoubtedly had the effect of rousing many to active exertion, who before might deem the time for precautionary measures not arrived; and the absolute necessity of immediate steps being taken to provide for the safety of the building by increasing its strength, and obtaining additional support, has been, since Lord Henley's work appeared, almost universally acknowledged, having before been generally felt.

To a work thus rendered peculiarly interesting, in whatever light it may be viewed, we shall now solicit the best attention of our readers; and we certainly have in our contemplation rather those of them whose lot is cast in England, than our own countrymen. Assuredly little argument is required to convince any Presbyterian that great reforms are necessary in the Anglican Church. It is a grievous mistake indeed, which some

very inaccurate observers and superficial thinkers are apt to make, who conclude that Scotchmen are all willing to see the Church of England destroyed, because their own Establishment is abhorrent of Episcopacy. They, and we believe we should be warranted in adding, the bulk of English dissenters also, have no enmity to the institution itself; they only desire to see its abuses reformed. But both the one class and the other are naturally more ready to admit the existence of those abuses than the members of the establishment can be; some of whom benefit by them, and others become blind to them through habit. To such, the work of Lord Henley is especially addressed.

He sets out with stating at once, 'the most prominent evil in 'the Church,' namely, the non-residence of the clergy, and the system of pluralities. By the returns of 1827, it appears, that of 10,533 benefices in England and Wales, there were only 4413 served by actually residing clergymen; and 6003, including those where the incumbent did the duty, without the kind of residence required by law. It follows, that the duty in 4530 parishes is performed by curates;—one sometimes serving two churches; we find the total number of curates for the same year, in another Parliamentary return, is only 4254; and as this includes the many cases where a resident parson has a curate, there must be several hundred parishes which have neither incumbent nor curate residing in them. If we now turn to the provision made for those humble but most deserving labourers in the vineyard, we shall find a strange spectacle presented to our contemplation. No less than 2999, or about three-fourths of their whole number, have less than L.100 a-year. Now the wisdom of government has settled, that in the poorer and cheaper country of Scotland, no clergyman shall have less than L.150 a-year. But L.100, even in England, is affluence compared with what many of those excellent and useful men possess. There are 1970 who have less than L.70—that is, less than a livery servant costs for wages, board-wages, and clothes: 689 have under L.50, that is, have less than a carpenter earns in country places. Nay, not a few receive less than the wages of common day-labourers; for 248 have under L.40, and 69 less than L.30.

But he would commit a very great mistake who should suppose, that all this non-residence of incumbents is owing to their overgrown pluralities; and that the inadequate payment of the curate is always voluntary on the parson's part. The livings themselves are of values grossly unequal, and many of them as poor as the curacies we have mentioned. In fact, if we take the minimum of the Scotch church, L.150, and make that the stand-

ard, it happens that there are many more livings than curacies that fall short of it; there being, of the former, 4361 under the yearly value of L.150, and of curates, 3859, who receive less than that sum. No less than 1350 livings are below L.70, and some go so low as L.10 and L.12. These values, too, are taken from a return made in 1815; and there cannot be any doubt that almost all have greatly fallen since then. Moreover, residence is rendered in many cases impossible by the want of parsonages;—2626 livings have none at all, and 2183 have houses worth two or three pounds a-year, and unfit for a clergyman's dwelling. Lord Henley most justly regards this as a state of things which ought not to be endured; and he holds, that even if the revenues of the church did not furnish sufficient wherewithal to endow its ministers, the state should supply the deficiency—an expedient, however, to which he does not deem it necessary to have recourse. His remarks upon the delegation of the spiritual office to curates, and upon the want of adequate endowments, and means of residence, are well deserving of attention.

‘Nothing, in fact, evinces so strongly how much wiser the children of this world are in their generation than the children of light, as the strictness with which mankind compel the performance of duties upon which their secular and pecuniary interests depend, as compared with the vague and languid attention which they are satisfied to exact from those, to whom spiritual and eternal concerns are intrusted. In what department, either of public or private trust, except the Church, has the system of executing important functions by deputy ever been extensively permitted? Yet most other professions are equally overstocked with candidates for employment, as competent to discharge the duties of all stations in those professions as any of the actual possessors of them, and who would willingly consent to perform those duties for a quarter, an eighth, or a tenth of the remuneration appointed for them. But who could endure to hear of a judge or stipendiary magistrate, a confidential manager or clerk in a great public or private office, a medical attendant on a hospital or infirmary, delegating, without scruple on his own part, and without instant remonstrance on the part of those who were interested to compel his services, the entire performance of all his duties to a substitute, whom he might reward with a small fraction of his own stipulated emoluments? Yet that which would be thought so intolerable an abuse where public health, or justice, or worldly interests alone are concerned, is not only endured, but frequently and strenuously defended, where no less a confidence is reposed, than the care of the present holiness and eternal welfare of hundreds. This is an evil which cannot be tolerated. We ask only for God, what man exacts for man. If the excellence and merits of the deputy are not permitted, in earthly trusts, to justify

the absence and neglect of the principal, neither let them have that effect in heavenly.

‘The admirable and conscientious Bishop Burnet, in his Valedictory Address to his Church and Country, uses the following indignant remonstrance on this subject. “I do not enter into the scandalous practices of non-residence and pluralities, which are sheltered by so many colours of law among us: whereas the Church of Rome, from which we had those and many other abuses, has freed herself from this, under which we still labour, to our great and just reproach. How long, how long shall this be the peculiar disgrace of our Church, which, for aught I know, is the only Church in the world that tolerates it?”’

We cite the following passage, both for its own merits, and for the striking references which it contains to Lord Bacon’s high authority.

‘It seems astonishing that this great and understanding nation, should permit such a continual violation of the spirit and letter of Christianity to exist in its very bosom. That while so many thousands are annually raised by voluntary subscription to send forth Missionaries into the remotest corners of the world, we should dole out the revenues of the National Church in so unequal a manner, that more than 4000 of its districts are unable to support a minister in the decent habits and respectability of a gentleman. And that while we have millions at home who are living in total alienation from the sanctions and comforts of religion, we should “sow beside all waters” except those whose borders have the first claims for our culture.

“These things ought not so to be,” and if there were no overgrown and unwieldy endowments in the Church; if there were no sinecures, the existence of which brings discredit on the Establishment, no payments utterly disproportionate to any service that is rendered for them, these details would have established a right to require the Legislature to devote a grant, or a series of annual grants, to this great exigency.

“For,” as observed by Lord Bacon, “all the Parliaments since the 27th and 31st of Henry VIII., who gave away impropriations from the Church, seem to stand in a sort obnoxious and obliged to God in conscience to do somewhat for the Church to reduce the patrimony thereof to a competence. For since they have debarred Christ’s wife of a great part of her dowry, it were reason they made her a competent jointure.”

‘The Legislature cannot be too frequently reminded, in looking at our 4000 almost unendowed benefices, and our 4800 houseless livings, that, in the language of the same illustrious person, “It is a constitution of the Divine Law, from which human laws cannot derogate, that those which feed the flock should live of the flock; that those that serve at the altar should live at the altar; that those which dispense spiritual things should reap spiritual things; of which it is also an appendix that the proportion of the maintenance be not small or necessitous, but plentiful and liberal.”’

We now come to the most important part of the subject—the remedy for evils, the existence and the magnitude of which can-

not be denied. Justly deeming it vain to expect that in the present state of our burdened finances, and in the universally prevailing temper of men's minds, any augmentation of the endowments of the Church could be proposed with any chance of success, our author sets himself to enquire in what way its actual revenues may be distributed more equally, so as to reduce the amount of the mischiefs complained of, to render pluralities and non-residence no longer necessary; and, removing the necessity, to take away the only excuse for such a practice.

The revenues of the Church consist of three portions—those of the Parochial Clergy, the Bishops, and the Chapters. Our author considers them in their order.

The revenues of the parochial clergy, he thinks, cannot be touched;—that is, he sees insuperable objections to taking in any way from one living to increase another. For suppose the course to be followed which was taken by Queen Anne: She gave up, as is well known, the tenths and first fruits, transferred from the Pope to the crown at the Reformation, to augment the small livings; and some have suggested that there should be a new valuation, so as to take the real value, and not the value of the year 1535 (26th Hen. VIII). No doubt such a plan would speedily augment the small livings; but it would be an inroad upon property in both cases; and as to the first fruits, it would, he contends, expose every incumbent to the most serious distress,—taking from him his income during the time of greatest pressure,—the year of coming to his preferment, and thus making him begin his residence under a load of debt. But even the increase of the tenths, though less hard upon the incumbent, would be an interference, according to our author, with the rights of the patron, in whom the advowson is vested. There seems no reason why one proprietor should give up part of his living, because another has a living of much smaller amount; nor why one class of proprietors, the patrons of considerable benefices, should alone of all the community be taxed to provide for a deficiency in the funds of the Church. Our author thinks, too, that it is extremely useful to a community of some extent to have a resident clergyman with an ample income; observing that it would be ‘one of the greatest blessings which could be conferred, if wheresoever there was a population of 1500 or 2000 souls, a beneficed clergyman, with an endowment of from L.800 to L.1200 a-year, were placed in the midst of it;’ and he thinks that taking even a 9th or 10th from so large an income would materially lessen the salutary influence of their pastor. We own that the force of this objection does not strike us. In the first place, the great

livings are not in point of fact so distributed as to produce the good which Lord Henley has in view. Many of the richest—we might say the greater number of them—are in places where no large body of inhabitants is to be found. But, next, we cannot see the necessity of making such endowments general. Some, or even a considerable number, there ought to be, in order to attract learned and able men to the service of the sanctuary; but the great bulk ought to afford a decent competency, and no more.

If the establishment could be so moulded as to leave none with less than L.300 or L.350 a-year, though few beside the dignitaries had more, it cannot be contended that an inferior race of clergymen would fill its benefices. This, or some such arrangement as this, is unquestionably what ought to be aimed at, although there are very great difficulties in the way of its attainment; and accordingly, all must agree with the noble author, that the property of advowsons being vested in lay individuals in so great a proportion, presents a very formidable obstacle to any measure of immediate equalization. He has not stated this proportion; but we believe the following particulars will be found not very wide of the truth. Taking the livings at 11,300, in round numbers, the crown by itself, or through the Lord Chancellor, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, has about 990; the two universities 760; and the Bishops and Chapters about 2280,—making in all something above 4000 in the hands of these great corporations, and leaving about 7300 in the hands of lay patrons; of whom by far the greater number, certainly nearer seven than six thousand, are individuals. Of the 4000, three-fifths are vicarages, and only two-fifths rectories; but this proportion varies remarkably, according to the corporation holding the patronage. In the crown and university livings the rectories are more numerous than the vicarages, in the proportion of five to four; but in the livings of the Bishops and Chapters there are two vicarages for one rectory; and of the livings in the hands of lay patrons the rectories and vicarages may be nearly equal. It seems plain, therefore, that whether by raising the valuation of the tenths and first-fruits, or by any other more sweeping process, the equalization, as far as the revenues of the parochial clergy are to supply the means, could only be partially effected,—there being 7000 which must be exempted from the operation. It seems, however, equally clear, that the other 4000 might immediately be subjected to it; and this would raise all the very poor livings in the gift of the crown, the universities, and the chapters; and might possibly furnish the means of increasing a number of those in the hands of lay

patrons, who in cases where several very unequal livings belong to the same person, may, in consideration of aid thus afforded, assist further in equalizing. We therefore would by no means reject the help to be derived from the first resource enumerated by our author—the parochial clergy's funds; although certainly it is quite inadequate to perform the whole of the service required.

We have said nothing upon Lord Henley's strong opinion in favour of existing interests, because we think it in the main well-grounded; and that where there exists any doubt, this is the side to which the legislature should always incline. As far as regards the vested interests of the incumbents, all will readily admit the principle. As nothing could be more unjust, nay, more cruel, than depriving of their benefices, or any part of their benefices,* the men who have been in the actual enjoyment of them, and formed their schemes of life upon the footing of their possession, so we may be well assured that nothing could more effectually or more speedily alienate all good and all reasonable men from the plan of which such harsh and violent expedients formed a part. It is always, however, to be kept in mind, that the case of the patron and of the incumbent are not quite the same. The somewhat anomalous kind of property enjoyed by the patrons, whom the law debars, generally speaking, from making any direct profit of it, is a right to exercise a sort of public trust, without any personal benefit. It is a right which men prize, and therefore will give a price for; but unless by something like a fraud upon the law, no direct advantage can be reaped from the exercise of this right. It has been very frequently interfered with by the Legislature, and in such a way as to affect its value in the market; but in a way quite consonant to its nature as connected with the public interests. Laws requiring the incumbent to reside, or to pay a curate a certain stipend, diminish the value of the advowson; and yet these have been made once and again. Indeed, even the property which the incumbent has in his benefice, differs from ordinary property, inasmuch as it is connected with the performance of certain public duties; and the legislature may not only take steps for securing

* This remark ought not to include the levying a very small proportional sum, more like a tax than an appropriation. Accordingly Dr Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church, proposes taking something annually from each living of above L.200, according to a graduated scale, beginning with L.1, and going on to L.20, not per cent, but altogether.

the due performance of these, but may deal with the benefice in order to attain that security the more effectually. While, therefore, due tenderness is shown to the rights of existing incumbents, it does not seem inconsistent with the rights of the patron to regulate the enjoyment of the benefice prospectively, so as to insure the due discharge of the duties. We hardly think it would be going too far to hold, that the owner of two advowsons, one larger than necessary, and the other so inconsiderable as to preclude the due discharge of the pastoral duties, should be called upon to suffer a reduction of the one, and a proportional augmentation of the other. Our author disclaims, at least by the tenor of his reasoning, any such idea; but we doubt if it would be found upon examination at all repugnant to the nature of the property in advowsons. He seems to think the due augmentation of the smaller livings can be effected without having recourse to the funds of the parochial clergy at all, and consequently without coming in any conflict with the patrons, either lay or clerical. Accordingly he proceeds to the next head of church property—the revenues of the Bishops. Estimating those at L.163,000 a-year, he considers them not more than adequate to support the just and necessary expenses of their eminent stations. We may remark, however, that even without deducting from the actual income of those high dignitaries, the state might derive very considerable funds in the course of a few years. By commuting for a fixed salary the casual profits from fines, upon which the Sees principally depend, the Bishops would be paid more regularly, and in a way better adapted to promote habits of economy; and the state would receive in a short time the full value of the Episcopal estates. But it may by some be questioned whether further aid might not be derived from this source, independent of the benefit accruing from the future improvement of the Episcopal estates.

But the revenues of the Chapters are the funds to which our author exclusively looks for the means of augmenting small livings; and if he has been tender with respect to the incomes of Bishops and Parochial Clergy, who have important and laborious duties to perform, he by no means shows the same forbearance where the holders of the office render little or no service in return for great gains. The Chapter revenues, including those of collegiate churches, are estimated at between L.250,000, and L.300,000 a-year; and were the estates in the hands of the Crown, they would soon fetch double that amount. The holders of these ample funds receive them in the greatest variety of proportions—one dignity being so high as L.8,000, (our author might have gone beyond that amount,) and some being little

better than nominal in respect of emolument. He gives the following description of the duties performed :—

‘ This is a revenue considerably exceeding one-sixth of the estimated income of all the Parochial Clergy of England and Wales ; and it becomes material, in prosecution of our investigation, to enquire what the services are, in return for which so large an amount of income is paid. These services will be found to be fully comprised in the following catalogue :—a stated number of days and nights passed in the residence : a certain number of attendances at morning and evening service on week days ; and in some cathedrals a few sermons on Sundays and Festivals.

‘ The period of residence is adjusted in a most capricious and mischievous mode. It lately appeared in the course of a discussion in the House of Lords, that, in one Chapter, a Prebendary, from the circumstance of being Sub-dean, might be compelled to an uninterrupted residence of twelve consecutive months, and, accordingly, an active and very valuable person was taken (under the baneful system of Pluralities) from one of the most extensive and interesting scenes of Christian exertion in the metropolis, to waste his energies for several months in a country town on a comparative sinecure. In some Chapters the requisite residence is three months, in others two, and often only one. In some again, it would appear that even this is not required. The late Earl of Bridgewater drew the magnificent income of one of the Golden Stalls of Durham while living at Paris. And in another Chapter it is possible for a person never even to have seen the inside of the cathedral since the day he read himself in, and to have been in the receipt of an income equal to eight or ten small livings for upwards of a quarter of a century, without performing any one duty of office whatsoever.

‘ Many of these individuals are, indisputably, valuable and diligent labourers, who in other places, and in other modes, have rendered or are rendering good service to the Church. But here they have no sphere or means of usefulness. They are connected with no poor, who look up to them as their protectors and guides ; they have no sick and dying to pray with ; no children to catechize ; no flock towards whom the sympathies and affections of a pastor can be called forth. The most important offering to God’s glory and service, is a formal attendance on a cold and pompous ceremonial.’

He then states, with exemplary fairness, the arguments urged in defence of those sinecures—namely, that they attract men of family to the church as a profession, and that they furnish the means of rewarding learned men, and engaging their services for the Church and for religion. To these arguments he gives what appears a satisfactory answer. He considers them as applicable only against a scheme which would reduce the Church to a low level of emolument, in requital of real services. But as he is the advocate of a liberal provision for such services, he holds that to be sufficient for attracting to the clerical profession

all whose accession would be a benefit. To abolish sinecures in the Church, then, to prohibit pluralities, and to impose residence upon all classes of the clergy, are the main principles of Lord Henley's proposed reform. He proceeds thus:—

He would vest in a corporation, partly consisting of salaried officers, and partly of great officers in Church and in State, all the revenues of the Bishops and of the Chapters and Collegiate Churches, as each life drops, of the present occupants. Out of those funds he proposes to pay the Bishops' salaries, and that these should be equal, namely L.5000; thus getting rid of the evil of translations, so long and so justly complained of: but he is for making London L.10,000, Durham L.8000, and Winchester L.7000; and for giving the two Archbishops L.15,000 and L.12,000 respectively. He proposes also to add two sees for the relief of the overburdened and scattered diocese of Lincoln, and relieving those of York and Litchfield.

He next proposes that the Cathedral duties shall be done by a Dean, with the assistance of two chaplains. To the former, he allows salaries varying from L.1000 to L.1200 and L.1800; to the latter L.200: he conceives that all the prebends or canonries may be abolished, except such as can be united to populous parishes in the city of the Cathedral they belong to; and then those stalls may, he thinks, be continued, as they can supply the means of parochial ministry to such parishes.

The surplus revenue, after providing for the Deans, Chaplains, and continued Prebendaries, he reckons at L.150,000; and this he would appropriate to the augmentation of country livings, and building new churches and rectories.

Unless where a living is under L.400 a-year, Lord Henley is clear that no plurality should be allowed; and he proposes to enforce residence throughout the church—extending it to Deans and to Bishops—all of whom should be bound to reside nine months in the year, as well as the parish Priests. He also would prohibit the translation of Bishops from one see to another, only suffering them to be translated to the Archbishoprics. After a Prelate has served fifteen years, and attained the age of seventy, or if he be disabled, our author considers that a retiring provision should be allowed—L.3000 to a Bishop, and L.4000 to the Primate.

These are undoubtedly large changes in the Hierarchy, and such as, generally speaking, meet the very brunt of the objections to its abuses and imperfections. But we question if any of them, or all of them together, be destined to excite as much opposition as the one we are about to mention, although it certainly is of far less magnitude than many of the others. Our

author strongly inclines to exclude Bishops from a seat in Parliament; proposing that a commission shall be appointed to enquire how this may best be accomplished, and under what new regulations the Convocation may be suffered again to meet for the despatch of business. He discusses the matter with his accustomed ability and knowledge of the subject, and with the candour which never forsakes him; for nothing can be more exemplary than the fairness and calmness with which he treats the questions most calculated to rouse his zeal; and the reader must feel convinced at every step, that he is accompanying one only bent eagerly upon the pursuit of truth, and ready to make all sacrifices to attain it.

He begins by considering the parliamentary privileges of Bishops on the high ground of lawfulness, according to the letter and spirit of the Christian dispensation. Our Saviour has declared that 'his kingdom is not of this world;' he refused to exercise functions which involved a meddling with temporal matters, or interference with authority; and both his apostles and their successors for some ages abstained from all concern with worldly power. Yet what, asks our author, can be more clearly 'a kingdom of this world' than the legislative and judicial office in its supreme degree, and the power of approving and rejecting all the political acts of the government? But he does not rest his objection on this view alone: aware of the argument so powerfully urged as to the parliamentary rights of the prelacy being necessary for the protection of the Church, or—as it has sometimes been put epigrammatically enough—the expediency of making, not the Church political, but the State religious, Lord Henley denies the tendency of the privilege in question to strengthen the establishment. The union of the Bishops would form but a very small minority in the House of Lords; and they are wholly unable to resist a general concurrence of that body, or even a strong feeling in the Commons and in the country, though the votes of the Lords may be more nearly balanced. Yet the argument for their having seats in Parliament presupposes the Church to be in danger, from a strong disposition against it prevailing either in the Lords, or in the Commons, and in the Country. If it prevails only in the country, the two Houses of Parliament will be strong enough to defend the Church, without the aid of the Episcopal bench; if either or both Houses should declare against the Church, the votes of the Prelates would not turn the scale. The argument, however, on which he seems to lay the most stress, is ably stated in the following passage:

'In the next place, no one can have attended a debate in that assembly, when the passions of the combatants have been excited by that

intense degree of party virulence and animosity, which prevails when measures of more than ordinary interest are discussed, without feeling that it is an arena where the ministers of a religion of love and goodwill to man, can scarcely with propriety be spectators. But if, as is sometimes the case, and most fatally for the interests of Christianity, they descend from the tone of plain and simple exposition of their sentiments, and become themselves the gladiators in the strife of bitterness and personality, a hateful spectacle of some of the worst passions of our nature is presented, and a scandal is given in the most conspicuous assembly in the realm.

‘And as nothing has a more certain effect in secularizing the Church, than the introduction of politics into it, so nothing has a greater tendency to lower it in the estimation of the people. One reason why our judges are so justly popular, is their very general separation from all party violence and political litigation. The admixture of the ministers of religion in politics, is bad every way. If, as is the natural inclination of religious men, of men looking beyond this present scene, and caring for nothing while they continue in it but the maintenance of good government and order, they keep aloof from the transitory squabbles of party, and support the Administration of the day, they incur the charge of servility, and perhaps of tergiversation. If, on the other hand, they embark in a systematic course of opposition, they seem to be violating those commands which inculcate submission to the powers that be, and which declare resistance to such powers to be resistance to the ordinance of God. If they find it their duty to withstand the loud and earnest desires of the great mass of the people, they are pursued by a “hunt of obloquy,” which is of infinite evil, in all respects and which turns into persecutors and revilers those who ought to “esteem them very highly in love for their works’ sake.”’

But if the Prelates are to be excluded from Parliament, our author thinks that the Church should have its Assembly to handle Ecclesiastical affairs; and that the Convocation, though liable to many objections from the imperfections in its constitution, may be remodelled so as to perform more safely and conveniently the office of providing for the government, and watching over the interests of the establishment. We confess that we here see very great difficulties. They who consider it as natural and easy that there should be a General Assembly of the Church in England, because we have one in Scotland, and because the English sects have their assemblies, do not sufficiently weigh the fundamental difference between the constitution of the English University, and the Presbyterian scheme of Church Government. The powers vested in our Church Courts reside, in England, with the Prelates: and our General Assembly is a court of appeal from the local judicatories, as well as a conference in which the general interests of the Church are discussed and provided for. But suppose the Convocation in

England were confined to such general discussions, it is easy to foresee the conflicts with the legislature which must be engendered; and as easy to see that those conflicts must end in the weaker body going to the wall. A display of the will without the power would not tend to elevate the Convocation. But in the present temper of men's minds,—and we speak not of any temporary or passing feelings which late events may have produced, but of the disinclination towards all assumptions of power by churchmen, which has been long growing up, and is now very general,—we could hardly hope that the debates of the Ecclesiastical Parliament, and the powers exercised or claimed by them, would fail to be an object of extreme jealousy with the country.

Even if the commutation and extinction of Tithe should have removed the grand cause of dissension between the clerical and lay orders of the community, it is not easy to expect that the new assembly should find much favour with the people. All the forbearance and circumspection which it could exert, would still fail to reconcile men's minds to its operations, and to disarm their jealousy of its interference, direct or indirect, with secular affairs. For years, this jealousy would of necessity be felt; and must tend, at least during that period, to weaken the hold which the Church has over the people—nay, to beget positive dislike to it. But it is precisely during this first period, after the exclusion of the Prelates from Parliament, that the services of the Convocation will be most wanted to supply the loss of direct political power. So that even were we to admit the possibility of its prudence and discretion afterwards gaining over the public confidence, the acquisition would come too late. Indeed it seems reasonable to expect that the existence of such a body in active operation would weaken instead of strengthening the Church; and would thus increase the mischiefs alleged, perhaps justly, to have arisen from the parliamentary privileges of the Bishops. If this opinion touching the Episcopal Bench is well founded, there is no substitute required, upon its abolition, as far at least as the security of the Church is concerned; for a cause of weakness is removed, not a prop taken away. Lord Henley seems to admit this in the concluding passage of this discussion, where he allows, that even if the Convocation should not be so modelled as to afford a compensation to the Hierarchy for the loss of direct parliamentary power, still that Hierarchy would gain in real strength by the abandonment of this power, and by 'severing the unnatural alliance between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of the world.' The real influence of the Church he holds to

depend, not on the votes of a few political Peers, but in the habits and affections of the people, strengthened by the Church's desire to perform its duties faithfully, and to work out its reformation effectually. Thus armed, 'she may rely with confidence ' on Parliament, and permit the hierarchy, unpolluted by politics, to apply its undivided energies to that sacred object to ' which it should be exclusively devoted.'

We have given the argument upon this part of Lord Henley's plan at the greater length, because it is the branch most likely to excite animadversion; and we confess that it does not appear to us so free from difficulty as most of his other propositions. What we chiefly pause upon is, the exclusion of one great body,—one important interest in the state, from all direct participation in its legislative proceedings. For we take for granted that our author would by no means leave the door of the Lower House open to those against whom he had shut that of the Upper. Neither Bishop nor Priest, we conclude, are to be eligible as representatives. Indeed, all the objections that apply to their admissibility in the Lords, are equally applicable to their sitting in the Commons, with this addition, that the clerical character seems peculiarly ill suited to the work of a Canvass and the service of the Hustings. Is, then, the clerical interest to have no direct voice in Parliament? Possibly this exclusion, though anomalous in our representative system, may be necessary to avoid greater anomalies and worse evils. Possibly, it may be the only means of protecting religion from the contamination of secular politics; and preventing those very mischiefs from being wrought,—the growth of irreligious feelings, and the degeneracy of religion into fanaticism,—to guard against which is the chief object of founding and maintaining a national endowment.

There is a suggestion thrown out by Lord Henley, rather than a proposal forming part of his plan, which certainly deserves much consideration—upon the disposal of Church Patronage—at least that portion of it which is vested in the Crown, and is now substantially bestowed by the ministers of state. This comprises not only all the Bishoprics, but all the Deaneries, except the four inconsiderable ones in Wales, 74 stalls, 552 rectories, and 436 vicarages—in all, 1117 pieces of preferment, among which are the greatest both in power and emolument. As long as government is administered by men whose views must needs be more directed to secular than to clerical affairs, it is evident that political considerations must frequently enter into the distribution of all this important patronage. Perhaps it may even be contended that the affairs of the state

could not be conducted, without some such support being lent to the influence of the crown. But according to our author, the interests of religion, especially if all direct interference of its professors with parliamentary proceedings were at an end, seem to require, that other views should alone preside over the appointment both of Prelates and of inferior functionaries of the Church. King William, it is well known, being ignorant of ecclesiastical affairs in England, left the disposal of his patronage to the Queen, who acted chiefly according to Archbishop Tillotson's advice; and after her death he left it to a commission of the Archbishops and four Bishops.* Our author thinks that these prelates, joined with some laymen, might conveniently be intrusted with the recommendation to all preferments directly or indirectly in the crown;—a suggestion deserving much consideration, but in acceding to which we feel great difficulty, when we regard the tendency of such Boards either to abdicate their authority, and leave all in the hands of one or two individuals, or to become (as in this case would be far more likely) the scene of compromise, mutual accommodation, and jobbing. Lord Henley is not insensible to the force of this objection; but he thinks, which we do not, that, at all events, the influence of politics would be excluded.

In closing our account of this publication, we need not repeat our avowal of those feelings of deep respect for its author, with which every page is calculated to impress the reader. But it is of far more importance, and we are confident will by him be so deemed, to observe the concurrence with which his views have been received—not, indeed, as regards the details of his remedies—but at least as regards his description of the evil, and, we may add, the necessity of an ample and effectual application of correctives, for the sake of the establishment which he so zealously and so honestly defends. This sentiment is not confined to mere political reformers; it is assuredly not confined to enemies of the Established Church; perhaps it is not shared by them,—certainly not in the way in which our author, and those who agree with him, entertain it. But that it now has spread itself rapidly and most extensively among the fast friends of the Establishment, cannot be doubted; and they feel it the most strongly and practically whose attachment to that establishment is the least mixed with political prejudice and partialities,—they, in a word, who consider the subject in a religious, and not in a poli-

* This refers only, of course, to the patronage directly vested in the Crown, and not to that of the Great Seal and the Duchy.

tical light. Addresses of clergymen, associations of clergymen, public meetings of clergymen, all with a view to obtain such reforms as may render the Church more secure, betoken a deep sense of the necessity which seems to exist of placing that venerable fabric upon a broader and sounder foundation,—one both fitted for the times in which we live, and the state of society in which its lot is cast. We leave the whole subject to the dispassionate consideration of our English readers, and especially of those who are members of that Establishment.

Justice to both sides of the question makes it fitting that we should refer our readers to the works which take a different view from that we have been considering in Lord Henley's Tract. We doubt if there be any, at least any deserving the least attention, which resist all reformation, and wholly deny the existence of others. But Dr Burton, to whom we have already referred, differs materially with Lord Henley upon the best mode of applying a remedy. He is desirous of making all considerable livings contribute to the augmentation of the small ones, according to their real value; and Mr Miller, in an able pamphlet, extends this to the first fruits. Dr Burton has replied to Lord Henley in a second pamphlet, illustrating his views in greater detail; and both his publications deserve great attention.

One of the ablest tracts to which this question has given rise, is entitled, 'The Farmers and the Clergy.' It consists of six Letters, addressed to the Farmers, on Tithes and Church Property; and the principal object of the author is to expose the gross misrepresentations of its amount which have been circulated, to the no small injury of the cause they were intended to serve, and to the great discredit of their authors. They are traced and repelled in a very able and lively manner in this Tract, although it is impossible to agree with the author in all his statements; and still less can we go along with him in all his remarks. One of the latter we feel bound, as good Scotchmen, to deny; conceiving it to contain a very inaccurate representation of the effects produced by our Church Establishment, the moderate revenues of which, the author thinks, prevent able and learned men from going into it. 'I believe,' he says, 'very many of its ministers to be excellent and exemplary men, but it has had few writers of any celebrity; and they have almost all been persons called away from their livings to public stations in the Universities.' Now, we deny this entirely. In the course of the last half of the eighteenth century, that church numbered among her ministers, Robertson, Reid, Campbell, Blair, Watson, Fergusson, Small, Gerrard, Blair,

(the poet), Playfair,—and the list might be extended. All these men attained great eminence in Letters, wholly independently of their theological pursuits. Taking the proportional numbers of clergymen in the two countries, more than a hundred English divines must be produced by the author, who have, during the above period, acquired as great distinction in the literary or scientific world as those Scotch ministers, before it can be argued that our frugal Establishment has a less tendency to attract genius than the well-endowed livings of her more splendid sister. The sort of qualification introduced by the author into his proposition is really quite immaterial. If these eminent men were educated for the Scotch Church, and held preferment in it, their being afterwards attached to the Universities was only one consequence of the celebrity which they had acquired. Thus Dr Robertson wrote his History of Scotland, by many thought his best work, and certainly one that comes as near the excellence of ancient historical composition as any production of modern times, while he lived on a small benefice in East Lothian. He was an officiating member of the Church all his life, and his academical emoluments never could have reached L.150 a-year. So, too, Dr Reid, while minister of a small benefice in Aberdeenshire, had distinguished himself by his first work, (in the *Philosophical Transactions*,) and had laid the foundation of the most original and important of all his writings, and the groundwork of all the rest—his ‘Inquiry.’ Almost all those we have named were men of Letters or of Science while clergymen merely, and before they had any University connexion. In truth, the constitution of the Scotch Universities, without fellowships or residence, is such as to afford no direct encouragement to science, in the manner supposed by the author. In England, men are brought up to a University as to a profession; and many of these also taking orders, appear to be literary men belonging to the Church, whereas they really belong to the Universities. In Scotland it is not so; and this consideration increases the proportion of Scotch to English literary divines.

- ART. X.—1. *The Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe, D.D. illustrated principally from his unpublished Manuscripts; with a Preliminary View of the Papal System, and of the State of the Protestant Doctrine in Europe, to the Commencement of the Fourteenth Century.* By ROBERT VAUGHAN. Second Edition, much improved. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1831.
2. *The Life of Wiclif.* By CHARLES WEBB LE BAS, M.A. Professor in the East-India College, Herts, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. London: 1832.

JOHAN WYCLIFFE is the most distinguished name in the ecclesiastical annals of his native country. The age to which he belonged was an age of intellectual darkness: for a religion which breathed peace and good-will to the human race, the persevering arts of priestcraft had substituted a direful system of superstition, which perpetually aimed at enslaving the minds of men, and on many occasions disposed of their bodies with the most cold-blooded and unrelenting cruelty. The fabric of papal power had reached so gigantic a height, that it could rarely be assailed without the most imminent peril; but, in spite of the discouragements and dangers which awaited such an attempt, every age produced some individuals of intense devotedness to the cause of truth, who did not fail to testify against this Mystery of Iniquity. It was in the fourteenth century that the voice of one crying in the wilderness was heard from Wycliffe; a man eminently skilled in the scholastic learning of his own time, and who adorned his doctrine by the tenor of a holy life. He was the great precursor of Luther, who appeared after an interval of one hundred and fifty years; and it may perhaps be safely affirmed, that to him the cause of reformation was more deeply indebted than to Luther himself.

The history of Wycliffe is therefore closely blended with the history of his own country, and with that of the Christian church. The Popish historians, from the age of Walsingham to that of Lingard, have necessarily treated him as the worst of heretics; and some of the Protestant historians, particularly Milner, have not very clearly discerned the nature and the extent of his services in the greatest of all causes that can excite the energies of the human mind. His life has however been written, and his character vindicated, by authors of various denominations. In the year 1720, John Lewis, A.M., Vicar of Margate, published 'The History of the Life and Sufferings of

the Reverend and Learned John Wicliffe, D.D.' This work is at least valuable for the extent of its research, and it has supplied all the succeeding biographers with a considerable proportion of their materials. As a sequel to the *Life of Wicliffe*, he afterwards published '*The Life of the Learned and Right Reverend Reynold Pecock, S. T. P. Lord Bishop of St Asaph and Chichester, in the reign of King Henry VI.*' Both these works were elegantly reprinted at the university press of Oxford, in the year 1820. The next biographer of the great reformer was L. P. Wirth, who in 1753 published in the German language a history of the life, opinions, and writings of John Wycliffe,* and thus rendered his name and merits more familiarly known on the continent. In 1765, a popular account of him was published by Mr Gilpin, who performed a similar service for several other men eminent in their generation.† To his version of the New Testament, printed in 1810, the Rev. Mr Baber of the British Museum prefixed '*Memoirs of the Life, Opinions, and Writings of Dr Wiclif; and an Historical Account of the Saxon and English versions of the Scriptures, previous to the opening of the fifteenth century.*' The republication of this version seems to have excited a new interest respecting the character of the venerable translator, and several other biographies have since followed in more rapid succession. The next in order was an anonymous '*Life of John Wickliff,*' printed at Edinburgh in the year 1826. The first edition of Mr Vaughan's work appeared in 1823; and a very brief '*Life of John Wycliffe,*' written by the Rev. Thomas Murray, was published at Edinburgh in 1829.

All these biographers have their own share of merit; but the strenuous and well-directed labours of Mr Vaughan are such as entitle him to a very decided pre-eminence. In this age of flippant and flimsy compilation, it is highly gratifying to meet with something that reminds us of better times; to meet with a book which at once relates to a subject of real importance, and is prepared with a due mixture of ardent perseverance and judicious deliberation. To the old stock of biographical mate-

* Jablonski *Institutiones Historiæ Christianæ*, tom. i. p. 329. This learned historian describes Wycliffe as '*vir excellenti ingenio, magno animo, et pietate solida præstans, sed quem linguarum sacrarum peritia, literarumque elegantiorum studia deficiebant.*'

† *The Lives of John Wickliff*, and of the most eminent of his Disciples, Lord Cobham, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Zisca. By William Gilpin, M.A. Lond. 1765, 8vo,

rials, he has made many important additions; and his materials are digested in such a manner as to afford the most complete and satisfactory view of Wycliffe's life and character that has yet been exhibited. The reformer's writings are very numerous; and being chiefly in manuscript, and widely scattered in many different libraries, they could not be rendered available without much patience and toil. Not satisfied with consulting those belonging to the British Museum and to the library of Lambeth Palace, he successively visited the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, having in the prosecution of his undertaking travelled upwards of two thousand miles. This laudable perseverance has enabled him to obtain a more complete and familiar knowledge of those writings than any preceding historian, and to exhibit a much more satisfactory account, not merely of his leading doctrines, but likewise of his gradual progress in the pursuit of divine truth. It was of no small importance to ascertain the chronology of his principal treatises; for, without this guide, it is impossible to trace his steps from the gross errors of his youth to the purified opinions of his maturest age. To such points of chronology Mr Vaughan has devoted the most critical attention, and has thus rectified many inaccuracies committed by his predecessors.

His preliminary chapters, which occupy 226 pages, are evidently the result of extensive research, and are written with ability and judgment. He there treats of the rise and character of the papal power; of the state of the Protestant doctrine in Europe, till the commencement of the fourteenth century; of the ecclesiastical establishment, and the state of society in England, previous to the age of Wycliffe. All these are interesting topics, and on all of them he has presented important facts and observations. But we cannot reasonably expect the same individual to be equally conversant with every branch of human knowledge; and an able divine can in most cases dispense with the learning of a lawyer. We lately had occasion to remark, with a particular reference to the case of Mr Todd, that, when an English writer speaks of the Pandects, he commonly finds himself on slippery and dangerous ground. Of the correctness of this opinion, Mr Vaughan has furnished us with a new illustration; and a few animadversions on the subsequent paragraph may possibly be of some practical utility, by directing public attention to that deficiency in the knowledge of historical jurisprudence, which distinguishes England from other learned countries of Europe. In this respect, there must be some general defect in English education; and where any specific defect

is very clearly ascertained, it becomes more easy to apply a remedy.

‘Justinian ascended the throne of the empire in 528, and signalized the first year of his reign by requiring that a collection should be made of the most useful of the Roman laws. From that copious abridgement, extracted principally from the Code of Theodosius, and from the earlier compilations of Gregorius and Hermogenes, a digest was afterwards formed, known by the name of the Pandects; and the publication of these, consisting of fifty books, was preceded by that of an elementary treatise, called the Institutes. The two last works, together with the Novels, or subsequent edicts of the same prince, included the system of jurisprudence which became so much an object of study and admiration in the twelfth century. From the fall of the empire the clergy had retained some knowledge of its secular laws, and often appealed to them; but the accidental discovery of a copy of the Pandects, in 1135, gave a new impulse to enquiry respecting the principles of the Roman legislation. From that period to the age of Wycliffe, distinguished civilians might be found in all the principal cities; and universities began to consider their claims to this kind of learning as an important branch of their celebrity. In the seminary of Boulogne, where law only was taught, the students, in 1262, amounted to ten thousand.’—Vol. i. p. 222.

This passage comprehends more than one error. What is so lamely and inadequately stated respecting the Pandects, is applicable to the Code of Justinian; but the writer seems entirely to have forgotten that the Code forms a part, and an ample part, of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. The Pandects are not composed of imperial constitutions; they are almost entirely extracted from the writings of the most eminent lawyers, and derive the force of law from the sanction of the emperor under whose auspices they were compiled. It may not at present be material to add, that they contain a very copious collection of legal principles and legal reasonings, exhibiting one of the most remarkable specimens of ancient genius and ancient wisdom. The Novels are likewise imperfectly described by the biographer: they do not merely include the subsequent edicts of Justinian, but also those of other emperors. Here we find, in all its original freshness, the old story about the marvellous revival of the civil law after the siege of Amalfi; and for most English readers, even such as are civilians by profession, Savigny has in vain written his history of the Roman law during the middle ages. Instead of ‘the seminary of Boulogne,’ he ought to have said, the university of Bologna. *Bononia* is the Latin appellation of both towns; but the name of Bologna is so conspicuous in the history of

jurisprudence, that it is not without some degree of surprise that we find a learned man betrayed into such an error. It is obvious enough that Mr Vaughan is not acquainted with the famous work of Sarti, *De claris Archigymnasi Bononiensis Professoribus*, in which the history of some of the early civilians is traced with a very uncommon spirit of research.

On the history of the canon law, the biographer of Wycliffe has likewise bestowed a passing glance; and from this source, if he had been more familiarly acquainted with it, he might have drawn some very important materials. But, says Mr Hallam, 'the stream of literature that has so remarkably altered its channel within the last century, has left no region more deserted than those of the civil and canon law. Except among the immediate disciples of the papal court, or perhaps in Spain, no man, I suppose, throughout Europe will ever again undertake the study of the one; and the new legal systems, which the moral and political revolutions of this age have produced, and are likely to diffuse, will leave little influence or importance to the other.*' But in all Catholic countries, the canon law is a necessary study; and even the Protestants of Germany think it a study which cannot be safely neglected; as two very recent publications, by Walter of Bonn and Eichhorn of Göttingen, sufficiently attest. A new edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, with critical annotations, was announced by Professor Martin of Jena in the year 1830. When to a certain extent we recommend the study of the canon as well as the civil law, we at the same time make a clear distinction between the utility to be derived from the one and from the other. A familiar acquaintance with the civil law we are disposed to regard as the best foundation of all juridical knowledge: the student, duly initiated in classical learning, may thus acquire a concise and elegant mode of reasoning on the multifarious topics of jurisprudence; and he thus becomes familiar with those maxims of law which have extended their influence to all the civilized nations of Europe. This species of knowledge is therefore highly valuable in itself, and it guides us to other knowledge, of more immediate application to the ordinary business of life. In several countries, the civil law continues to be studied with a degree of ardour which some of our readers could not fail to consider as surprising, and perhaps preposterous. But the canon law cannot claim the same pre-eminence, nor is it to be recommended to students on account of its intrinsic excellence: it is to be considered as

* Hallam's Hist. of the Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 519.

the spurious offspring of the civil law, and as having gradually attained its full growth under the fostering care of priestly usurpation; what is most valuable, it has derived from the Roman jurisprudence, and its own peculiar maxims have all the same general tendency towards the power and aggrandizement of the church. Of the canon law, the study is therefore to be urged by other considerations than those of its real merits. Without some knowledge of this law, it is impossible to understand the history and the literature of the middle ages; and from the want of such knowledge of the most elementary kind, some of our own writers, though by no means destitute of other learning, have been betrayed into the most palpable errors. A Protestant divine, anxious to expose the Man of Sin in his native deformity, ought to render himself familiar with the history and with the details of the canon law. Some of those who belonged to a very learned era, particularly Blondel and Daillé, were sufficiently aware of the value and importance of this branch of knowledge; and in their controversies with the Popish church, they were found to be very formidable antagonists.

Of the canon law there are many historical sketches, and more formal histories have been published by two able professors of law, the one a Protestant, and the other a Catholic. Mastrecht's history displays good sense, as well as learning; and the author being a Protestant, and writing in a Protestant country, has, according to our estimate, a manifest advantage over Doujat. Both their works are of considerable value to the student of history, as well as of the canon law; but a very complete and satisfactory history of the canon law is still wanting. A Catholic, however liberal and enlightened, could not safely write with any degree of freedom; and we should therefore wish the task to be undertaken by some learned and able Protestant, fully capable of detecting the Mystery of Iniquity, and not more zealous in exposing false than in defending true religion. All these qualifications could not perhaps be so easily found in the same individual; but for most, if not all, we must evidently look to the universities of Germany, where powerful talents are so frequently united with indefatigable industry. The light which Savigny's *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter* has reflected on the institutions of the middle ages, might in some degree be paralleled by a history of the canon law, written with equal judgment, ability, and research. In one respect, it might be rendered more instructive, as it would trace the progress of some of the most gross impositions and most audacious exactions which the few have ever practised upon the many. The history of this law, during the period of its full

vigour, involves the history of the Christian church in its lowest state of corruption; nor are human fraud and folly more glaringly displayed in any other record of the history of our species.

Among the minuter faults of Mr Vaughan's work, we may mention his curtailed and unsatisfactory references to authorities. On one occasion, for example, he quotes Mag. Pat. vol. xvi. 822, 823. Here some readers may recognize *Magna Bibliotheca Patrum*, but to many others the reference must be altogether unintelligible. His style, it may likewise be remarked, is not entirely faultless: it is sometimes deficient in perspicuity, and more frequently in easiness of expression; but we have no doubt that a little more practice will in both respects produce a favourable change.

His successor, Mr Le Bas, appears to be well qualified for the task which he has undertaken, namely, that of exhibiting a rapid and popular sketch of the great reformer's Life. He writes with talent and vivacity, but is sometimes too ambitious of fine writing. His Life of Wiclif forms the first number of a Theological Library, to be published in successive volumes. The book is handsomely printed, and, like Mr Vaughan's work, is embellished with an excellent portrait.

Mr Vaughan writes with the catholic spirit of a Christian; but to what denomination of Christians he belongs, we have not been able to discover from any passage of his book, nor have we learned from any other source of information. Mr Le Bas has not left us in the same state of uncertainty, as the subsequent quotation will sufficiently testify. 'At the same time, I would wish to be understood as offering this view of the matter, not on the ground of positive proof, but only of strong presumption; a presumption which perhaps may be much less satisfactory to others than it is to myself. Neither is it to be disguised that (even if the Vaudois are to be regarded as protesting, from the earliest times, against the dominion and perversion of the Romish church,) there still may be a doubt whether their protest carries with it the full weight and authority which belongs to a legitimate branch of the church, invested with the sanctity of apostolical succession. Their Noble Lesson itself, we must remember, contains no mention, either of the forms of ordination, or of the gradations of sacerdotal rank and office.'—P. 31. Here we find that a simple and pious race of men had preserved themselves uncontaminated by the pernicious errors of the church of Rome; but then of what avail was all their primitive purity, without the use of certain names, and certain external forms? This 'sanctity of apostolical succession,' understood in such a

sense, we view with the same reverence as we do transubstantiation. The one ought never to be disjoined from the other. On this occasion, we are much more disposed to adopt the reflection of Calderwood, ‘Videmus igitur in ipsis tenebris Cimmeriis, et sub adulto Antichristo, affulsisse hanc lucem non paucis.’* According to the divinity and logic of Mr Le Bas, the Papists do, but the Presbyterians do not, form a legitimate branch of the church. Such is the mysterious efficacy of a mere name, and such the undefinable influence of certain unsubstantial rites and observances. If episcopacy is the mark of a genuine church, we must be contented to leave him in this company of his own selection; and high-churchmen, like other individuals, may naturally be supposed most competent to judge what society is best adapted to their own private taste and prepossessions.† There is a strong sectarian spirit which is by no means peculiar to those who are commonly described as sectarians; a spirit which has not unfrequently urged the champions of the church to assimilate with the very essence of religion their own mystical reveries of apostolical succession, and other notions not more consonant with reason and scripture. But vital Christianity, that religion which renews the heart and amends the conduct, is happily not confined to any particular sect or denomination; it is not circumscribed by the artificial boundaries established by any church, however strong in ‘sacerdotal rank and office,’ and however maintained in secular wealth, and protected by secular power.

The church so vigorously assailed by Wycliffe had set an example which some other churches have betrayed too much in-

* Calderwood, *Altare Damascenm, seu Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Politia*, p. 206. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1708, 4to.

† Mr Best, who became a convert to the Romish faith after having been a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a deacon of the church of England, supplies us with a suitable commentary on this text. ‘Beaumont had neither learning nor powers of reasoning sufficient to have aided in my conversion, but for a certain predisposition on my part. This predisposition was not puerile, not fanciful, not strictly theological; it consisted in high-churchmanism, a religion differing much more from low-churchmanism than from Popery. The high and low-churchmen profess the same creed, subscribe the same confession; but the low-churchman may believe any thing except Popery, whereas the high-churchman is, in principle, a Catholic; nothing is wanting to him but consistency, and the admission of three or four points of doctrine, in which points only the Anglican church, according to the Book of Common Prayer, differs from the Catholic.’ (*Personal and Literary Memorial*, p. 198. Lond. 1829, 8vo.)

clination to follow. His noble exertions to remove the most grievous of all yokes, that of spiritual tyranny, have rendered his name venerable in the annals of the Reformation; and no small commendation is due to the authors who have lately recalled the public attention to his services in so good a cause.

John Wycliffe, who was born about the year 1324, derives his name from the place of his nativity, a village six miles from Richmond in Yorkshire. From the era of the Norman conquest, the family to which he is supposed to have belonged had been lords of the manor, and patrons of the rectory of Wycliffe; and it is to be inferred that his parents were able and willing to give him the best education which the kingdom then afforded. In due time he became a commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, a seminary of very recent institution; but he speedily removed to Merton College, which then enjoyed a higher reputation than any other house of learning; the scholastic celebrity of Duns, Ockham, and Bradwardine, was alone sufficient to consecrate its walls. Having been duly initiated in logic and rhetoric, he directed his attention to other branches of knowledge. His proficiency in the civil, the canon, and the municipal law, has been noticed by Lewis, and other biographers; but his greatest efforts were devoted to the study of theology, not merely that barren art which was then taught in the schools, but that divine science which is derived from the spirit as well as the letter of the Scriptures. In the prosecution of his enquiries, he had to contend with numerous and formidable difficulties: the genius of the age was hostile to any plan of study or mode of investigation which the church had not sanctioned; the text of the sacred writings was in a great measure neglected, while its place was supplied by systems of scholastic divinity; the original language of the New, as well as the Old Testament, was almost totally unknown in the kingdom; the inhabitants of the western world had almost universally surrendered their understanding to the control of a body of priests, who reduced spiritual tyranny and delusion to a complete system; and the student eagerly bent on the search of divine truth, was left without encouragement and without a guide. But in spite of all these disadvantages, Wycliffe pursued his course with alacrity and perseverance. He arrived at a degree of scriptural knowledge which had not been equalled for many centuries; and his veneration for the sacred writings procured him the honourable appellation of the *Evangelic Doctor*.

His earliest publication, entitled 'The last Age of the Church,' appeared in 1356, when he is conjectured to have attained the age of thirty-two. In 1347, England had been visited by a pestilence, which first made its appearance in Tartary, and after

ravaging various countries of Asia, proceeded by the shores of the Nile to the islands of Greece, and carried devastation to almost every nation of Europe. So prodigious was the waste of human life, that the earth is supposed to have lost one-half of its inhabitants. This direful distemper was even communicated to the brute creation, and the land was covered with putrid carcasses. ‘The infection had not spared the opulent, but had raged with more destructive fury among the poor. With neither, however, did it produce the signs of penitence. It was while nearly every house in the metropolis was a house of mourning, while many were wholly unpeopled, and parliament, in consequence of the malady, had been repeatedly prorogued, that Edward the Third assembled the gaiety of his court to witness his institution of the Order of the Garter. - - - The clergy, removed by the calamity which gave such prominence to these unpleasing features of human nature, were those, it may be presumed, who had been most devoted to the interests of their flock. It is known that their place was supplied by men, who were in general grossly incompetent to the duties of their spiritual office; and that in society, the evils ever resulting from a vicious and defective ministry became increasingly evident.’—Vaughan, vol. i. p. 252.

These portentous signs of the times filled the pious mind of Wycliffe with gloomy apprehensions, and led him to indulge in speculations respecting the last age of the church. He arrived at the conclusion that the day of judgment was not to be deferred beyond the close of the century in which he himself lived. Many individuals of a visionary turn of mind, and some possessed of the most vigorous understanding, have in various ages hazarded similar predictions. Sir David Lindsay adopted an opinion that the consummation of all things must take place at the close of the twentieth century.

And sa remanis to cum, but weir,
 Four hundreth with sevin and fourtye yeir,
 And thane the Lorde omnipotent
 Suld cum till his greit judgement.*

Napier fixed an earlier date; for, according to his computation, ‘the day of Gods iudgement appears to fall betuixt the yeares of Christ 1688 and 1700.†’ Such speculations had however

* Lindsay’s Works, vol. iii. p. 130.

† Napier’s Plaine Discouery of the whole Revelation of Saint Iohn, p. 16. Edinb 1593, 4to.

descended from a period much more remote. From certain passages of Scripture, imperfectly understood, the first race of believers were many of them led to infer that the kingdom of God was at hand; and some of the succeeding fathers of the church, although they did not assign so limited a date as Wycliffe, had no hesitation in determining the duration of the world. According to Lactantius, who adopts the opinions of Justin Martyr and Irenæus, as all things were created in the space of six days, the world must continue in its present state during six great days of God, that is, six thousand years; for so he misinterprets a passage of the ninetyeth psalm, ‘A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.’ As during six days God laboured in the work of creation, so must his religion and truth labour for six thousand years, while evil maintains the ascendancy. And again, as God rested from his works on the seventh day, and hallowed it, so at the end of six thousand years must all evil cease, and justice reign in the earth for the space of a thousand years. He thus arrives at the doctrine of the millennial kingdom of Christ, a doctrine which he afterwards inculcates in more specific terms. ‘Verum ille, cum deleverit injustitiam, judiciumque maximum fecerit, ac justos, qui a principio fuerunt, ad vitam restauraverit, mille annis inter homines versabitur, eosque justissimo imperio reget. Quod alibi Sibylla vaticinans furensque proclamatur :

Κλῦτε δὲ μου μέρορες, βασιλεὺς αἰώνιος ἄρχει.

‘Tum qui erunt in corporibus vivi, non morientur, sed per eodem mille annos infinitam multitudinem generabunt, et erit soboles eorum sancta, et Deo cara.’* If Lactantius had understood the principle of population as well as Mr Malthus, he might at once have detected the absurdity of this speculation. With an infinite number of births, and not a single death, how could the earth continue for ten centuries to afford, we do not say nourishment and accommodation, but merely standing-room to its inhabitants? The same opinion was however adopted by several other fathers, and even in our own age it is not without its supporters. The vagaries of some individuals, whom it is not at present necessary to mention by name, are too well known in the great centre of wisdom and folly; but the doctrine of the millennium has in modern times been maintained by writers of a different class, particularly by Dr Burnet, the celebrated master of the Charter-House.

* Lactantii Divinæ Institutiones, lib. vii. § 14. 24.

Instead of cherishing such opinions as those of Wycliffe, Napier, and others, as to the speedy consummation of all things, some persons may perhaps be disposed to conjecture that the world is yet in its infancy. A very great proportion of the human race are still to be found in the condition of barbarians, and no small proportion in the condition of downright savages. The milder virtues of humanity are almost entirely banished from many extensive regions of the globe, where man indeed walks erect, and has the use of his hands, and of articulate speech, but in other respects scarcely appears superior to the brutes by which he is surrounded. If the progress of mere civilisation is slow and gradual, still more tardy is the progress of true religion, which requires some preparation of the soil that is to receive the seed. Although we do not believe that the tribes of men will ever reach a state of perfection on earth, it is not unreasonable to indulge the expectation that a great and general improvement in their intellectual, political, and religious condition will be effected, before this varying scene of mortality shall be finally closed.

It is stated by Mr Vaughan, that ‘the opinions and the feeling disclosed in this production, though but imperfectly developed, are such as to prepare the reader to anticipate in Wycliffe, a devout opponent of the corruptions which it describes with so much solemnity and pathos. It is important to know that even at this period of his history, the nefarious practices connected with the appointment of the clergy to the sphere of their duties, had so far shocked his piety, as to dispose him to expect a speedy and signal manifestation of the displeasure of Heaven.’ After an interval of a few years, he distinguished himself by his strenuous opposition to the mendicant orders, who then infested the best parts of Europe, and, under the pretext of betaking themselves to a life of poverty and devotion, consumed the fruits of the earth, and too often set an example which did not tend to edification. In 1360, he published his *Objections to the Friars*, which were long afterwards committed to the press by Dr James. The errors and vices of the mendicants, it has been remarked, had never been so generally or so forcibly assailed; and while those who preceded him, aimed only at the removal of particular abuses, he perceived that the institution itself was unnecessary and pernicious. The friars were a class of men whom it was dangerous to provoke; nor is it to be doubted that he thus made a large addition to the catalogue of his enemies. His friends however were likewise numerous. In 1361, the society of Balliol College presented him to the rectory of Fillingham, in the diocese of Lincoln;

and he became master of that college in the course of the same year. In 1368, he exchanged this living for Lutgershall, in the archdeaconry of Bucks; a benefice of inferior value, but situated at a more convenient distance from Oxford. After retaining his mastership for the space of four years, he was appointed warden of Canterbury Hall, recently founded in the same university by Simon Islep, archbishop of Canterbury, with a provision for twelve scholars, eight of whom were to be secular clerks, and the remaining four, including the warden, were to be chosen from the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury. The warden first nominated by the founder, was one Wodehall, a fierce and turbulent monk, whom he soon found it necessary to remove from his office. Wycliffe was invited to supply his place, and the archbishop did not long survive. His successor in the primacy was Langham, bishop of Ely, who had previously been abbot of Westminster, and still retained the spirit of a monk. Wodehall appealed to this new visiter, and found the support which he expected. The appointment of Wycliffe having, with little regard to law or fact, been pronounced null and void, a person named Radyngate was first substituted in his place, and in the course of a few weeks Wodehall resumed the office of warden. From this arbitrary sentence, Wycliffe appealed to the sovereign pontiff; and after an interval of several years, found it was vain to expect that justice should flow from so polluted a fountain. The decision of the pope was confirmed by the authority of the king, who did not however pronounce an unbribed judgment.

About the time when Wycliffe was appointed warden of Canterbury Hall, a controversy had arisen between Urban the Fifth and Edward the Third, in consequence of the renewed demand of an annual tribute of a thousand marks, as an acknowledgment of the feudal superiority of the pontiff over the kingdoms of England and Ireland. The payment of this degrading tribute had never been regular, and it had been entirely discontinued for thirty-three years; but on the renewal of the papal claim, the king thought it necessary to consult both houses of parliament. ‘The prelates solicited a day for private deliberation; but assembling on the morrow, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the members of the commons, were unanimous in stating, that neither King John, nor any other sovereign, had power thus to subject the realm of England, without consent of parliament; that this consent was not obtained; and that, passing over other difficulties, the whole transaction, on the part of the king, was in violation of the oath which he had taken on receiving the crown. By the temporal nobility, and

‘ the popular representatives, it was farther determined, that
‘ should the pontiff commence his threatened process against the
‘ monarch of England, as his vassal, the strength of the nation
‘ should be instantly called to the king’s aid.’—Vaughan, vol.
i. p. 280. But the most gross and scandalous usurpations will
always find a sufficient number of defenders, when the usurpers
have the power of bestowing a sufficient number of rewards. The
claims of the pope were maintained by some nameless monk, who
on this subject published a tract, in which he called upon Wycliffe
to refute his arguments. In this appeal to him by name, we dis-
cover an obvious proof that his character had already become
very conspicuous; and although it was apparently the writer’s
intention to do him an injury rather than an honour, he did not
decline the challenge which had thus been given. He published
a work in which he endeavoured to circumscribe the arrogant
claims of the church, and to fix the legitimate extent of civil
authority: he maintained the right of the king and his parlia-
ment to refuse the tribute claimed by the court of Rome, to
subject all ecclesiastics to the secular jurisdiction in all civil
cases, and even to alienate the property of the church. Some
of his opinions are so much at variance with the doctrines of
the canon law, that he had evidently made no inconsiderable
progress in his retrograde motions from the Popish standard of
orthodoxy.

The question respecting the wardenship was finally decided
in the year 1372, when the king confirmed the sentence of the
pope. Wycliffe now found other employment in the university.
Having taken the degree of D.D., says Lewis, he ‘ publicly pro-
‘ fessed divinity, and read lectures in it; which he did with very
‘ great applause, having such an authority in the schools, that
‘ whatever he said was received as an oracle. In these lectures
‘ he frequently took notice of the corruptions of the begging
‘ friars, which at first he did in a soft and gentle manner, till
‘ finding that his detecting their abuses was what was acceptable
‘ to his hearers, he proceeded to deal more plainly and openly
‘ with them.’ It is more than probable that the influence which
he exercised over his own age, is in some degree to be ascribed
to the circumstance of his occupying a theological chair in this
university, which about that period was frequented by a great
multitude of students. The invention of printing had not yet
afforded the means of disseminating knowledge with great faci-
lity, and with great rapidity: books, which could only be mul-
tiplied by the slow process of transcription, were necessarily
sold at a high price; and the number of individuals capable of
reading them was surprisingly small. But the voice of the pub-

lic teacher was raised with living energy; and his opinions, inculcated with learning and fervour, could not fail to influence those who in their turn were to become public teachers.

In the year 1374, he was employed in an embassy to the pope, Gregory the Eleventh, whose residence was at Avignon. The first person named in the commission is the bishop of Bangor, and the second is Dr Wycliffe. Their mission had a reference to one of the flagrant abuses of that period, the papal reservation of benefices in the English church. The ecclesiastical revenues, to a very great amount, were appropriated in this manner, and in many instances were most unworthily bestowed upon foreigners who were entirely unacquainted with the language of the country, and who were sometimes of too tender an age to be intrusted with the cure of souls. Against this branch of pontifical usurpation, the statute of provisors had been enacted in the year 1350. The embassy was not received at Avignon, but at Bruges; and with most of the pontiffs it would have been an act of wisdom to keep all strangers at a distance from their ordinary place of residence, which was too commonly the fountain-head of all iniquity. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, had at the same period repaired to Bruges on another diplomatic mission; nor is it improbable that Wycliffe may thus have had a favourable opportunity of recommending himself to his powerful protection. The duke, as Mr Vaughan has remarked, is 'the only son of Edward the Third, whose name is connected with the religion of that period, and who is known as the patron of Chaucer and Wycliffe.' It is not certain that the latter returned to England before the year 1376; but in the meantime he received different marks of the royal favour. He had formerly been nominated one of the king's chaplains. In the month of November 1375, the king presented him to the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester, and about the same period to the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, the presentation to this benefice having devolved upon the crown, in consequence of the minority of the patron, Lord Ferrars.

Wycliffe had now risen to high distinction, and if his views had been directed to the ordinary objects of a mere churchman's ambition, it is probable that he might have obtained much higher preferment. Many individuals of the middle classes were gradually added to the number of his converts; nor was the Duke of Lancaster the only man of rank and influence who regarded his person and doctrines with a favourable eye. But his proceedings must, for a long time, have excited the watchful jealousy of those who enjoyed the principal emoluments of the

church, and were suspicious of all spiritual innovations, lest they might eventually lead to some encroachment on their own temporalities; for it has been remarked in every age, that those well-beneficed clergymen who, by the general tenor of their conduct, indicate the most perfect indifference as to the vital interests of religion, are yet the most loud and vehement in proclaiming the danger to which their 'excellent establishment' must be exposed by the slightest change or concession. Being accused of heresy, he was summoned to appear before the convocation, which commenced its sittings in the month of February 1377, and in which Courtney, bishop of London, made the most conspicuous figure. This prelate was son to the Earl of Devonshire, by a grand-daughter of Edward the First, and added the pride of royal descent to the arrogance of priestly elevation. Wycliffe made his appearance at St Paul's on the 19th of the same month, and, to the no small dissatisfaction of the bishop and his partisans, was accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster, and by Lord Percy, Earl-Marshal of England. So great was the concourse of people, that it was not without considerable difficulty that the marshal could procure him an avenue to the presence of his judges, Archbishop Sudbury, and other prelates, who were assembled in Our Lady's chapel, behind the high altar. 'Dr Wicliffe, according to custom, stood before the 'commissioners, as one cited to appear there to hear what things 'they had to lay to his charge; but the Earl Marshal, out of 'tenderness for Dr Wicliffe, and having but little regard to a 'court which owed all its authority to a foreign power, bid him sit 'down, telling him he had many things to answer to, and there- 'fore had need of a soft seat to rest him upon during so tedious 'an attendance. The Bishop of London, hearing that, answered, "he should not sit there;" for, says he, "it is neither accord- 'ing to law nor reason, that he who was cited here to answer 'before his ordinary, should sit downe during the time of his 'answer;" adding, "that if he could have guessed that the 'Earl-Marshal would have played the master there, or been so 'troublesome, he would not have suffered him to come into the 'court." On which many angry words passed betwixt the 'Bishop and the Earl Marshal. The Duke of Lancaster took 'the Earl Marshal's part, and told the Bishop that "the Earl 'Marshal's motion was but reasonable, and that as for him, who 'was grown so proud and arrogant, he would bring down the 'pride not only of him, but of all the prelacy of England; that 'he depended upon the greatness of his family, but that they 'should have enough to do to support themselves." To which 'haughty and imperious threat, the bishop is said to have re-

‘ turned this mild answer : “ That he placed no confidence either
 ‘ in his relations or in any man else, but depended on God alone,
 ‘ who he trusted would give him the boldness to speak the
 ‘ truth.” But this soft reply did not, it seems, cool the duke’s
 ‘ passion, who highly resented the bishop’s telling the Earl
 ‘ Marshal that if he had been aware of his behaviour in opposing
 ‘ the authority and orders of the court, he would not have suf-
 ‘ fered him to come into it with Dr Wicliffe. To one therefore
 ‘ who sat just by him, the duke said softly, that “ rather than
 ‘ take what the bishop said at his hands, he would pluck him
 ‘ by the hair of his head out of the church.” These last words
 ‘ were not, it seems, whispered so closely but that some of the
 ‘ standers-by overheard them, who, being enraged to see the
 ‘ bishop thus roughly treated in his own cathedral, declared
 ‘ aloud, they would rather lose their lives than suffer the bishop
 ‘ to be thus threatened and contemptuously used. This occa-
 ‘ sioned the assembly to grow very tumultuous and disorderly,
 ‘ so that the court was forced to break up without doing any
 ‘ thing.’*—Mr Vaughan is inclined to call in question the accu-
 ‘ racy of the statement thus adopted by his predecessor ; and, ac-
 ‘ cording to his suggestion, ‘ could we credit the hearsay report of
 ‘ this scene, we should regard him (the duke,) as descending to
 ‘ the use of language alike ungentlemanly and impolitic.’ It is
 ‘ however necessary to recollect that the gentlemen of the four-
 ‘ teenth century were not extremely scrupulous in the choice of
 ‘ their expressions ; and that the most wise and politic conduct
 ‘ which a man of high rank could pursue, is not always that which
 ‘ he must actually have pursued.

The Duke of Lancaster did not then stand high in the popular favour ; and his magnificent palace of the Savoy was attacked during the tumults which followed this stormy discussion. A clergyman, who had the misfortune of being mistaken for Lord Percy, was put to death by the populace. The decease of the aged king ensued on the 21st of June 1377, and he was succeeded by his grandson Richard, who had not completed the twelfth year of his age. A parliament was summoned soon after his accession, and the subject of the papal encroachments was again resumed. By this parliament, a question was submitted to the judgment of Wycliffe, whether a kingdom might not, in a case of necessity, prevent its treasures from being con-

* Lewis’s *Life of Wicliffe*, p. 53. Lond. 1720, 8vo. See however p. 57. of the last edition, Oxford, 1820, 8vo, which contains various additions.

veyed to a foreign country, although it should even be demanded by the pope himself. Here we have a sufficient proof that the charge of heresy, however it might expose him to resentment from the rulers of the church, had not diminished his credit with the rulers of the state. What answer the professor of divinity returned to this question, no reader can fail to anticipate. His opinions as to the temporalities of the church must have been thought fully as dangerous as his theological doctrines; and on the same day no fewer than four different bulls had been issued against him by Gregory the Eleventh; three of which were directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, and a fourth to the chancellor and university of Oxford. All these documents, together with an apostolical epistle addressed to King Edward on the same subject, are dated, not on the 11th of June, as Mr Vaughan and Mr Le Bas have inadvertently stated, but on the 22d of May; they are dated, 'xi. Cal. Junii,' that is, on the eleventh day before the first of June. The bulls of this 'servant of the servants of God,' enjoin the parties to whom they are addressed, to commit John Wycliffe to prison, and, having transmitted to Rome a full account of his heretical tenets, to detain him in custody until they should receive further instructions; but should they fail in their endeavours to seize his person, they are required to affix in suitable places a citation for his appearance before the pontiff within three months from the date of such citation. These pastoral mandates were not however very effectually executed; but during the earlier part of the year 1378, he appeared before a meeting of papal delegates in the archiepiscopal chapel at Lambeth. His doctrines were rapidly extending their influence, not merely among the people, but even at court. The populace were now alarmed for his personal safety, and, having surrounded the chapel, many of them forced their way into it, and gave sufficient indications of the part which they were prepared to act; nor was the mortification of the delegates diminished by the appearance of Sir Lewis Clifford, who, in the name of the queen mother, the widow of the Black Prince, prohibited them from proceeding to any definite sentence respecting the doctrine or conduct of Wycliffe.

He therefore returned to his former occupations, and by his pulpit discourses, his academical lectures, and his various writings, laboured to promote the cause of truth. The great and glorious labour of his declining years was his complete version of the Bible. It has always been one of the chief arts of priestcraft to keep mankind in a state of ignorance; and it may easily be conceived that an attempt to render the sacred books intelligible to every person capable of reading his mother-tongue,

could not fail to kindle the fiery rage of the old Red Dragon. In our own time, we have heard divers denunciations from high-churchmen as to the danger of circulating the Bible without the Book of Common Prayer. According to their estimate, it is better to withhold the one, unless it can be duly qualified by the other. Are we then to conclude that there is no safety beyond the precincts of their own church; that the religion of Protestants is only a safe way to salvation, when that way is paced in certain trammels, and swept with a white surplice? Or is the spiritual improvement of mankind of real importance in so far only as it may be circumscribed within the boundaries of episcopacy? The spirit of popery is not confined to papists. To translate the Bible was in Wycliffe regarded as an act of heresy, and his version continued to be a proscribed book till the era of the Reformation. Being ignorant of the Hebrew and Greek languages, which he had no opportunity of learning, he was under the necessity of translating from the Vulgate. What aid he may have received from others in the prosecution of his laborious undertaking, it is impossible to ascertain; but it is commonly understood that he was not without coadjutors. In a theological point of view, the value of his translation is far from being inconsiderable, and its value is still more conspicuous in illustrating the history of the English tongue. Wycliffe may indeed be regarded as the father of English prose. His version affords a very ample specimen of the language, as it existed in the fourteenth century; nor is it a little curious to remark, in very many instances, how immaterially his phraseology differs from that of the authorized version executed in the reign of King James. Of his translation of the New Testament, an edition was published by Mr Lewis in the year 1731, and another by Mr Baber in the year 1810; but it is not very creditable to his countrymen, who have derived so much benefit from his pious labours, that his translation of the Old Testament still remains in manuscript. This great deficiency however is at last to be supplied: Mr Forshall and Mr Madden, both of the British Museum, are now engaged in preparing an edition, which is to issue from the university press of Oxford. Of the influence of Wycliffe's biblical labours, no person seems to have obtained a clearer view than Dr Lingard. He made, says this Catholic historian, 'a new translation,* multiplied the copies with the aid of transcribers, and

* From the researches of Mr Baber, who has bestowed much attention on the subject, it clearly appears that no entire translation into the English language had preceded that of Wycliffe.

‘ by his poor priests recommended it to the perusal of their hear-
‘ ers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power.
‘ Men were flattered with the appeal to their private judgment ;
‘ the new doctrines insensibly acquired partisans and protectors
‘ in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of
‘ letters ; a spirit of enquiry was generated ; and the seeds were
‘ sown of that religious revolution, which, in little more than a
‘ century, astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe.’

Wycliffe had at first exposed the discipline of the church, and the scandalous lives of churchmen, but he at length raised his voice against several of its doctrines, and particularly against the doctrine of transubstantiation. Wherever the understanding of mankind can be so completely debased as to admit this portentous doctrine, the dominion of the priest must be absolute : he is thus invested with a creative power ; after the admission of such a dogma, no other can be found of very hard digestion ; and he who exercises so much influence over a future world, must not be left without an ample share of what belongs to this. A persecution was again excited against the reformer ; and the Duke of Lancaster, who had hitherto befriended him, and who was well aware of the secular corruptions of the clergy, was not however prepared to support him in his attack on what was considered as a fundamental doctrine of the church. Courtney, who had now become archbishop of Canterbury, was endowed with the spirit of an inquisitor, and appears to have wanted no inclination to confer upon Wycliffe the honour of martyrdom. This venerable man was summoned before a convocation held at Oxford ; but although he made no recantation of his supposed errors, they did not venture to treat him as an obstinate heretic. A letter was however procured from the king, commanding him to banish himself from the university. About the same period, he was cited to appear before the pope ; but, in return, he gave his holiness some salutary advice, and informed him that he neither felt strength nor inclination for so long a journey. His constitution was indeed exhausted by his multifarious exertions, and he had already been affected with a paralysis, which at length proved fatal. But after his final retirement to Lutterworth, he still continued to labour in the same great cause. He died on the last day of December 1384, and, according to the computation of his biographers, he had attained the age of sixty.

The grain of mustard-seed which was now sown became a great tree. The doctrines which Wycliffe propagated with so much zeal and ability, could not again be suppressed : the seat of Antichrist was gradually shaken from its old foundation ; and the impulse which he gave to religious enquiry, is apparently

destined to reach the distant ages of futurity. His theological opinions have been laboriously investigated by Mr Vaughan, but they cannot be detailed in this brief and imperfect notice. It may however be remarked, that he clearly anticipated the most distinguishing doctrines of the Protestants, and that his opinions on certain points present an obvious coincidence with those of Calvin. Of the simplicity of primitive times, he was too devoted an admirer to secure the unqualified approbation of modern churchmen; and Mr Le Bas is not a little scandalized, because it seems perfectly clear that he did not consider the episcopal order as at all essential to the legitimate constitution of a Christian church. According to the averment of this biographer, 'he might have learned from his master, St Augustine, that Aërius, the first person who ever thought of confounding bishops and presbyters, was judged to be a heretic for that opinion.' But for the very same opinion, St Paul might likewise have been judged to be a heretic.* 'I boldly assert one thing,' says Wycliffe in his *Triologus*, 'namely, that in the primitive church, or in the time of Paul, two orders of the clergy were sufficient, that is, a priest and a deacon. In like manner I affirm, that in the time of Paul, presbyter and bishop were names of the same office. This appears from the third chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy, and from the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus. And the same is testified by that profound theologian Jerome.'—Vaughan, vol. ii. p. 275. Cranmer, and other founders of the English Reformation, were likewise of opinion that bishops and presbyters were originally the same; and the archbishop has unequivocally stated, that 'a bishop may make a priest by the Scriptures, and so may princes and governors alsoe, and that by the aucturity of God committed to them, and the people alsoe by their election.' Archbishop Whitgift declares, that no form of government is by the Scriptures prescribed to the church of God; and the mutability of ecclesiastical government is asserted by Hooker, and other distinguished writers of that period. This indeed appears to have been the prevalent opinion, till the pontificate of the unhappy Laud, who was but too anxious to complete the assimilation of the English with the Romish hierarchy, and whose mind was deeply tinctured with the most abject superstition. The divine right, or apostolical institution of episcopacy, was not however maintained by the most eminent divines of the succeeding age. Bishop Stillingfleet, in a very learned and able

* See Dr Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 125.

work, has completely demonstrated that bishop and presbyter were originally different appellations of the same office-bearer; that the apostles have nowhere enjoined any particular form of ecclesiastical polity; and 'that a mere apostolical practice being supposed, is not sufficient of itself for the founding an unalterable and perpetual right for that form of government in the church, which is supposed to be founded on that practice.' And as to what is called the perpetual succession in the church,* he has distinctly averred, that 'this personal succession, so much spoken of, is sometimes attributed to presbyters, even after the distinction came into use between bishops and them.' The subsequent remark of this good bishop may not perhaps be entirely relished by Mr Le Bas and other votaries of high-church. 'The top-gallant of episcopacy can never be so well managed for the right steering the ship of the church, as when it is joyned with the under-sailes of a moderate presbyterie.' With regard to Aërius, whom the biographer has thus represented as condemned for the grievous heresy of confounding bishops and presbyters, he might have derived better information from the same learned source. 'I believe,' says Stillingfleet, 'upon the strictest inquiry Medina's judgement will prove true, that Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Theophilact, were all of Aërius his judgement, as to the identity of both name and order of bishops and presbyters in the primitive church; but here lay the difference; Aërius from hence proceeded to separation from bishops and their churches, because they were bishops. And Blondel well observes that the main ground why Aërius was condemned, was for unnecessary separation from the church of Sebastia, and those bishops too who agreed with him in other things, as Eustathius the bishop did: whereas had his mere opinion about bishops been the ground of his being condemned, there can be no reason assigned why this heresie, if it were then thought so, was not mentioned either by Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, or Evagrius, before whose time he lived.†

The divine right of episcopacy we place on the same foundation with the divine right of presbytery, and at present we leave such disquisitions to more doughty disputants. It is of more importance to make the reader aware, that we find Wycliffe

* See Dr Mitchell's Presbyterian Letters, p. 185. London, 1809, 8vo.

† Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, a Weapon-salve for the Churches Wounds, p. 276, second edit. London, 1662, 4to.

‘ zealously inculcating the lessons of inspiration on the fall of man, and the consequent depravity of human nature; on the excellence and perpetual obligation of the moral law; on the exclusive dependence of every child of Adam, for the remission of his sins, on the atonement of Christ; and for victory over temptation, and the possession of holiness, to the aids of divine grace.’—Vaughan, vol. i. p. 330. We have already had occasion to state, that the influence of his opinions extended to persons of various ranks and denominations. Lord Cobham, the most illustrious of his followers, sealed his testimony with his blood, and many individuals of inferior condition were likewise brought to the stake. The religion of the people was to be purified by fire and fagot; and Henry the Fifth, endeavouring to atone for the follies of his youth by the bigotry of his manhood, rendered himself a willing instrument of persecution in the hands of an unholy and unrelenting priesthood.

Chaucer, the contemporary of Wycliffe, became a convert to his opinions, and was not without his influence in recommending them to the popular favour. ‘ Much more I mervaile,’ says Fox, ‘ to consider this, how that the bishops, condemning and abolishing all maner of English bookes and treatises, which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorise the workes of Chaucer to remaine still and to be occupied; who no doubt saw in religion as much almost as even we doe now, and uttereth in his workes no lesse, and seemeth to be a right Wiclevian, or els was never any.’ It has more than once been remarked, that the poets of different nations have contributed no inconsiderable aid in the general cause of reformation. Ridicule, though no safe or infallible test of truth, is at least a formidable weapon which error cannot always resist. The earliest poets of modern Europe assailed the outworks of the church, by satirizing the profligate lives and inordinate ambition of the clergy. The example set by the troubadours, or early poets of Provence, was imitated by Dante and other early poets of Italy: the shaft of ridicule was in many instances fully as efficacious as the most acute deductions of logic, and the one could be aimed with some degree of safety, where the other could only be attempted with the utmost peril. Nor was Chaucer the earliest of the English poets who contributed to prepare the way for a reform in the national religion. One very remarkable precursor was the author of the *Visions of Peirs Plouhman*, who exposed the corruptions of the church with a vigorous and unsparing hand.

The influence of Wycliffe’s doctrines soon extended from England to the continent, and their connexion with the subsequent progress of the reformation may very easily be traced.

The next conspicuous stage was the kingdom of Bohemia. The King of Bohemia's sister was the consort of Richard the Second, and she came to England in the year 1382. She was a religious princess, and constantly studied the four gospels in English, explained by the expositions of the doctors. The Bohemians who had frequented her court, returned to their own country, and carried along with them some of the works of the great reformer, which, being written in Latin, were intelligible to the learned of all the European nations. Jerom of Prague, who had studied in the university of Oxford, is said to have translated many of his works into the Bohemian language; but, according to another and a more probable account, he only copied some of them in England, and carried the transcripts to Bohemia.* By this eminent person, and by his pious leader John Huss, the writings and character of Wycliffe were held in the highest veneration; and they endeavoured to follow his footsteps, by contributing to remove the corruptions of the church. Their earthly career was however terminated in a more tragical manner. The council of Constance, which condemned them both to the flames, added gross perfidy to inhuman cruelty, by violating the safeconduct which Huss had obtained from the emperor Sigismund, and which that prince had not the honour or the resolution to enforce.† The same council, a miserable assemblage of those who acted as the representatives of the Christian community, pronounced sentence of condemnation on the whole of Wycliffe's writings; and having decided that he had died an obstinate heretic, and that his memory should be held as infamous, they further decreed that his bones, which had now reposed in the dust for the space of thirty years, should be removed from consecrated ground, and scattered on the dung-hill. But the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and doctors, who were permitted to play such fantastic tricks before high Heaven, are themselves mingled with the vilest earth, while the name and memory of John Wycliffe continue to be held in unimpaired veneration.

* Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Constance*, tom. i. p. 110. Gilpin, who is not very critical in his enquiries, has stated that 'he translated many of them into his native language, having with great pains made himself master of the English.'

† If the reader has any inclination to see how perfidy and cruelty can be justified by a true Jesuit, we beg leave to refer him to the elaborate publication of Heribertus Rosweyda, 'De Fide Hæreticis servanda ex decreto Concilii Constantiensis Dissertatio cum Daniele Plancio, Scholæ Delphensis Moderatore; in qua, quæ de Husso Historia est executitur.' Antverpiæ, 1610, 8vo.

ART. XI.—*How will it work? Or the probable Effects of the “Act to Amend the Representation of the People.”* By J. G. LEMAISTRE, M. A. London: 1832.

THE questions which men are now generally putting to themselves upon this momentous subject, are two—How will the Reform Bill work in the return of members to Parliament? and how will the Parliament work which it returns? In other words—What will be the immediate operation of the Bill upon the Electors; and what will be its ultimate influence upon the administration of public affairs? These questions are manifestly connected together in some respects; but they are also sufficiently separable to be treated apart.

Upon the first of them, we are the less disposed to indulge in long disquisitions, because it will be pretty nearly decided before these pages can see the light. At all events, it will then be clear enough whether or not the machinery of the Bill is adapted to produce the result intended,—the choice, without turbulence, delay, expense, or oligarchical influence, of an adequate body of independent representatives. We have no doubt whatever that this question will have been answered in the affirmative before these lines are read. The exultation of the enemies of Reform will have ceased; they will have abandoned their fond hopes that the Bill wont work; they will have given up the vain expectation that it is so full of errors as to be inoperative. But, in passing, we may be permitted to remark the discredit which some of its warmest supporters incurred during the first weeks after the prorogation of Parliament. Alarms having been excited by those who had hastily and inaccurately read the provisions of the Act, these were industriously echoed—by its enemies of course—but, strange to tell, somewhat more industriously, and a good deal more bitterly, by several of its professed friends. The people of Scotland were a great deal too considerate, too sober minded, to give into the follies that did dishonour to a portion of the press in England (we might say more correctly, London) upon this occasion. But the heedless precipitation of one or two of that body will not soon be forgotten by reflecting men. What confidence can be placed in the judgment of persons who could one day—possibly during a year and a day—cry out for ‘the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill,’ and four-and-twenty hours after, upon some insulated fact, or rumour of a fact, coming to their knowledge,—or some surmise being noised abroad,—without a moment’s time taken to deliberate or to enquire, could represent the self-same measure as if it were a calamity inflicted upon the country? The very least

that can be said on this head surely is, that if the sad exigencies of daily publication account for (they can hardly in matters of deep importance palliate) such levity of judgment, they at the same time, and in the same degree, destroy the authority of the judge.

It now appears certain, that in all places, or in all but a very few, where untoward accidents have intervened, an ample proportion of those entitled to vote will be found duly registered, and in possession of the franchise. Thus we know that between 6000 and 7000 will have votes in Edinburgh, instead of the thirty-three who formerly usurped that right. A third might be added to the number, as representing the ten-pound householders, who are precluded by age, sex, or other accidents; so that between nine and ten thousand is the body of the effective constituency; and this may be viewed as representing nearly 40,000 of the whole population,—the greater part of the voters being heads of families. Now it is manifest that a measure which was far from intending to establish universal suffrage,—which avowedly confined the suffrage to the upper and middle classes, and to the more substantial of the working classes,—which professed to vest in the owners of some property the power of making laws for the whole community, and disposing of all its interests and all its possessions,—cannot be said to have failed in accomplishing its purpose, if it calls into political existence a class of near 40,000 in a city inhabited by between three and four times this number of persons. The chosen body may fairly be taken as the proprietary body of the community. We take the instance of Edinburgh; but the other towns of Scotland will have furnished instances of the same kind.

In one respect, indeed, we can have little doubt that much obstruction will be experienced from the enemies of the Bill, to its working. The plan of multiplying objections to voters has been resorted to in a manner altogether discreditable to its authors. Against every vote objected to, every objection has been taken to which any vote can be liable. Consequently the *notice* becomes quite inoperative, because no one can tell what objection he is to meet; the notice, in truth, only letting him know that his vote is objected to. This sort of tactics is, we believe, peculiar to Scotland; we have not heard of its being tried in the land of special pleading;* and we doubt if our bre-

* The English Reform Act unaccountably enough does not require, nor even direct, any notification of objections; so that the evasion practised with us is unnecessary in England.

thren of the south will stoop to borrow from us this notable improvement upon their own counts and pleas, so often made by us a matter of ridicule, for the 'true no meaning' whereby they supply the place of precise notice of action and defence. But should they condescend to adopt our chicanery in this instance, there as here, we doubt not, the only consequence will be a little more trouble, and a little longer delay in the first process of registration. The votes will, generally speaking, be enrolled; a register will be obtained, with all its inestimable advantages; an election will no longer be, in England, the scene of delay, confusion and expense, all endless and intolerable; in Scotland it will be as quiet and regular a proceeding, and almost as short and simple, when thousands are to poll, as when two or three score answered to their names and gave their votes: and the great object of the Bill being thus gained, as far as its enfranchising part goes, even if, in some trifling particular, its machinery were found defective, or if one class of voters from indolence, or fear of giving offence, should be found backward to take the franchise bestowed upon them, we think it not unnatural to expect some little forbearance from those who professed to be the strenuous friends of the measure. Substantially the enfranchisement answers; all the important towns have large bodies of constituents; Scotland is now a country full of voters, instead of presenting a waste, a blank, to the eye of the political observer; the rotten boroughs are utterly rooted out; there are hardly half a dozen places where any powerful family can boast of having influence enough to return a single member; the non-resident freemen are every where disqualified; the poll is taken in all counties and in all towns within the space of two days at the most: surely it is hardly too much to expect, that the friends of reform should look at these things, and not pour forth bitter invectives upon the measure they but yesterday thought of rebelling for, and talked of dying for, merely because in some few places the registry has proved deficient, and in one or two particulars, the details of the Bill are found not altogether perfect. When the most consummate artist shall have planned a steam-engine, and had its whole parts executed under his eye by the most cunning workmen, he not only cannot tell, before it be tried, whether it will work true and smooth or no; but he almost may say with certainty that it will not, until it is tried, and receives the last adjustments which actual experience alone can suggest and direct. Yet this artist had no rival to interfere with his designs—no adversary to impede their execution—no obstreperous artisan to mar the work in its progress—no false servant to unhinge it in working; and besides, the elements of

his calculations were weights and measures and numbers, and the known and certain mechanical powers; while the materials he had to work upon were inert and passive masses of iron and timber and leather. Shall *they* claim no measure of indulgence who have had to deal with the passions of men, and to work upon their judgments, where their interests were involved and their feelings roused? Shall *they* be deemed to have committed errors unheard of and unpardonable, if any part of the engine they constructed of such materials, for such operations,—constructed too amidst perpetual interruption, and in the face of unceasing impediments,—is not found to work with perfect truth, and absolute smoothness, when committed to hands oftentimes eager to thwart and prevent its movements?

It is due to the friends of Reform in this part of the kingdom, that we should proclaim the indignation with which they have in one voice expressed themselves against such of their brethren in the south as took occasion, chiefly at certain public meetings in London, and one or two provincial towns, to turn upon the authors of the Bill, as far as they thought the country would bear it, the instant they saw, or thought they saw, any imperfection in its working. True, they were few in number, and inconsiderable in weight, that took this senseless course; and as true it is, that they ceased to trouble when they perceived that they addressed a community which perversely resolved to think for themselves, and turned a deaf ear to such unworthy and unreasonable cavils. Yet it is nevertheless certain, that the least encouragement from the country would have made those ‘friends of reform’ persevere in hostility to the authors of the Bill; it seemed to be their wish to drive them from the helm, in order that the new machinery might be worked by its enemies; and some of them have not scrupled to avow as a principle (a principle!) that the most honest way of supporting a government, (and we suppose, the most effectual,) is by a constant attack upon its members and their measures, in order, it is said, to keep them on the alert; probably, too, for the purpose of giving them the more power to serve their country. These refinements of our English neighbours, we are, in this country, far too dull a people to comprehend. They who practise them, possibly, like mine Host of the Garter, think themselves ‘Politick and Machiavel.’ We follow a more plain and intelligible course, and we should suppose that the bulk of the people in England agree with us, and that those fine spinning gentlefolks have now, as twelve months ago, been fain to alter their course, when they found they had taken a line which did not answer.

The main point, however, which the country has now to con-

sider, is the probable effect of the Reform or its interests; and this will no doubt depend in a great measure upon the kind of members returned. If the whole representatives are chosen in any thing like the proportions which it is pretty clear will be found to hold in Scotland, the friends of good government, and of human improvement generally, have little to fear. A large majority of our 'fifty-three' will be, according to all appearances, men of liberal principles; but with hardly any admixture of wild, fantastic theorists, and none of profligate speculators in confusion, for the chance of what they may be able to snatch in the scramble, or for the mere gratification of a preposterous vanity, seeking momentary distinction and speedy destruction. We have taken some pains to examine the lists of candidates for all our Scotch cities, boroughs, and counties; and among those who have even a chance of success, we cannot find one who is at all likely to vote for inflicting upon Ireland the ruin of a separate parliament, by way of gratifying the passing desire of mischief in a few individuals;—not one who will give his support to any proposition for destroying those institutions with which the monarchy is bound up;—not one who will join in a design of plundering what is called 'public property,' or confiscating the funds;—nor one who will evince by his conduct that he prefers the awful experiment of a Republic, with the anarchy or the despotism which follows close behind it, to the stability and the quiet of a mixt government, costly though the trappings be that made Milton decide against it. Of the men whom England and Ireland are likely to return, we can know but little. Of the latter most unhappy and distracted country, it is indeed painful to speak, as all must think;—groaning under the yoke of an oligarchy more galling than any single tyrant can maintain,—a yoke riveted by reducing every form of fraud and falsehood to a system; a system, too, which easily connects itself with the lavish employment of massacre and pillage. That some representatives will come from thence ready for the wildest excesses of political frenzy, we fear there is too much reason to expect; but upon the whole it would seem as if the extravagance of late proceedings may counteract their own objects, and end in sending to Parliament a larger proportion than otherwise might have been expected of enemies to Reform;—a result sufficiently deplorable, but far less perilous to the state than the embodying of a band leagued together by the mere indiscriminate love of destruction. Of England, we may however hope better things,—notwithstanding the indications that have of late been suffered to appear, of an approach towards the feverish, unsettled state in which the sister kingdom has been for ages. We speak not merely of the excesses committed by a drunken and infuriated

rabble, or of the attempts of another less excited mob upon the person of the Duke of Wellington,—attempts which, had they in any respect succeeded, would have fixed upon the English name a disgrace far more foul and more lasting than we in Scotland endure to this day for the sordid crime of the seventeenth century. But men have remarked of late a disposition among our southern neighbours to take up suddenly wild and untried notions—to be led away by those who deal in extremes and call it consistency—to hold all who admit of any exception to a political rule as abandoning a principle—and to mistake propositions that are novel, and surprising, and perilous, for something bold, and solid, and profound. This is a subject on which we would be understood to speak with all distrust of our necessarily imperfect information; but we learn that the great bulk of the middle classes, in whom after all every community must consist, are free from this contagion, and still regard public affairs through a more calm and sober medium. How much soever a long course of extravagance and misgovernment may have roused them, and made them desirous of change, we cannot conceive that the nature of Englishmen is so altered as to make them the prey of mere quacks or pretenders, and unhesitatingly, unthinkingly adopt any wild nostrum that may have found favour with some mob meeting, or been plausibly and strikingly put forward in a pamphlet or a speech. It suited the enemies of Reform to describe them thus for an obvious purpose, when the elective franchise was about to be extended. But we can hardly doubt that the English people will give a contradiction to the charge, in the most effectual and most appropriate way, by choosing sound and principled representatives.

But supposing the elections to turn out as fortunately as we may confidently expect in this country, and as there seems every reason to hope they will in England also; some things remain to be considered of great importance to the conducting public affairs in the new Parliament, be it ever so well composed; and these things are fully more for the deliberate consideration of the community at large, than of its representatives. Our homily is therefore addressed to the people generally,—but in a more especial manner to that portion,—that very large majority of them who, having anxiously watched over the fate of the Bill, are now rejoicing in its success, and looking forward to its benefits.

First of all, we must exhort them to be patient and reasonable. Nothing can be more natural than that they should expect all the great measures of improvement to which they have an undoubted right; for it is the right of the people not only to

be well and cheaply governed, but as well and as cheaply governed as is possible. It is reasonable, as well as natural, that they should be impatient of any unnecessary delay in beginning those great and necessary improvements. But it is neither natural nor reasonable to require them all to be brought forward at once; it is in the highest degree unreasonable to complain of any one being postponed, without considering what are effected; and it is altogether senseless to clamour for more measures than there is time to discuss. Yet we cannot help being apprehensive that some such feeling as this is rising in the country; because we find it strongly directed to the proceedings of last Session, even while the old unreformed Parliament was the arbiter of every matter propounded. How constantly was it said, 'Nothing has been done. See the abuses that prevail on every side. Yet no one attempts to remove them; and the Government, engrossed with the Reform Bill, cares for no other measure!' Never since Parliament had an existence was there a charge more groundless. With all their sins, neither the Government nor the Parliament can be accused of having done too little, in spite of the one being engrossed with the Bill, and the other distracted with changes at home and abroad, of no ordinary kind; and in spite of both being exhausted with the unexampled fatigues of the preceding eleven months Session. Far from nothing but the Bill having been carried, we will venture to say, that more important and salutary measures, wholly unconnected with the Bill, received the sanction of the Legislature, than in any other equal period of time to which our parliamentary history reaches. Laying the Reform, and every thing connected with it, aside, there were somewhere about a dozen most beneficial changes effected in the jurisprudence of the country, and six or seven other improvements in our political system; any one of which would, in any former Session, have been reckoned a great and happy triumph of sound principle and enlightened policy.

We pass over such important improvements in the system of our administration, as the consolidation of the Navy Board with the Admiralty—of the Board of Works with the Department of Woods and Forests—measures which have both abolished much patronage, saved a large sum yearly to the country, and greatly facilitated and improved the transaction of public business in two of its greatest branches. We say nothing of the improvements in the Irish law relating to tithes, and to subletting, because these measures may still be said to excite difference of opinion. Neither shall we dwell upon merely consolidating acts, which, how beneficial soever, cannot be cited as amendments of the law; although

certainly the Coinage consolidation, beside repealing fifty-one statutes and branches of statutes, and reducing the whole enactments upon the subject to a few simple clauses, had the additional merit of making the offence of coining no longer punishable capitally. But let it be remembered how many important general improvements of the law were effected, such as all or almost all men now admit well to merit that appellation. The Process in all personal actions was simplified and made uniform; and the foundation laid for simplifying and making uniform the whole practice of our Courts of Law. The Process of Courts of Equity in the different parts of the United Kingdom was made interchangeable, so as to prevent evasion by the removal or the non-residence of parties. The like extension was given to the Process of the Ecclesiastical Courts, which, from the variety of local jurisdictions, was before wholly imperfect; and persons having privilege of Parliament were subjected like the rest of the King's subjects to the power of those tribunals. Two courts of long standing, and one of them at least of great importance, but both long complained of, though for different reasons, the Scotch Court of Exchequer, and the English Court of Delegates, were wholly abolished, and their functions transferred to other tribunals where justice may be had better and cheaper than the latter could give it, and the scandal connected with the former may be avoided, of a court of sinecure judges. Corporations were prevented from applying their funds, of whatever description, to defray any expenses connected with Elections. The law was repealed which made it criminal to study Anatomy or Surgery, and regulations were substituted in its room, tending to check any abuses in procuring subjects for dissection, while the facilities given for lawfully prosecuting such researches must effectually prevent the atrocities which had arisen out of the former state of our jurisprudence in this respect. The Payment of the Judges was placed upon a better and more constitutional footing, and considerably reduced in amount; and the Chancellor's, in particular, was made to depend wholly upon salary, and in no degree upon fees. Twelve or thirteen large Sinecure Places, too, in his Court were abolished, with an important saving to the public, and a still more important diminution of patronage. A most beneficial change was introduced into the law of Prescription and Limitation of actions, tending greatly to quiet possession, and prevent vexatious claims. In the two acts passed upon these branches of jurisprudence, by far the most important provision is that relating to Tithes; it is in truth a complete *nullum tempus* act against the Church. A great improvement in the Administration of Justice in India was

introduced, by making natives capable of holding the office of Justice of the Peace at the Presidencies, and of acting on Juries in cases where they had before been unwisely excluded; and—to enumerate no more—the severity, alike impolitic and revolting to the feelings of mankind, which had been so long the reproach of the criminal law, was mitigated in the most important particulars in which it remained liable to this charge—Horse and Cattle stealing, Privately stealing in the Dwelling, and the Forgery of negotiable and other securities*—all which offences have now ceased to be punishable with death. All this was done by the last session of the last unreformed Parliament, over and above the act for its own reformation; and as we may safely defy any one to show another session in which more good was accomplished, we think if any session of the reformed Parliament shall deserve as well of the country, that no just ground of complaint will be given.†

They, however, who consider all these things as nothing, and who persist in the cry that the last session ‘did nothing but ‘carry the Bill,’ will very probably be impatient, whatever may be done next session,—will shut their eyes to all that is brought forward, and only deem those matters important which must of necessity be postponed. It is to them that we would address a few words, believing them friends of improvement, and of the reformed Parliament.

There is nothing more certain than that all the efforts which may be made to divide the labour of government and legislation must still leave its chief parts in the hands of a few; and that of those few, some must superintend every one measure more or less. It therefore becomes *physically* impossible that many measures of importance should be discussed and matured in the course of a single session. Thus, if the East India charter, the Bank charter, and the West India question, are all brought forward together, it is difficult to perceive how time and strength can remain for discussing the Irish tithes,—a subject that presses most of any; and the English Church reform, which can hardly be delayed, if that of the Irish Church must be immediately settled.

* The only kind of forgery that is now capital in any part of the empire is that of wills, and of powers of attorney to transfer stock.

† It is, of course, no argument whatever against the necessity of a reform, that an unreformed Parliament did so much. The country has a right to the security (which the Reform alone could give) that Parliament shall in *every* session do its duty, and not merely when its affairs are confided to men pledged to legislative improvements, and when the public feeling is excited unusually upon the subject.

But there are somewhere about ten other questions which are urged upon the attention of the Government and the Legislature, with as great and as natural an anxiety as any we have mentioned;—Poor Laws, Reform of Corporations, Municipal Police, Criminal Law, Law of Debtor and Creditor, Local Courts, Chancery Reform, and others. It is manifest that if more than a few of these momentous questions are crowded into one session, they must be disposed of without sufficient deliberation, and laws must be made, which, beside their directly injurious effects, arising from crude and hurried legislation, produce the great mischief of preventing better measures from being adopted; and even of bringing into disrepute all attempts at reformation, and alienating from the improvement of our institutions men of the most enlightened, and sober, and practical understandings.

It is to be observed in the next place, that the new system of representation will not have even a chance of working well, unless the people repose confidence in it until they have given it a fair trial. There can hardly be any thing less reasonable than to see men who but yesterday proclaimed the Bill to be sufficient for all practical purposes, already crying out for more reform, and even deriding the measure to which all their wishes were bounded, as little better than a mockery. They are thus realizing the scornful and spiteful predictions of its worst enemies. That there may be some things in it which will demand revision;—that it may in a few particulars require to be carried farther, is possible;—nay, it may be that much more is wanting—that a new system will be required—that the Bill is wholly insufficient, and that all men have been mistaken in their hopes of its efficacy. Experience *may* show all this, and *may* make it wise to abandon it and try another chance; but so may experience show that the old system was far better, and induce us to wish we had it again; and it would be just as rational to attempt its repeal for the purpose of restoring the rotten burghs, as it is, before any time has been allowed, and any trial made, to insist upon changing and extending it.

Again, to give the Reform fair play, confidence must be placed by the people in those whom they shall choose to represent them. In many places an extreme jealousy and suspicion appears to exist on the part of the electors, leading them to exact Pledges from the candidates upon a variety of important questions. Now although it seems absurd to contend that the opinions of the candidate ought not to be frankly stated upon all the subjects in which his constituents feel interested, yet this explanation is any thing rather than giving a pledge binding at all events and in all circumstances. There ought to be a gene-

ral coincidence of opinion between the electors and their representatives; this seems to be implied in the very nature of representation; but when a member is deputed to act for his constituents, he is to judge on each case, and to exercise a discretion for their interest, and that of the community at large. He may alter the opinions formerly held and declared by him to his constituents; and he may justly act upon that change, believing that if they were aware of all he now knows and sees, they would also vary their opinion. To send a man into Parliament fettered by pledges, is neither more nor less than to prevent him from discharging his duty of consulting for the public good. It is utterly destructive of all deliberation; it is in fact deciding before-hand, and in the dark, how the decision of a question shall be given when it is discussed; and among other absurdities it involves this glaring one, that it renders the discussion wholly nugatory. The practice plainly arises from distrust; the electors are afraid of the candidate betraying them if he is chosen, and that he is deceiving them by his professions. But then, the exaction of the pledge is useless; for if he is minded to betray them, he will care little about forfeiting any pledge he may have given; and if he is falsely professing to have opinions contrary to his real sentiments, he will not scruple to make the promise as well as to tell the untruth. The best security which electors can have is to be found in the previous conduct of the candidate; if he has never been in Parliament, his general political course, and known sentiments, expressed by him and acted upon before the election was thought of, afford the next best security; and if he has never mixed in politics, his demeanour in other matters, and the respectability of his character, must be taken as indicating how far he may be trusted now in another sphere. A person unknown in any of these ways *may* be bound by a promise exacted on his canvass; but nothing can be less certain; while it is, on the other hand, quite clear that in seeking after a most fleeting security of very doubtful value, the greatest violence has, without any doubt, been done to the principle of representation, and the relation between the constituent and the member has been completely changed.

But it is most of all important for the sake of the Reform, that confidence should be placed in the Parliament as reformed. The habit of regarding the House of Commons as any thing rather than a representative of the people, is of such long standing, that it will very naturally affect the feelings of the community towards whatever body bears the same ill name. But exactly in the same proportion in which the Reform Bill

deserves the approbation of the people, will the Parliament elected under its provisions, deserve their confidence. It becomes a real representation; it is the Parliament of the people; to distrust or suspect it, and to thwart and control it, as if it were, like its predecessors, in great part named by individuals unconnected with the people, is utterly inconsistent with the admission, that the measure just carried was one of Parliamentary Reform.

The appearance of a disposition in some quarters to continue the associations which the late struggles produced, is to be regarded as indicating a disregard of the true principles of representative government. That the people, however well represented, ought always to keep an attentive eye upon the proceedings of Parliament, and especially of their own House, is readily admitted. That upon great questions they ought occasionally to interpose their opinion, and communicate freely upon them with their representatives, cannot for a moment be denied. But this is very different from a regular system of associations, introduced for the purpose of discussing all questions, and assembling at stated periods to debate and decide on those very matters, the discussion and determination of which had just been committed to the body chosen for that special purpose. It is quite manifest that the establishing of such a system is the object which some have in contemplation at the present time. Not satisfied with having a Parliament elected to carry on the business of legislation, and to watch the conduct of the executive government, they think it necessary also to have meetings of the electors for the same purposes. The principal delegates his functions to an agent; but continues to act himself. The people are to choose men to deliberate for them; but they are also to deliberate for themselves, as if they had made no such choice. Can any thing result from this double action but conflict and confusion? Is it not wholly inconsistent with the very nature and fundamental principle of representative government? This grand improvement of modern polity rests entirely upon one assumption—that the people are too numerous and too much distracted with their ordinary occupations, to carry on the business of the state in public assemblies. Were it not so, unquestionably there are many advantages in allowing every man to transact his own business, and save the cost and the risk of trusting a deputy. But large multitudes being unfit by their mere numbers for acting as deliberative bodies, even if they had the time and information required, experience has taught us that the wiser course is to select a smaller number of persons deserving of confidence, and delegate to them the duties of go-

vernment. Surely it wants no argument to prove, that if, notwithstanding this delegation, the electors are to embody themselves, and carry on the affairs of the nation, as far at least as discussion goes, but discussion coupled with peremptory communications of the result to the members, there was little occasion for going through the ceremony of election.

We have thought it right to state this, rather in deference to the alarms which many well-meaning persons entertain, than from any apprehension we are ourselves disposed to feel from those associations. If the New Parliament shall, as may fully be expected, prove an adequate and just representative of the public opinions and desires;—if the members chosen are such as personally to command the respect and esteem of the country,—we have no doubt whatever that the public affections will be turned strongly towards the body, and that its conduct will be viewed with confidence and with favour.

The clamour, indeed, which has been raised by the enemies of reform, assumes that the new Parliament will be too much in the good graces of the country. They contend, that a House of Commons which is chosen by the people, must possess so entirely the people's affections, that the popular voice will be heard hourly through the representative body, and will prove so irresistible as to overpower and silence, if not to sweep away, all the other branches of the government. But we have no apprehensions whatever of this kind. The members most likely to be chosen, from all that now appears, are for the most part men steadily attached to the existing institutions, and the form of government which has proved sufficient to secure the liberties of the country; and there seems no disposition among their constituents, hardly any among any classes of the community, to overthrow those establishments, for the sake of trying some experiment in government new to this nation, or only once tried to be speedily repented of. They who are, or affect to be, alarmed at the prospect of revolutionary proceedings, have not well studied the disposition and habits of their fellow countrymen. The enemies of Monarchy are not many among us; the admirers of a Republic are fewer; but those who would seek the destruction of the one, and the establishment of the other, through the horrors of a general convulsion, and support their theoretical opinions and speculative propensities, by all the extremities of civil war, are indeed very few in number, and in weight wholly inconsiderable.

Every reduction of expense, every improvement in the administration of the government, every reformation in our system, whether legal or political, lessens the number of those who

grudge the cost, or are averse to the pageantry, of the kingly form. But even they who dislike it the most, are, generally speaking, unable to say 'Aye,' when you put to them the trying question, 'Shall a republic be substituted in its place?' We will venture to assert, that the real republicans in Great Britain among persons of respectability, whether from station or character, or sense and information, might be counted by tens. There are some ingenious, and even learned men, who retain their partiality for this form of government, and whose writings, rather than speeches (for they mingle not in the wordy war) point that way, and certainly are directed against existing institutions. But their keeping out of sight all direct mention of their favourite scheme, their never using the word, and on no occasion professing themselves republicans, seems of itself a sufficient proof that there exists in the country no predilection for republicanism, and that no one expects much favour from broaching its principles.

But though such is certainly the case at present, it seems equally clear that the dislike to our monarchical institutions was upon the increase, and that the desire of a commonwealth might have sprung up, when men some time ago saw a fixed purpose entertained, and, as it were, an irrevocable decree pronounced by the rulers of the country, never to reform those abuses which had crept into the system of the government. The enemies of reform *may* feel apprehensive, if *their* principles should ever become the settled rule of government.* Some of them are occupied, and successfully too, in converting many to the Ballot and Universal Suffrage; they *may*, by similar precautions, diffuse the spirit of republicanism, contrary though it be to the genius of the people, and averse from all their habits.

An alarm of a different kind has possessed many. They do not dread the progress of republican principles, but they are afraid that the Reformed Parliament will be driven by the popular impulse to effect great changes in the system of our jurisprudence by wholesale, and without sufficient deliberation. Is there any solid foundation for this fear? We apprehend that the House of Commons will be influenced by the sentiments prevailing, not among the whole multitudes sometimes assembled at public meetings, but among those who constitute the body of electors; that is, the middle classes as well as the upper;

* They certainly cannot pretend at present to have any fear of revolutionary principles; for with whom are they every where making common cause against the government?—With the Radical Party.

those possessing some property, and tolerably well informed upon political matters. It seems equally certain, however, that even the multitudes so often described as given to change, and liable to be misled by designing men, are, for the most part, disposed to hear reason from those who take the trouble to communicate with them. They are undoubtedly improving daily in knowledge, and in the habits of calm discussion which education never fails to form; and there are but few places, assuredly but very few questions of importance in which they will be found to differ materially with the body of the electors placed immediately above them in point of wealth.

Of those questions, one is often mentioned as most likely to be broached, and to bring on some extremities from the expected pressure of the working classes upon those who have the elective franchise;—we allude to the security of Property. It is, indeed, impossible to deny that the most dangerous, and, we may add, the most absurd doctrines, have of late been preached to the working classes upon this point. They have been told that all accumulation of capital is a grievance to them, robbing them of their just rights; that every man has a title to that which he renders valuable by his labour; that the amount of his remuneration for his work must be ascertained, not by the competition in the market of labourers and employers, but by the personal wants and wishes of the former. Nor can it be denied that these doctrines, monstrous as they are, receive daily and practical support from the perverted principles on which, in most parts of England, the Poor Laws are administered. As the opinions we are referring to must, if acted upon, involve the utter destruction of society,—as they are equally fatal to every form of government that can be conceived,—as they strike directly at the foundations upon which all communities of men, from the most simple and limited to the largest and most complex, rest,—it is to be expected that all who meddle with such discussions, either through the press, or as the members of societies meeting for political purposes, will feel the absolute necessity of uniting to expose their perilous absurdity. Hardly any one deserving of notice, it is supposed, can be found siding with the apostles of anarchy and barbarism, who would obliterate every vestige of civilisation, and restore society to the savage state. But there is more risk of ingenious and speculative men, or strong partisans, forgetting,—the one in the refinements of theory, and the other in the heats of political contention,—how difficult it may be to go a certain length in one direction, and then stop short. If, for instance, all Church property were confiscated, through dislike to the Establishment, and suspicion of its illiberal propen-

sities ;—if, to curb the influence of the executive government, the taxes necessary for paying the interest of the debt were repealed ;—if, from jealousy of the Aristocracy, the accumulation of property in a few hands were directly prohibited, and not merely discouraged,—such measures being, but more especially the last two, manifest violations of the rights of property, would lead immediately to another step—the total destruction of the Funds, and the establishment of a *maximum* of property—a point of wealth which no one should pass. But as those measures are akin to the forcible distribution of property,—if indeed they do not involve it,—how can they who have gone thus far refuse to give the artisans what they are taught, by some other theorists and other partisans, already to demand, a share of all the capital of the country made productive by their labour ;—in other words, a general division of all property ? We rely on the returning good sense of those to whom we have alluded,—but, at all events, we rely on the good sense of the people themselves, for an antidote to the subtle poison which has of late years been spread through the community.

But to the Government of the country we look, as we have a right, for the measures which can alone prevent its continued circulation ; not, of course, by prosecutions of any kind ; but by repeal of those high duties which give the unfair trader, the dealer in a foul and pernicious article, the advantage over all who are too honest to defraud the revenue, and too enlightened and too virtuous to gratify the passion for ribaldry, and extravagance, and every species of licentiousness. That we should look in vain is wholly impossible, when we consider how many of its members have devoted themselves to the diffusion of knowledge. Assuredly they of all men must be the first to desire that it should be taxed no longer than the necessities of the revenue require. Indeed, what Mr Bentham says of Law Taxes, applies, since these have ceased, emphatically to the one in question—What shall be put in its place, supposing the revenue insufficient, and a substitute necessary ?—Any other.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

From July to October, 1832.

ARCHITECTURE, ANTIQUITIES, AND THE FINE ARTS.

- English School of Painting, Vol. III. 12mo. 18s. half-bound.
Gallery of the Society of Painters in Water Colours. No. IV. Prints, 10s. 6d. Proofs, 18s. India Proofs, 21s. Before the Letters, 17. 11s. 6d.
Major's Cabinet National Gallery. No. I. 8vo. 2s. 6d. India Proofs, 5s. Folio Proofs, 7s. 6d.
Hervey's Illustrations of Modern Sculpture. Imperial 4to. No. I. 6s. 6d.
Loudon's Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture. Illustrated. Nos. I. II. III. IV. and V. are published.
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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1833.

N^o. CXII.

ART. I.—*The History of Rome.* By B. G. NIEBUHR. Translated by JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A., and CONNOP THIRLWALL, M.A., Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. Volume First. Second Edition Revised, with the Additions in the Third Edition of the Original. 8vo. London: 1831.

The History of Rome. By B. G. NIEBUHR. Translated by JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A., and CONNOP THIRLWALL, M.A. Volume Second. 8vo. London: 1832.

NIEBUHR undertook to write the History of Rome, from the earliest ages of the city to the establishment of the empire of Augustus. Of this great work he accomplished only a portion; and his history will remain to succeeding ages as a fragment. But it is a fragment which may be compared to the unfinished colossal statues that are found lying in the granite quarries of Syene, conceived with all the vastness and precision of Egyptian art; which, had they been finished, might have overtopped the gigantic Memnon; but which, when they were relinquished by the hand that first fashioned them, were destined to remain for ever imperfect. We should as soon expect an artist to arise, who should elaborate, and erect amid the Theban temples, a half-hewn Rameses, as a scholar who should complete the Roman History of Niebuhr.

This great work originated in a course of Lectures, which Niebuhr delivered in the University of Berlin. The introductory lecture of this course the author inserted among his philological tracts; and his translators have very judiciously prefixed

it to the translation of the Third Edition of the First Volume of his History. It throws great light on the spirit in which he undertook his labours; and it comprehends in a short space many acute and just remarks on the mode in which the Roman History was regarded by the Romans themselves, and by the moderns after the revival of ancient learning; on the national character of Rome, and on the effects of her dominion upon the condition of the human race. If any readers have been misled by common fame to look upon Niebuhr as a mere antiquarian, this introductory lecture may give them some notion of the extent of his views, and of the style in which he would have executed the latter portion of his projected work.

It is true that the mind of Niebuhr was so engrossed by continued efforts to elucidate the obscurity of the early period of Roman history, that he has scarcely advanced into the region of comparative certainty. It is now somewhat more than twenty years since he published the first edition of his first volume; and this was followed by a second volume, in which the history was carried down to the Dictatorship of Q. Publilius in the year of the city 416. The appearance of these portions of his work caused a strong sensation of surprise in Germany, and excited a vehement spirit of curiosity and research: and while, on the one hand, they gave birth to a new school of historical enquiry, on the other, the novelty and boldness of the theories developed in them encountered severe criticism, especially from the accurate learning of Wachsmuth and the comprehensive judgment of Aug. W. Schlegel. It is remarkable and characteristic, that Niebuhr never directly noticed or replied to any observations upon his work. Yet he was far from being satisfied with his own performance. He was sensible, as he himself confesses, that in much he had erred; and that a still greater part of his positions was left in a disjointed condition, and feebly supported by proofs. In the meantime, new sources of knowledge were discovered in Italy, especially the fragments of Cicero's 'Republic.' The judicious kindness of the King of Prussia had placed Niebuhr in a public situation at the Papal Court: and he was busy in acquiring that knowledge which was to be gained by an accurate investigation of the scene of the events which he related. The light thus thrown upon his subject, and the results of his continued researches and reflections, so far modified his original notions, that he felt that his First Volume must be written anew. Accordingly, on his return to Germany, he undertook this labour; corrected the Second Volume, and drew up the plan of the Third.

The preface to the Second Edition of the First Volume is

dated 'Bonn, December 8, 1826.' At Bonn the latter part of Niebuhr's life was spent. He was the great ornament of the University which the Prussian government had established there; and to a course of lectures which he delivered on Roman Antiquities, he ascribes much of the excitement and enthusiasm which carried him through his laborious work. This Second Edition was thoroughly remodelled, and most carefully elaborated in all its parts. The First he considered as a youthful work: but this he put forth as 'the work of a man in his maturity; whose powers might decline, but whose convictions were thoroughly settled, and whose views could not change,' (Preface, p. xii.) Still he could not free himself from the fascination of a subject which had been so long the object of such intense thought. In a short time, he undertook a Third Edition of this First Volume: and though on almost all important points his views remained unchanged, yet the corrections, and illustrations, and additions, which he introduced, were of no small importance. In themselves they are highly valuable; and certainly it is gratifying to have the great work of a great mind in its most finished shape; but we cannot but regret this last labour, now that we feel that we have lost by it, the completion of the Third Volume. Messrs Hare and Thirlwall, after translating the Second Edition, have translated likewise the Third: a labour to which they must have been prompted by a genuine love of their subject, and a reverence for their rarely-gifted friend. It is well known, that the translations were executed under the sanction of Niebuhr himself: and so intent was he upon perfecting his work, that, while the latter translation was in progress, some corrections were transmitted to England, which do not appear in the original German. The quantity of the matter added to the Third Edition may be measured by comparing the bulk of the two editions of the translation. The latter exceeds the former by fifty pages.

The preface of Niebuhr to the new edition of his Second Volume assumes a melancholy interest, since death has ended the labours of the illustrious writer. In the account which he gives of the causes of the delay of its publication we see the decay of his bodily strength, consequent upon mental exhaustion; and we perceive that his life was sacrificed to his chosen work.

'The first volume had left me in a state of exhaustion, which was the consequence of the continued exertion of all my faculties, directed to a single object for sixteen months without any intermission, except now and then a very few days. My sight grew dim in its passionate efforts to pierce into the obscurity of the subject; and unless I was to send forth an incomplete work, which, sooner or later, would have had to be wholly remodelled, I was compelled to wait for what Time might

gradually bring forth.' . . . 'I must not, however, omit, that this exhaustion, which, in fact, resembled the dizziness of a person long deprived of sleep, excited a vehement desire for some different employment; and this led me, most inconsiderately, having already such a task as this history on my hands, to engage in editing the Byzantine historians, which, along with other very laborious occupations,—for instance, the revisal of the third edition of my first volume,—greatly impeded the progress of my plan after it had been twice recast; and, as I wished to carry them all on together, my health, serenity, and clearness of mind, for a time deserted me.' Preface, pp. iv. v.

He had begun to disengage himself from these impediments, and to recover his health of body and mind, and the first sheets of his second volume were written out for the press, when a fire destroyed his house, and much of his property, and amongst the rest the corrected manuscript. He recovered from this misfortune with the elasticity of a powerful genius, and had repaired his loss, and completed the greater part of the volume, when the Revolution of 1830 took place in France. The literary pursuits of Niebuhr had not so far engrossed his thoughts as to make him forget that he was a citizen, and had once been a statesman; and this event filled his over-excited and enfeebled mind with the most harassing anxiety. In 1813 he had taken part in the deliverance of Germany from the military yoke of France, and had been amongst the foremost in rousing the patriotic spirit of his countrymen. It is manifest from his expressions, that he now anticipated a second season of revolutionary frenzy, and a second desolating career of conquest and of tyranny. His alarm was not a selfish solicitude, but a philanthropic fear for the whole civilized world; yet he could not forget, that, if the storm which he momentarily dreaded were to burst out, Bonn, the home of his declining age, the centre of all that was dear to him, would be exposed to its first fury. In this painful state of doubt and apprehension he finished his second volume. But this was almost his last labour. His political anxiety was too great for his exhausted strength. He died, January 2, 1831, at the age of little more than fifty years. Strange as the statement may appear to those who view with no deeper feeling than curiosity the great events which determine the welfare of their species, or to those whose judgment of the political aspect of Europe differs from the melancholy forebodings of Niebuhr, it is clearly established by his own expressions of despondency, and by the testimony of his friends, that the proximate cause of his death was the intense anxiety and grief with which he contemplated the position of public affairs.

The Second Volume, as it is thus finally given to the world, is carried down only to the year of the city, 378, the period immediately preceding the struggle for the Licinian Rogations, by which the constitution of Rome was remodelled, and the Plebeian order admitted to all the civil dignities of the Patricians. The volume, in its original shape in the first edition, was continued, as we have already mentioned, down to the legislation of the Dictator Publilius, in 416. We are informed by the translators, that among the manuscripts of Niebuhr there has been found a continuous history from this point to the beginning of the first Punic War, written out for the press ten or twelve years ago. This, along with the corrections made in the latter part of the original second volume, has been placed in the hands of his illustrious friend Savigny, and its speedy publication is expected. As soon as it comes out, the translators will endeavour to complete their melancholy duty. And this is all which the world will possess of the great work which Niebuhr proposed to himself,—a foundation built for all ages, but without the superstructure.

The endowments by which Niebuhr was fitted for the execution of this work were such as are rarely possessed singly, and are probably unexampled in their felicitous combination. To habits of slow and patient research, he added the intuitive discernment, which often enabled him to detect the truth at a glance, where it had escaped the laborious investigation of preceding scholars. To the acuteness with which he pointed out the errors of others, not merely in their false results, but in their cause, and origin, and progress; to the penetration with which he perceived and developed latent truth; to the ingenuity with which he brought facts, apparently inconsistent, and testimonies apparently discordant, within the compass of one probable theory; he united a largeness of comprehension, and a soundness of judgment, which preserved him from overlooking the weak points in hypotheses, such as a less cautious enquirer might have been tempted to frame. It is very possible, that to many of Niebuhr's opinions objections may be made, which a student of his works will deem valid; but it is not easy to raise objections which he himself has not foreseen and weighed. He possessed strong common sense, and a practical habit of mind, which enabled him to discriminate historical truth from all that savoured of the marvellous; yet with this he combined an imagination which seized with enthusiastic delight the poetical features of popular traditions; and his practical sense, and his poetical imagination, alike rejected with unerring instinct the fabrications of fraudulent chroniclers.

The learning and knowledge of Niebuhr was worthy of his extraordinary powers. He seems to have known thoroughly all that remains to us of ancient literature. He is of course familiar with the great authorities for Roman history; but an incidental allusion of a poet, an antiquarian notice of Varro or Aulus Gellius, a gloss of Festus, occur to him as readily as the statements of Livy and Dionysius, and are brought to bear as directly upon the point in question. Not only is it manifest from his disquisition on the Agrarian Laws and on the Public Domain, that he was well acquainted with the Civil Law, but his remarks throw light on many points which the professed students of the science have left dark. The two appendixes to the second volume, on the *Limitatio*, and on the *Agrimensores*, are monuments of the minuteness of his learning. All the treasures of Grecian literature are spread out before him; and supply abundant illustrations of the phenomena of the Roman history and the Roman laws. It is manifest that Niebuhr has not studied merely one or two departments of ancient learning; that he has not studied the whole, as a person studies what is strange to him; but he is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of antiquity, and looks at all its various remains with the intimate feeling of a fellow-countryman and a contemporary. To illustrate the excellencies of one writer by the deficiencies of another; is a most ungracious method of criticism; nor would we resort to it, but that our foil shall be an author who has honourably attained a very high station, from which he will not speedily be dislodged, while at the same time his obvious faults will always prevent him from being placed in the highest rank. We could not convey a better notion of the difference between an universal and a partial knowledge of ancient learning, than by directing the attention of the reader to Niebuhr and to Mitford. Mitford had studied most carefully the original authorities for Grecian history; and to this research he owes his very great superiority to the crowd of his predecessors,—repeaters of repetitions, and compilers of compilations. Probably no person was ever better acquainted with Thucydides or Xenophon or Arrian, so far as those writers can be interpreted out of themselves. But his knowledge of Greek literature beyond the range of the professed historians was very meagre. It is manifest that he was imperfectly acquainted even with the orators; although, as he chose to take a peculiar view of the period of which their speeches are the only contemporary monuments, it was especially incumbent upon him to study them thoroughly. His error in taking the rhetorician Aristides for a contemporary of Demosthenes is even ludicrous. Not only does he give no insight into the history of

Grecian literature and philosophy, and very little into the progress of society and the growth of the national mind, but he has neglected the most abundant sources of political illustration. For example, Aristotle's Treatise on Government contains a rich collection of facts relating to Grecian history; and the little that we know of the constitutions and revolutions of the smaller republics, (except so far as they were involved in the fortunes of the greater states,) is drawn mainly from this storehouse. Mr Mitford, in one of his later volumes, has given a summary of the theoretical part of the work; but elsewhere he has seldom referred to it. It is cited more frequently for illustration and example in the History of Rome than in the History of Greece; and there can be no comparison as to the penetration and judgment with which the materials supplied by it are used. Niebuhr is familiar with historians and orators, poets and philosophers. He seems to bring to the particular study of each that preparatory knowledge which results from an intimacy with all; and whatever subject he is discussing, the very information which is wanted, from whatever quarter it may come, presents itself to his mind without an effort.

Very inadequate, however, would be the estimate that we should form of Niebuhr's knowledge, if we supposed that it was confined to the ancient world. No department of literature seems entirely unknown to him; but he has studied with especial care the history of the nations of modern Europe, and the development of every example of free government. He is fond of looking back upon the ancient institutions of the nations of Teutonic race, and he has drawn many curious illustrations from the form in which they flourished in old times in his native province of Ditmarsh. In this there is nothing wonderful. His familiar acquaintance with the constitutions of the Free Cities in Germany, the Swiss Cantons, and the Italian Republics, with their parties and intrigues and revolutions, is more worthy of observation. But an English reader is somewhat surprised, when he finds him alluding, not merely to the great events of our history, but to the subjects of our present internal policy, and discoursing with perfect accuracy of the forms of our legislative proceedings; and many an English scholar, who has lived only in the world of classical antiquity, will be put to shame, when he finds the German historian illustrating the usurpations of the farmers of a land-tax, and the mode in which injustice was sometimes done through an ignorance of the national principles of the tenure of property, by a reference to the policy of Lord Cornwallis in recognising the Zemindars of Bengal as absolute proprietors of the soil, and to the account given by Sir

John Davies, in his *Historical Tracts*, of the iniquitous confiscation of lands in Ireland after Tyrone's rebellion. (Vol. ii. pp. 134, 152.)

But Niebuhr's knowledge of history is something much more than a mere knowledge of facts. He has studied the development of free governments wheresoever they have existed, whether in ancient or in modern times, and under whatsoever shape they may have presented themselves; and by induction from an extensive comparison of their phenomena, he has obtained an insight into the general laws by which their progress is regulated. Political history in his hands has become a science; and though the circumstances under which civil societies may be constituted, and the accidents they may meet with in their growth, are infinitely various, he enables the student to discern the stages through which they naturally pass. The reader must not imagine that he has amused himself with framing fanciful theories of the origin and progress of human society; or tracing any imaginary process by which savages are supposed to be civilized, and civilized communities to be corrupted. Nothing can be more alien from Niebuhr's observant and practical habit of mind, than such arbitrary speculations. His political philosophy is gathered from a comprehensive survey of the events of history, and is a summary of the experience of nations. A little reflection will convince any thinking man, that such a science, though it seems strange, or even new, must have a real existence. The laws and institutions of free communities are not the product of chance, but the natural offspring of human feelings, and passions, and interests. The same principles are at work at the bottom, however diversified may be the circumstances under which they manifest their effects; and phenomena which result from the same causes are evidently capable of generalization, or of being reduced to certain laws; and thus are objects of science, in the sense in which science, as a comprehensive idea, is distinguished from the knowledge of individual facts. Man is by his very nature and essence a social animal; and the phenomena of society are as much the work of Divine Providence, as the phenomena of the material world, inanimate and animated, or the phenomena of mental existence. The chemist, the astronomer, the zoologist, the metaphysician, and the political philosopher, are all students of the works of God; and method and analogy, and subjection to law, will surely be discovered by all in the objects of their several researches. The office of the historian is to ascertain facts and their relations; the political philosopher makes his inductions from the materials presented by history. Accuracy of detail is the peculiar virtue of the one,

power of comprehension is the excellency of the other. Niebuhr has united the qualifications of both; and has bequeathed to us a work, which is unrivalled both for exactness of research, and for the extent and truth of its general views.

The circumstance, that Niebuhr had been called upon to act as well as to think on public affairs, must have had a great effect in forming his habit of mind. In early life he held an office in the financial department under the Prussian government. In 1813 he became a director of the popular enthusiasm of Germany, by commencing and editing the 'Prussian Correspondent.' Afterwards he was employed in various diplomatic services; and finally he was sent as Prussian minister to the court of Rome to negotiate a Concordat. He possessed, therefore, the advantage of a species of experience in which men of learning are generally deficient; and, no doubt, this helped to give him his peculiar insight into political subjects, which always seems practical as well as speculative.

With these intellectual qualities and endowments, Niebuhr combined the great moral requisites of an historian;—a scrupulous love of truth, a straightforward singleness of purpose, and a hearty sympathy with all moral excellence. His love of truth is manifest on all occasions, whether he is analyzing the motives of great political changes, or reporting the various readings of a manuscript. His purpose is only to ascertain and make known the facts of Roman history. This simplicity of purpose is a virtue in which even great historians have been wanting. By the example of Mitford we see that it is possible to write on ancient history with a perpetual allusion to modern politics, and with all the anxiety of a pamphleteer for the practical conclusion which the reader is to draw at the end. In Gibbon we perceive how history could be made a cover for insidious attacks upon the religion which the historian chose to disbelieve. But Niebuhr never appears to aim at any object beyond the legitimate province of his work. It would perhaps be too much to assert, that he is entirely free from partiality in his delineation of the struggle between the two parties in the infant republic; and certainly too much to acquit him of all intemperance of feeling and language about the Patrician oligarchy. But his partiality is not like the furious and blind partisanship of Hooke. His sympathy is a righteous enthusiasm for what he felt to be right and just; his anger is a deliberate sentiment of indignation against the iniquity of pride and selfishness; nor does it ever blind him to the grandeur of genuine virtue, in whichever political party it is found.

Such were the qualifications of the historian of Rome; and it

may easily be supposed that the work of such a writer is not to be read lightly and superficially. Indeed, it cannot be denied, that the study of Niebuhr is not an easy task. It presupposes a considerable degree of learning, and a more than ordinary power of attention and reflection. This preparation it would require, even if the subject were presented in the clearest light possible. But we are constrained to confess, that Niebuhr did not excel in perspicuity of arrangement; and he has seldom had so much compassion for the infirmity of his readers, as to follow the good example of the mathematicians; and to state in front of his arguments the points which he proposes to prove. We have thought, therefore, that we should do good service, if we took upon ourselves the apparently humble task of presenting an outline of the great work which he has elaborated. The First Edition of the Translation of the First Volume was noticed in a former Number, (No. CII.): but the conviction which has been forced upon us by observation, how few are even the professed scholars who have made themselves masters even of this portion of the History which has been so long before the world, has induced us to return to it, and to endeavour to present a summary of the chief matters contained in it. We shall purposely dwell longer upon the former volume than upon that which has been more recently published; because the first volume presents the principles upon which the whole work is founded, and gives to it the peculiar character by which it is distinguished from all the labours of preceding enquirers. The first volume contains the germ of the subsequent history. An intelligent student, who had thoroughly digested the contents of the first volume, even if he never saw the second, would, in his further researches into Roman history, necessarily view its events in the same general aspect as that in which they are presented by Niebuhr; but a reader, who should take up the second volume without any knowledge of the first, would find himself perplexed by a multitude of assumptions, for which he would be utterly unprepared. He would be in the case of a learner, who should begin the study of geometry by the perusal of a treatise on conic sections. We are concerned only with the great features of the work. Upon those points of minor importance, upon which we conceive Niebuhr's speculations to be rash and unfounded, we shall purposely abstain from comment; partly from lack of room, but much more because we perceive, that, in the present state of classical learning in this country, it is more necessary to encourage students to open their eyes and follow his profound investigations, than to warn them against an excess of the spirit of enquiry.

We shall not detain the reader by any observations upon the

introductory sections, which contain Niebuhr's researches into the origin and early history of the various nations of Italy. They are very learned and curious; and developè some theories, which, if not absolutely original, are supported by much stronger argument than has been adduced by preceding writers. We allude particularly to the sections on the Pelasgians and the Etruscans. We pass over in like manner the sections on the legend of Æneas, and on the history of Alba, and proceed at once to Rome.

The historian has cleared his way by collecting and classifying all the Greek traditions respecting the foundation of the city. We are so accustomed to the legend which has supplanted all the rest, and finally prevailed, that the reader who has not turned his mind to these researches, will probably be startled at the number of discordant stories. When however he has reviewed them all, he will feel himself warranted in an impartial disbelief of them all, and a conviction that the Greeks knew nothing of the matter. In the common story, the circumstance that Rome was built by the twin-children of an Alban princess, sons of the god Mars, is part of a native tradition: all the circumstances which connect this with the story of Æneas were invented merely to reconcile the national legend with the Greek fable.

The first great achievement of Niebuhr in his first volume, is his demonstrative analysis of the origin and nature of the early history of Rome, from its foundation to the death of the last Tarquin. He shows that it is drawn from two distinct sources, and compounded of two distinct elements. All the memorials of institutions and laws and ceremonies which it involves,—all matters relating to the polity or the superstition of Rome,—were drawn from the Pontifical Books, or from similar registers of the priests and augurs: for in the rudeness and superstition of the earlier ages, when the government was entirely in the hands of the Patrician caste, whose exclusive privileges were upheld and guarded by religious and ceremonial distinctions, the records of the priests and pontiffs were at the same time the only civil archives. All the stories of the early history, all the legends of individual exploits, were merely popular traditions, and, like all popular traditions, poetic in their spirit, and it appears highly probable, originally poetic in their form. Niebuhr has given strong reasons for believing, that the grand stories of the early Roman history were the subjects of *lays*,—it may be of ballads, it may be of heroic poems,—composed by genuine national poets, in the old native tongue and the old native metres; and from these they passed into the prose chronicles of the annalists, and into the hexameters of Ennius, the chief of the generation of imitators of the Greeks, who overlay what might have

been the genuine literature of Rome, and put a changeling in its place.

In examining the truth of a history thus formed, we will discuss first the traditinary portion of it. We know, from a comparison of different examples, what very different degrees of truth may exist in popular and poetic traditions. We may have stories, like those of Geoffrey of Monmouth, about King Lear and Ferrex and Porrex, which are excellent matter for poetry, but of which we have absolutely no ground for saying that they contain a particle of historical truth. We may have legends like the Chronicle of Archbishop Turpin, relating to real persons, but ascribing to them fabulous exploits. We may have ballads like Chevy Chase, full of well known names, and describing incidents eminently characteristic of the country and age to which they relate, but yet not reconcilable with ascertained facts, and with the unbending rigour of chronology. We may have poems like Blind Harry's Wallace, mingling historical facts with such grand poetical creations as the apparition of his murdered follower Fawdoun in the midst of the burning Castle of Gask; or again, like Barbour's Bruce, as scrupulously exact as the driest chronicle. Where we have other and extrinsic evidence of the same events, which are the subjects of the popular and poetic legends, or other records of the same times, of course we can judge of the truth of the traditions. Where we are destitute of such a test, but have the poetical traditions before us in their genuine shape, we may form a probable judgment by their internal evidence. Thus, men of competent learning and sound judgment will not differ very widely with respect to the historical authority to be attached to the Homeric poems. But where the poetic legends in their original form are lost to us, and we have merely their stories repeated and transmitted through several successive channels, mixed with other matter, and evidently varied and modified by the different narrators, the difficulty of estimating their truth is enhanced almost hopelessly. What could we say of the stories of the Trojan war, if we read them only in *Diety's Cretensis*? Put the case, that the history of some noble Scottish family were compiled, partly from genealogical records of doubtful accuracy, partly from very imperfect public documents, themselves of questionable authority, and that this meagre outline were filled up with stories from a multitude of local ballads and songs; then suppose that this history were copied by several successive writers, each adding a little from similar sources, or altering a little to remove inconsistencies; till in a distant age the family history remained, but all the original documents, and all the popular

ballads, were utterly lost and forgotten : what judgment could a critic then form of its historical truth? Such seems to be the predicament of the early Roman history. Such, in fact, was its predicament even in the days of Augustus, when Livy and Dionysius put it into the form in which we now have it. The traditions had passed from annalist to annalist; the original legends, or lays, had long since perished; and even had the later historians been critically inclined, no records remained by which their truth could be tried, except some legal and ceremonial traditions of the Pontifical Books, which from their nature recounted very few historical facts, and which were themselves open to much suspicion, from causes which will be specified presently. But the ancient historians were very seldom critical. Livy and Dionysius made as good a story as they could of their materials, each in his own style; and they have left to us the task of comparing their narratives and estimating their truth. The result is, that in the very early period which we have marked out, little or no certainty can be attained. Much of the common story is demonstrably false; some few statements may be admitted as true; but of much that is told it seems impossible to form an opinion whether it is true or false. It appears necessary to acquiesce in this scepticism and suspension of judgment, however irksome it may be to a keen enquirer. If there be any fault in Niebuhr's representation of the early history, it is that he sometimes leaves the impression that the common story is untrue, in cases in which all that can be certainly affirmed is that it is uncertain.

In every part of his work, Niebuhr manifests a vehement antipathy, with which, we confess, we most heartily sympathize, to that sort of annalists and historians, who are not content with receiving and repeating the popular tales, as they are handed down to them, but seek to give them the semblance of grave and sober history, by suppressing their marvellous and improbable incidents, or substituting some commonplace circumstances, physically possible perhaps, but often utterly out of keeping with the narrative which they are botching. What should we think of an historian, who should give us the history of the battle of Chevy Chase, and tell us that Sir Henry Witherington continued to fight after receiving a severe wound in one of his legs? Yet this is the way in which much of the early history of Rome has been written. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whom it was the fashion of the French critics of a former age to commend as a judicious historian, has written his whole history upon this plan. In many cases the better taste of Livy has preserved the more genuine version of the tradition; or Plutarch has been unwilling to lose a good story; or

some lucky accident has kept it alive in some other quarter. Where we are thus enabled to compare different stories, we see at a glance to what length the falsification of the *judicious* school of historians has been carried. Thus Dionysius tells the story of Mucius Scævola with many wearisome details, giving him an Etruscan nurse in order to account for his talking with the hostile soldiery; but chooses to omit the circumstance of his burning his hand. So deeply, however, has this disease preyed upon the old Roman traditions, that in many cases, though we may perceive that they are disfigured, we are left to guess at their genuine features. Guided by the analogy of similar legends, Niebuhr has sometimes ventured upon this kind of restoration, and has shown a singularly acute judgment and fine taste. Another fault, near akin to this, is also very common in the Roman history. Where there have manifestly been two versions of a story reported by the older annalists, the later writers have frequently endeavoured to reconcile them, and patched up a compound of both. These double narratives Niebuhr, in several instances, has been able to dissect and separate; often upon the authority of writers who have incidentally mentioned one or the other of the genuine stories; sometimes by the internal evidence. He has likewise pointed out that a very usual mode with the annalists of supplying the lack of detail was to borrow circumstances from the better authenticated events of a later period, and thus, if we may use the expression, to repeat themselves by anticipation.

In what may be called the work of demolition Niebuhr has had several predecessors. The sceptical temper of Bayle did not suffer him to acquiesce in a narrative so open to a reasonable incredulity as the early history of Rome. Beaufort's treatise on the 'Uncertainty of the Roman History,' though it did not go to the bottom of the matter, was sufficiently convincing to all persons who were not unwilling to be convinced. His views are often false; but his arguments utterly destroyed the credit of the received stories. Hooke endeavoured to refute him; but all that he could make out was a general presumption that Beaufort pushed his case too far, when he considered the history of the Republic down to the destruction of the city by the Gauls as uncertain as the history of the Kings. To this modification of Beaufort's conclusions even Niebuhr assents. Ferguson showed the conviction which Beaufort's treatise had worked in his mind, by passing very rapidly over all the period anterior to the second Punic War, and commencing his more circumstantial narrative of the Roman history only at the point where its events had begun to be noted by contemporary annalists. Bayle and Beaufort

were popular writers, and their remarks produced a wide and general effect. At a somewhat earlier period, Perizonius, a scholar of an acute and comprehensive mind, had criticized the Roman History with great freedom and originality in his *Animadversiones Historicæ*; but the consequence of his outstripping his age was, that his disquisitions remained in obscurity. Bayle and Beaufort take no notice of him; and his enquiries were unknown even to Niebuhr, when he first published his History (note 678, vol. i.). Perizonius anticipated Niebuhr in his perception of the poetical origin of the history of the early ages of Rome; and pointed out the evidence for the existence among the Romans of popular songs in praise of the heroes of old time. That Niebuhr should have perceived this truth in an age in which scholars are accustomed to comprehend a wide range of objects, and to form independent judgments, is not extraordinary; especially after Wolf's Prolegomena to Homer had given birth to a new school of criticism in all that relates to the early literature of nations. But that Perizonius should have discovered it at a time when learned men had scarcely ceased to receive with unquestioning faith every thing that was written in Latin or Greek, gives a high notion of the originality and strength of his conceptions.

Niebuhr, therefore, in showing the early history of Rome to be unworthy of credit, has only followed a path already open, or rather already beaten. He has done more however than those who have preceded him, by resolving the vulgar narrative into its elements, and showing how it acquired its present shape. He has thus examined the whole subject thoroughly, and made it impossible for any one ever to revive the old belief. We fear that many who know his work only by hearsay, suppose that he has done nothing more than this, and look upon him as a mere sceptic, who has destroyed old opinions and associations, and given us nothing in their place. But one great and peculiar characteristic of Niebuhr is his strong feeling of the poetical beauty of the old legends;—we may say, of their poetical truth, —if the reader will be careful to distinguish this from their historical truth. By their poetical truth we mean their congruity with the manners and sentiments of the people among whom they were invented and repeated. Hence arises his anxiety to restore their old and genuine features. He has had the wisdom to perceive distinctly, and he strives to impress the same conviction on his readers, that national traditions do not necessarily lose their value when they are proved to be erroneous or untrue. They are monuments of the character of the age in which they took their birth; and they are most important ele-

ments in the formation of the character of succeeding generations of the people among whom they are believed.

Niebuhr has likewise laboured to the utmost to restore the outline of the true history which has been obliterated by the legendary story. But, as far as single events and the actions of individuals constitute an historical narrative, he has been able to effect but very little in the period comprised in his first volume. He confesses that 'though a few points in the grey distance may appear to be distinguishable from the height, he who would descend to approach them would forthwith lose sight of them, and having no fixed point to steer by, would wander on a fruitless journey further and further from his course.'—P. 377. He finds scarcely any solid ground to stand on, before he reaches the reign of the last Tarquinius. The Volscian wars of this prince have a character of historical truth. The treaty with Carthage concluded in the first year of the Republic, which has been most fortunately preserved by Polybius, is alien from the whole character of the traditional history,—irreconcilable with the story of the siege of Ardea, which involves the story of Lucretia,—and in direct contradiction to the Consular Fasti; but it proves incontestably, what the vulgar history would scarcely lead us to suspect, that Rome at the end of the monarchy was the head of a large and powerful state, that her dominion extended at least as far as Terracina, and that this empire was lost very soon after the change in her form of government. The legend of the war of Porsena, with all its romantic incidents, disguises the fact of the absolute conquest of Rome, and of its deliverance from servitude, with the loss of all foreign dominion, and at the cost of one-third of its own proper territory. The student who finds these facts satisfactorily established, and is thus enabled to take a just view of the foreign relations of Rome at the time that the Republic began to increase again in power, and the records of the Fasti assume some degree of authority, will not regret that this knowledge is purchased by the transference of the stories of Clælia and Horatius Cocles from the region of historical truth to that of poetic fiction.

But the chief effort of Niebuhr,—that portion of his work to which he has devoted the most laborious research, and in which his comprehensive learning and commanding genius are most brilliantly displayed,—is the restoration of the constitutional History of Rome. It is here that he is most eminently distinguished from those critics whose sole office was to pull down and to destroy; and it is here that he has been rewarded with the most complete success. It is manifest that the popular traditions would embody and carry with them many allusions to the forms

of the government, and even to the laws and to the principles of the constitution. But as we stated before, there was another and an entirely distinct source, which supplied a large portion of the materials, which were worked up by successive annalists, and constitute the mass of the Roman history as it is presented to us by the writers of the Augustan age. This source was the collection of national records on all religious and civil institutions and observances, preserved in the Pontifical books and similar sacred archives. These archives presented the chronological outline, to which the popular stories were adapted; and they furnished all the political and legal memorials, which we now find interwoven with the legends. We must be on our guard, however, against attributing too great an authority to these records of the early times. To attempt any regular disquisition upon their nature and authenticity would be, in fact, to open the whole question of the credibility of the early history. We shall here briefly remark, that it is certain from the circumstances of the case, and from Livy's express confession, that almost every national record, except those which happened to be in the Capitol, must have perished in the destruction of the city by the Gauls; and consequently that their contents, if not utterly lost, were restored from memory. Niebuhr has proved from the testimony of Cicero, in the recovered fragments of the 'Dialogue on a Republic,' that the Pontifical Annals in particular, which were the chief records of the state, and which for the times after the capture of the city were contemporary memorials, were thus restored for the preceding period. (Vol. i. pp. 247, 248.) At present we will not enquire how far this restitution, assisted by what remained from the wreck of other monuments, supplied trustworthy materials for the history of the infant republic; but it is clear that for the kingly period of Rome, and for some years beyond it, even the religious and legal books could contain nothing more than the traditions of those who had the charge of them. This traditionary learning of the augurs, and priests, and pontiffs, was of course very different in character from the traditionary stories of the people; but it might probably be sometimes quite as far from historical truth. Still, after all deductions and reservations, it is manifest that these written traditions of the higher order of the nation must have included a rich treasure of the most useful information; and if they had been examined with care and discrimination, the origin and progress of the institutions of the Roman state might have been ascertained and placed out of the sphere of modern controversy. But the earlier annalists and the later historians of Rome were equally ignorant of the science of historical criticism, and not at

all disposed to question the truth of any thing which seemed in their judgment worthy of being recorded. The task, therefore, of the modern historian, who undertakes by critical examination and disquisition to place in a clear light the political antiquities of the Roman state, is one of no small difficulty. This great work Niebuhr has achieved with such success that we may venture to pronounce that the main points of his theory are out of the reach of confutation. He has examined most thoroughly all the statements of the ordinary authorities. His boundless learning, and his all-retaining memory, have enabled him to bring to bear upon the subject every allusion, and fragment, and gloss, that could tend to elucidate it; and he produces conviction in the mind of the reader by the irresistible internal evidence which is deduced from the consistency of the system which he develops, the natural order of its changes, its intelligible relation to the institutions which we find existing when the history becomes more certain, and from the correspondence of its phenomena with those which have attended the progress of free politics in other ages and countries.

What then is this fabric which he has reconstructed thus laboriously and ingeniously? He assents to the universal tradition, that the population of Rome originally consisted only of patricians and their clients (vol. i. p. 317); but he proves, in contradiction to the vulgar opinion, that the clients were not the same as the plebeians or commons (pp. 578-582). The *plebs* or commonalty was a body of free citizens, which grew up gradually by the side of the patricians and their clients; not possessed of the privileges and dignities of the patrician order, yet not bound by the obligations of clientship; politically subject, but personally independent. This distinct notion of the plebeian estate is the peculiar characteristic of Niebuhr's constitutional history. The want of clear conceptions upon this point has made every other history confused, and contradictory, and unintelligible. Niebuhr's insight into the true relation of the orders makes his theory of the progress of the constitution consistent and perspicuous.

In the earliest age of Rome, the patrician order comprehended all free-born citizens (vol. i. pp. 323, 324), who possessed property in land, and were personally independent. The rest of the population, except the household slaves, were clients of the patricians. Of the condition of the clients we shall speak presently. The name of the superior class, by which they were distinguished from the inferior, was *patres* or *fathers*. In later times this name was applied only to the senators; but originally it was given to all the patricians. (Vol. i. p. 322, and note 832; and

vol. ii. pp. 223, 224, notes 505, 506). The term *patrician* itself was an adjective, and signified *belonging to the patres*. In the old legal language an individual would not have been called *a patrician*, but *a man of a patrician house* (vol. i. note 821). The patrician order constituted the state. The clients, and the plebeians at the first origin of their order, were subjects of the state, but not members of it. Hence the term *populus*, or the people, was originally applied to the patrician body only. Even for a long time after the formation of the commonalty into a distinct estate, the term *populus* was not applied to the whole nation composed of the two orders, but remained the appellation of one of them; and *populus* and *plebs* were opposed to each other. To describe the whole nation it was necessary to combine the two names; and this continued to be the language of religious formulæ even in the days of Cicero (vol. i. pp. 417-430).

As the *patres* constituted the *populus*, the people or state, so, not only was the council of the nation, or Senate, a select body of the *patres*, but the sole popular assembly of the early age was the assembly of the patrician order; and during nearly the whole of the first four centuries the supreme power of the state continued to reside in this assembly. Its meetings were called the *comitia curiata*, and its usual place of meeting was an open space within the city called the *Comitium*. The fact that the *comitia curiata* were a council of the patricians only, is one of the highest importance to a right understanding of the Roman history; and it has been explicitly demonstrated for the first time by Niebuhr (vol. i. pp. 328-331, and p. 418).

The mention of these *comitia* makes it necessary to explain the divisions of the patrician order. The ancient *populus* was divided into three tribes, the *Ramnes*, the *Tities*, and the *Luceres*. These again were divided each into ten *curiæ*; and in the *comitia curiata* the votes within each of the thirty *curiæ* were taken separately; the votes of the majority determined the vote of the *curia*; and the votes of the greater number of *curiæ* decided the matter before them. Each *curia* was subdivided into *gentes*, and Niebuhr has shown, with very great probability, that in the original theory of the constitution ten *gentes* were assigned to each; so that each tribe contained a hundred, and three hundred was the whole number of patrician *gentes* (vol. i. p. 313). Such precise numerical divisions were usual in the aristocratical politics of antiquity. The senate was composed of the heads and representatives of the several *gentes*. Each *gens* comprehended a number of families. These families might in some cases be really connected by consanguinity or affinity; but even where

their conjunction was originally arbitrary, a fiction of kindred was kept up among them, and this conventional bond of union was strengthened by the observance of common religious rites. The clients, who depended on the patrician families, were included among the *gentiles*, or members of the *gens*, in the widest sense of the word; but they were not considered as constituting a part of the *Curia*, *Tribe*, or *Populus*.

Niebuhr's views of the first period of the Roman history are closely connected with the division of the *Populus* into the three tribes mentioned above. Such divisions seem not unfrequently to have arisen from a difference of national origin; and with respect to the Roman tribes, the common tradition derived the name of the *Rammes* from Romulus, that of the *Tities* from Tatius. Upon the origin of the appellation of the *Luceres* the Roman antiquaries were not agreed. Niebuhr so far adheres to the vulgar opinion, that he conceives the original Rome to have been a small town upon the Palatine Hill, and the *Rammes* the citizens of it. The *Tities* in like manner he conceives to be the citizens of a Sabine state, who united themselves with the *Rammes* or genuine Romans. But instead of supposing this Sabine people to be the inhabitants of the comparatively distant town of Cures, he makes it appear probable that, at the time when the Sabines were pressing upon the aboriginal Latins, they had settled as conquerors upon the Quirinal and Capitoline Hills. Their town would be on the former; its citadel on the latter. Their proper national appellation was *Quirites*, which was afterwards extended to the whole Roman people: the name of their town Niebuhr supposes to have been *Quirium*, and this he conjectures to have been the mysterious Latin name of Rome, which it was forbidden to utter under pain of death. The Palatine Rome and Quirium were at first distinct and even hostile towns. The absence of the *connubium*, or right of intermarriage between them, gave occasion to the poetic tale of the Rape of the Sabines. The Senate of one hundred, the institution of which, as of all the elements of the state, was ascribed to the fictitious founder Romulus, was composed of the heads of the hundred *gentes* of the *Rammes*: the *decem primi*, or ten first, to whom precedence and superior dignity was reserved, were probably the heads of the ten *curiæ*. Dionysius has perplexed himself with endeavouring to account for the institution of a senate of one hundred out of three tribes and thirty *curiæ*; numbers which have manifestly no relation to one another (see vol. ii. p. 110, and note 234). The union of the two cities, Rome and Quirium, was at first only federal. Their kings and senates deliberated separately, and met for conference (vol. i. p. 286). Afterwards the two

states were thoroughly united, and their common senate consisted of two hundred. It is observable that the old tradition represents the first four kings as taken alternately from the Roman and Sabine divisions of the people. The *Luceres* as yet were in an inferior condition to the other two tribes. Niebuhr has collected arguments from the religious institutions and offices to show the equality of the first two tribes and the inferiority of the third. The origin of the *Luceres* cannot be so clearly ascertained; but they seem to have been akin to the Albans and other Latins. There is some indistinctness in Niebuhr's statements about this portion of the Roman people, and a considerable variation on this point between the second and third editions of his history. He seems to suggest an opinion that they were raised from a state of subjection to a participation in the privileges of the ruling tribes by Tullus Hostilius, or at least in the period of the constitution which is designated as his reign (pp. 292, 293, note 765). He assumes it, however, to be clear, that when Tarquinius Priscus is said to have added a hundred members to the senate, so as to augment its numbers to three hundred, he admitted the representatives of the *gentes* of the *Luceres*. Even then, however, they were not raised to an equality with the other two tribes. Their *gentes* were called *minores*, or the less, while those of the two tribes were called *majores*, or the greater; and their inferiority was marked by many important distinctions, which Niebuhr points out more particularly in the second volume. This developement of the origin and early history of the Roman state is contained in a section of the first volume from p. 281 to 300.

Such was the body which originally comprehended all the free citizens of Rome. The rest of the population were their clients. The condition of the clients must not be confounded with the bondage of slaves. We have no exact knowledge of the condition of absolute or proprietary slavery in the earliest age of Rome; but that such a condition existed, is manifest from the immemorial law which allowed a father to sell his son into slavery three times. The client could not be reduced to slavery, or in any manner alienated or separated from his proper lord. Unwritten or traditionary law defined under the most solemn sanctions the relative duties of the client, and of the patron to whom he was attached. The authority of the patron was patriarchal in its character; it was an extension of the authority which he exercised over his children. In fact, the power of the father over his children was the more complete; it was tempered only by natural affection, while the power of the patron over his clients was limited by civil and religious ordinances. 'He was

‘ bound to relieve their distress, to appear for them in court, to
 ‘ expound the law to them, civil and pontifical. On the other
 ‘ hand, the clients were to be heartily dutiful and obedient to
 ‘ their patron, to promote his honour, to pay his mulets and fines,
 ‘ to aid him jointly with the members of his house (*gens*) in
 ‘ bearing burdens for the commonwealth, and defraying the
 ‘ charges of public offices, to contribute towards portioning his
 ‘ daughters, and to ransom him or any of his family who might
 ‘ fall into the hands of an enemy.’ (Vol. i. p. 320.) Niebuhr
 observes that Blackstone has illustrated the aids required from
 vassals by their lords under the feudal system by these duties
 of the clients. The converse method of illustration would make
 the better known throw light on the less known. ‘ There was
 ‘ a mutual bond between the patron and his client, that neither
 ‘ should bring an action or bear witness against the other. . . .
 ‘ The duties of the patron towards his client were more sacred
 ‘ than those towards his own kin. Whoever trespassed against
 ‘ his clients was guilty of treason, and devoted to the infernal
 ‘ gods.’ (P. 321.)

One very distinctive character of this relation was, that the
 client usually received from his patron a small portion of land,
 which he cultivated for his own benefit. This was not a gift:
 the tenure was precarious, and the land might lawfully be re-
 sumed by the patron. Beyond doubt it was resumed, if the
 client failed in his duties. It may be conjectured likewise, with
 great probability, though Niebuhr has not noticed this point,
 that the clients in many cases cultivated the lands of their pa-
 trons as metayer tenants,—paying to them a fixed share of the
 produce,—as the Thetes in ancient times in Attica did to the Eu-
 patridæ, and the Helots to the Spartans. Many of the clients
 engaged in trade, as manufacturers and shopkeepers; employ-
 ments which in Rome were always esteemed illiberal, and un-
 worthy of genuine citizens. Not only for the patricians, but
 even for the plebeians, agriculture was accounted the only ho-
 nourable occupation. (Vol. i. pp. 576—578.)

When we contemplate even this slight sketch of the condition
 of the clients, and especially the way in which each individual
 patron was bound to appear in defence of his own clients, and
 compare it with the historical accounts of the perpetual contests
 of the patricians and plebeians—more particularly, when we
 consider that the earliest grievance of which the plebeians com-
 plained was the law of debt, which compelled them to pledge
 their persons, and made insolvent debtors the slaves of their
 patrician creditors—it seems strange that ancient and modern
 writers should have acquiesced in the statement, that the clients

and the plebeians were the same body. The difficulty cannot be relieved by supposing that the clients had gradually become independent of their former lords, then alien from them, and finally hostile to them. At the very time of the contests, we find the patricians much too powerful for the truth of such a supposition. Besides, the two bodies were in existence at the same time; and there are many incidental statements, especially in Livy, in which they are spoken of, not only as distinct from each other, but as placed in strong opposition. (Vol. i. pp. 578—582.)

Who, then, were the plebeians? and what was their origin? They were free citizens of Rome, not members of the patrician *gentes*, yet not hereditary clients, nor compelled by personal necessity to attach themselves to any patron. Such a class has been found in all states, in which the supreme power has been vested in an aristocracy of birth. A fictitious kindred was the bond of union between the several families of the patrician *gentes*; but, whatever was the origin of this political system, when it was once established, the rights and privileges of a patrician could be acquired only by genuine descent. In the *populus* of ancient Rome, as in other aristocratical states, the utmost purity of blood was demanded. It was necessary that the mother as well as the father should be of the privileged order, or of some body with which the *connubium*, or right of equal intermarriage, was established by express compact. Such an aristocracy must, from its very nature, be exclusive. It might, by a species of public treaty, admit a large and similarly defined body into its order. Thus, according to the common tradition, a certain number of the Alban *gentes* were admitted into the Roman patriciate in the reign of Tullus Hostilius; which is probably one and the same fact with the admission of the *Luceres* to a share in the privileges of the two elder tribes. A change of a similar kind was probably effected by Tarquinius Priscus, when he enrolled a supplement to each of the three tribes, under the same name as the original tribe; and in this instance the legend of the augur Attus Navius gives us a glimpse of the opposition which was made by the privileged class to any extension of their numbers. (Vol. i. pp. 391—394.) In the first years of the republic, we find that the great Claudian *gens*, which was a Sabine house, deserted its own nation, and was admitted into the Roman state. The *gens* became a member of the *populus*, and the heads of families in it became *patres*, and were speedily distinguished among the patricians for the haughtiness of their aristocratical pretensions. This was the last accession to the patrician *gentes*. But these instances prove nothing with respect to the admission of individuals; and, in fact, there was no mode by which indivi-

duals could gain a place in the hereditary and exclusive order. If, therefore, there were any way in which free citizens could spring up, who were not under the bond of clientship, a commonalty would begin to be formed. It is probable that such a commonalty existed very early, though at first it would be small and unimportant. Small landholders might seek the protection of the growing state; illegitimate children of the members of the ruling class would become members of the commonalty; and under this term must be included all who were sprung from an unequal marriage, or any union not warranted by a political *connubium*. If any patrician family became extinct, their clients would probably become independent; such would be the unregarded beginning of the Roman *plebs*. But it grew in numbers and in importance, by the admission of the inhabitants of conquered districts to the rights of free citizens. If the claims of conquest had been strictly enforced, the whole of every conquered territory might have become the property of the state, and have been held in common, or divided, according to the will of the conquerors; and if any of the original owners had been suffered to remain in occupation, they would have been reduced to the condition of tenants, or even of serfs. Such, for example, was the effect of the conquest of Messenia by the Spartans. But the policy of Rome in its earlier ages, and even during the first four centuries, was of a wiser and more liberal character. A portion of the conquered lands was taken as the property of the state, usually a third part; but the remainder was restored as property to the original possessors. It was subject indeed to a tribute; but this tribute did not affect the integrity of the right of property, and is not to be considered as a rent. The landholders passed under the protection of the Roman state. Of course they did not become members of the ruling order; but they were subject only to the state, and were not placed in dependence upon individual patrons, so as to be reduced to the condition of clients. It was thus that the Roman *plebs* or commonalty sprung up and grew. We see traces of its formation in the traditions of the conquests of Romulus; but it received its first great increase in consequence of the extensive conquests of Ancus Marcius over the Latins. He is reported to have admitted many thousand Latins to the rights of Roman citizens, and to have assigned the Aventine Mount and the adjacent region as the residence of those who removed to Rome. The Aventine continued in after ages to be the peculiar quarter of the plebeians, and was not included in the *Pomærium*, the circuit consecrated by patrician auspices. (Vol. i. pp. 347—349.)

The *plebs* increased so rapidly in numbers and in strength as

to become an important element in the Roman state, and especially in the formation of the Roman armies. The great legislator who called it into political existence was Servius Tullius. His acts and institutions were held in perpetual memory, and the fabric of Roman liberty was his enduring monument: but how little can be known with certainty of his personal history in this remote age, the reader may judge by comparing with the vulgar legends of Servius the Etruscan tradition preserved in a speech of the Emperor Claudius, which describes him as an Etruscan by birth, and by name Mastarna, a leader of a band of military adventurers, who settled at Rome, and obtained possession of the kingdom. (Vol. i. pp. 374—378.) Whether this account be true or false, it cannot be questioned that Servius had the power, as well as the wisdom, to introduce the most momentous changes in the constitution of Rome. He gave an organized form to the *plebs*, by dividing the whole territory of Rome into thirty districts, and the body of the plebeians into thirty tribes, according to the district in which they dwelt. Of these districts and tribes, four were contained in the city itself, and the remaining six-and-twenty in the subject territory. It must be remembered that these tribes contained the plebeians only, and had originally no connexion with the members of the patrician *gentes* and their clients. Each tribe was under the inspection of a magistrate called *Tribunus*. These magistrates must not be confounded with those who were afterwards called *tribuni plebis*; though there is reason to suppose that the one office sprung out of the other. There were likewise judges appointed, three for each tribe, to determine private suits among the plebeians. These, Niebuhr shows, were probably the same who continued to exercise jurisdiction under the name of *Centumviri*. For the appointment of these officers, and probably for other purposes, the plebeians were enabled to hold their separate and peculiar meetings, which were called the *Comitia Tributa*. These were held on the *Nundinæ*, the market days on which the country people came in from the country (vol. ii. pp. 212—214); and in the *Forum* or market-place, which was adjacent to the *Comitium*, or place of meeting of the patricians, but distinct from it. The patricians and their clients had no part in them: they were not convened by patrician magistrates; and they were independent of the patrician auspices. Originally, they had no concern with the affairs of the state, and nothing but the peculiar business of the plebeian order was transacted in them. The result of the progressive changes of the Roman constitution was, that the *Plebiscita*, or

resolutions of the *Comitia Tributa*, were made binding upon the whole Roman people. At the period however when this came to pass, the patricians and their clients seem to have been enrolled in the plebeian tribes; and thus these comitia had become a national assembly. It is almost superfluous to mention, that in the *Comitia Tributa* the votes were taken by tribes, as in the *Comitia Curiata* of the patricians by *curiæ*.

As the patricians were divided into thirty *curiæ*, and as thirty was the number of the Latin towns, it seems natural enough that the plebeians should have been similarly divided. Nevertheless, the Roman historians, for a reason which will presently appear, did not in general venture to pronounce that thirty was the number of plebeian tribes instituted by Servius. Niebuhr, however, by a most felicitous emendation of the text of Dionysius, grounded on manuscript authority, has made it appear that thirty was the number assigned by Fabius Pictor, the oldest and most honest of the Roman annalists; and he confirms this position by the testimony of a fragment of Varro, which, in this connexion, is not merely intelligible, but full of meaning; whereas, otherwise, it would be hard to say to what it could refer. The penetration and ingenuity of the historian has cleared away all difficulties. The stumblingblock in the way, is the express testimony of all the historians, that the new tribe which was added in the year of the city 259, raised the number of tribes to twenty-one. But Niebuhr has shown, as Beaufort indeed had shown before, that the war of Porsena ended with the total subjugation of the city. It is confessed by the annalists that the Romans were forced to cede all their territory on the Etruscan bank of the Tiber; and Niebuhr has proved that the restitution of this district by an act of romantic generosity on the part of the conqueror, is merely a poetical tale, part of the story invented to cover the disgrace of Rome. If then we suppose that Porsena enforced the same rule which the Romans applied in their conquests, and seized a third part of the conquered territory, the Romans would lose ten regions and their corresponding tribes, and twenty would be the number remaining to them. The very important section in which Niebuhr discusses the commonalty and the plebeian tribes, extends from p. 398 of the first volume to page 424.

The next section is devoted to the institution of the *Centuries*, and the *Comitia Centuriata*, the detail of which is familiarly known, but of which the nature and spirit have been utterly mistaken by the greater number of writers on the Roman History. As the classes into which the people was divided by this arrangement, were regulated according to their amount of pro-

perty,—and by far the greatest number of *centuries* was made in the wealthiest class, each of course including but a small number of individuals, and the votes of the assembly were taken by centuries,—it is quite clear that the votes of the wealthy were of much greater weight than those of the poor. In fact, the centuries of the lower classes were seldom even called to vote, as the wealthier centuries, if they were unanimous, were sufficient to determine any matter. Those writers, therefore, who supposed that the *Comitia Curiata* comprehended the whole population, and were a meeting in which the vote of every freeman was of equal value, necessarily concluded, that the *Comitia Centuriata* were an aristocratical institution; at least, that they established an aristocracy of wealth; and that the Roman people, instead of proceeding in the ordinary course of political changes, retrograded from a pure democracy to what Aristotle designates as a *timocracy*. They naturally imagined, likewise, that the *Comitia Centuriata* must have been peculiarly acceptable to the patricians. This view of the subject was taken by Dionysius of Halicarnassus among the ancients, and by Beaufort, as well as others, among modern writers upon Roman History; yet it is the very opposite of the truth. Those who look at the matter in this light, are perplexed by the inconsistent statement of the historians, that the patricians, as a body, were disaffected to Servius Tullius, and were parties to his assassination and the usurpation of Tarquinius. The fact is, that the *Comitia Curiata*, as we have before explained, was an assembly of the patricians only; the *Comitia Tributa*, of the plebeians only: the *Comitia Centuriata* comprehended all the men of the whole nation who were of an age for military service. The patricians, the plebeians, and the clients, all found their place in them; and thus this institution united all the orders of the state, and extended a degree of power to the people at large proportioned to their importance. By this plan the great legislator proposed to combine the discordant elements of the state in one harmonious whole. We are not precisely informed of the powers of the *Comitia Centuriata* under the regal government. It is probable that the *Curiata* retained a *veto*, as we know that they long exercised it under the republic. But as the centuries embraced the whole nation, so the affairs of the whole nation were brought before them; not merely partial interests, as before the *Comitia Tributa*. The foundations of popular liberty were laid; and they were secured in the only way in which they could be vindicated from a grudging and jealous oligarchy, by being intrusted to the charge of men with arms in their hands.

It must not be forgotten that the *Comitia Centuriata*, not merely in its form and circumstances, but in its very essence, was a military institution. The people thus summoned and arrayed was called *exercitus*, or the army. The assembly was always held outside the walls; usually in the *Campus Martius*. It could be convened only by a magistrate invested with military command. Those who were entitled to serve on horseback were divided into eighteen centuries. Of these, six centuries included all the patricians; and these held their place whether they were rich or poor. If any were so reduced as to be unable to provide themselves with a horse and arms, they were furnished by the state. The other twelve centuries were constituted of plebeian knights. Servius thus gave form to a plebeian nobility. It is manifest that the plebeians cannot have been considered as all equal in birth and rank. Many must have been descended from families which held a patrician place in the Latin States, to which they originally belonged. The precedence of these was now recognised by the state. It must be supposed, however, that in the enrolment of the plebeian knights, attention was paid to wealth as well as to birth. There was no motive for maintaining the dignity of those who were impoverished, as in the case of the patrician order. Yet the rank, once bestowed, continued hereditary. The knights thus included all the chief men of the state. The rest of the plebeians were distributed into five *classes*, according to their property, and these again were divided into *centuries*. The principle probably was, that each century should contain the same amount of property. The first class included eighty centuries—the remaining four classes only ninety. There were seven additional centuries, composed partly of those who had not sufficient property to be placed in the fifth class, partly of certain mechanics. The mechanical centuries were certainly formed of clients. Whether all the rest of the clients were ranged in the other supplemental centuries, or whether any of them found a place in the classes, we do not certainly know. There seems no reason, though Niebuhr has not adverted to this possibility, why some of the clients may not have obtained property besides the possessions which they held in dependence on their patrons; and if so, why they may not have been ranged in the classes. Niebuhr has shown very ingeniously how the division of the classes and centuries corresponded with the divisions of the infantry of the army; but into this subject we will not follow him, except to remark that it appears plainly from the arms required to be possessed in each class, that the tactics of the Roman infantry in this early age were not those of the legion in later times, in which the chief weapon was the

sword, and much was trusted to the strength and courage of each individual soldier; but they fought with the spear, in the close array of a phalanx, like the Greeks. It is of greater importance to observe, that the tribute was regulated according to the class in which the landholder was placed; and thus the *census*, or registration of the citizens at stated intervals, was rendered necessary.

In this manner we perceive, that, in as much as the *Comitia Centuriata* combined the plebeians in one organized body with the patricians, and gave a voice in public affairs to those who had never before possessed it, they effected a great advance in popular liberty; whilst, at the same time, by throwing the greater power into the hands of the wealthier classes, they stopped far short of the mere democracy which was established when the *Comitia Tributa* were authorized to legislate for the state; and the advance which they effected was a permanent one, and could not be counteracted by the violence of revolutions and all the tyranny of the patrician oligarchy, because the revenue of the state and its military force were made to depend upon the same institution which was the foundation of the freedom of the people.

Such, according to Niebuhr, were the elements of the Roman polity; and though on some parts of the detail which he discusses there is still much uncertainty, and room for difference of opinion, we conceive that the main points of his theory are incontrovertibly established. The student who has thoroughly comprehended it in all its bearings, will see the early Roman history in a new light, and will find the succession and connexion of events intelligible, where nothing could be discerned before but an undigested chaos of wars and seditions. In his opinion of the real import of many circumstances recorded by the historians, he may differ in some degree from his guide; he may be unwilling to follow him in many speculations and conjectures; but he will thankfully acknowledge that Niebuhr has found a road, where his predecessors only forced their way through a maze.

We must be content with a very brief notice of the rest of the contents of the first volume. We regret that Niebuhr in his second and third editions has scarcely attempted to discuss the interesting subject of the influence of Etruscan superstition upon the civil and religious observances of Rome. That such an influence was exercised, is testified by the consent of all Roman antiquaries and historians, and their evidence is confirmed by the express mention of many ceremonies which are traced to this source. But the period, the causes, and the extent of this influence are very obscure. Niebuhr has shut himself out from

the vulgar solution of the problem, by rejecting the tradition which connects the Tarquinian family with Etruria, and by pronouncing, upon evidence which cannot be esteemed satisfactory, that they were of Latin origin. On the other hand, as we have seen, he shows a possibility that Servius Tullius, who is commonly accounted a Latin, was in fact an Etruscan. Whether the conquest of Porsenna indicates a period of Etruscan dominion long enough to leave a durable impress upon the national character, is another doubtful question. It certainly cannot be denied upon the evidence either of the legendary story of the war, which is demonstrably falsified, or of the *Fasti* of the first years of the republic, which are in irreconcilable confusion. There is reason to suspect, also, besides all that Niebuhr has said upon the subject, that the war of Porsenna was a legend which floated in the popular mind without any distinctive date, and that it was not originally recognised in the pontifical chronology; and that it has been assigned to its present place in the annals, merely because the Etruscan origin of the Tarquins was supposed to afford an explanation of its cause. It is manifest, even upon a cursory consideration of the vulgar story, that the exiled king is entirely lost sight of by the Etruscan conqueror, and that the real strength of the banished Tarquins, which made them formidable to the infant republic, lay among the Latins. Such are the topics of speculation at which Niebuhr now glances. In his first edition he threw out the startling conjecture, that Rome was a colony from the Etruscan town of Cære; a conjecture which he now decidedly repudiates, though he shows a lingering fondness for it by his care to justify himself for having made it. (Vol. i. pp. 378-381.)

There is nothing absolutely new in the view which is presented of the way in which the patricians, through jealousy of the growing liberties of the plebeians, joined in the conspiracy against Servius Tullius, and, under the auspices of the tyrant Tarquinius, annulled, as far as they were able, the monuments of his beneficent legislation; of the mode in which the violence and exactions of the usurper drove both orders to unite against him; of the concessions made by the aristocracy to the commons, when their aid was necessary to effect the revolution, and as long as the life of Tarquinius kept the republic insecure; and of the iniquitous encroachments by which they sought to reduce them to a state of absolute subjection, as soon as the death of the banished king had delivered them from external alarm. But all these vicissitudes appear in a clearer and bolder light, when the position and relation of the two parties is distinctly understood.

At this point we may remark, that Sir Isaac Newton, and other

historical enquirers who have followed in his train, have shown the chronology of the first period of Roman history to be exceedingly questionable; and, no doubt, if we take for granted the personal existence and succession of the seven kings, just as the common story is told, it seems very improbable that seven elective kings, four of whom died violent deaths, and one was expelled, should have reigned on an average more than thirty-four years each. Indeed the length of the reigns attributed to the last three kings involves not merely historical absurdities, but physical impossibilities. But the difficulties of the case will only be changed by an arbitrary reduction of the assigned periods; for surely 244 years is a space little enough for the establishment of the state in its primitive aristocratical form, and for the progressive development of a new element in the plebeian order. In reading the succession of changes which are traced by Niebuhr, we cannot avoid the conviction that a considerable time must be allowed for them. If, however, we assent to his opinion, that Romulus and Numa are merely names of imaginary founders, to whom all immemorial observances of policy and religion were ascribed, the origin of Rome is lost in an indefinite antiquity, and, like the geologists, we may assume what time we please for the formation of our world: and, on the other hand, if we admit, as seems most reasonable, the real existence of the other five kings, rather than shorten the whole period allotted to them, we would conjecture that tradition has preserved the memory only of the most remarkable princes, and that if we possessed the genuine chronicles of the kings of Rome, we might find gaps between them filled up with other names. Niebuhr intimates a suspicion that changes more gradual than those which appear on the face of the common story took place in the infancy of the republic; and he shows sufficiently that no reliance can be placed on the *Fasti* of the first few years. See the Section on the 'Beginning of the Republic, and the Treaty with Carthage.' (Vol. i. pp. 511-531.)

The perception of the distinction in political rights between the patricians and the commonalty, the *Populus* and the *Plebs*, has enabled Niebuhr to throw light upon the constitutional office of the Dictator, and to show that the power of this magistrate was limited towards the superior order, although supreme and without appeal over the plebeians. The institution of the office was, in fact, one step in the usurpations of the aristocracy. A distinction between the orders, not merely in political rights, but in the laws under which they lived, is apparent on the subject of debt. Among the plebeians, not only was the insolvent debtor liable to be given up as a slave to his creditor by a judicial

sentence, but the ordinary mode of giving security was by pledging the person. It appears that the mode of giving the pledge was by the formality of a sale, which was enforced as a real transaction, if the money advanced was not repaid. From this law or custom the patricians in their own persons were exempt, (p. 562 :) but they were armed with a full power of exercising it against plebeian debtors. As the plebeians were all landholders, it is manifest that a bad season, or an inroad of an enemy, might easily reduce the poorer of them to the necessity of borrowing; and as money was scarce, and the rate of interest consequently high, and moreover, as it seems, when the interest was not paid, it was added to the original debt, so that it grew at compound interest, a repetition of such a disaster might make many absolutely insolvent, and leave them at the mercy of their creditors. Now, these creditors might be wealthy men of their own order; but they might at least as probably be patricians, whose patrimonial estates lay in the districts nearest to the city, and so were less exposed to the ravages of enemies, and who might hold possessions in different parts of the public domain, and so be less liable to suffer from natural vicissitudes; or they would even more probably be clients, in whose hands was all the trade and money-making of the community. But in either of the latter cases, the process against the plebeian debtor would be carried on in the name of a patrician, either for himself, or as the patron of his client. Even where the creditor was a client, the patron would probably be an interested party; for it is likely that they derived a revenue from the money transactions of those who lived under their protection. From these causes, the grievances arising from the law of debt gave occasion to the first great contest between the orders, the secession of the plebeians, and the appointment of the tribunes of the commons as special guardians of their rights.

In discussing this subject, Niebuhr has elucidated two points, both of great importance to the right understanding of it, and the latter affecting the whole course of the internal history. In the first place, he has shown that the term *nexus*, as it appears in the pages of Livy and in the law of the Twelve Tables, means, not a debtor actually reduced to slavery—such an enslaved debtor is *addictus*, assigned by a judicial award—but only one whose person is pledged; and, secondly, he has demonstrated, that in making the census and in exacting the corresponding tribute, the nominal landed property was considered without any regard to the circumstances of mortgage or debt; so that the state might demand a large tribute from one whose whole income was really going to his creditors, and even if the plebeian

sold his patrimony to liquidate his debts, he would not be relieved from the tribute till a new census was held.—(Vol. i. pp. 565, 570, 571.)

In the last section of the first volume, on the Secession of the Commonalty and the Institution of the Tribunes, are many very valuable remarks and comprehensive views, but little that we can present to the reader as new, after the very full exposition which we have given of the relation of the orders. The tribunes were not elected by the *Comitia Tributa*, till the enactment of the Publilian Law, twenty-three years after the first institution of the office. Before that time, it is asserted by Dionysius and Cicero, that they were elected by the *Comitia Curiata*; an opinion which appears manifestly erroneous, as soon as it is clearly shown that this was the exclusive assembly of the patricians. Niebuhr has demonstrated, out of the mouth of Dionysius himself, and from the relation of their number to the number of the classes, that they were elected by the *Comitia Centuriata*; and that the power of the *Comitia Curiata* was confined to a *veto*, as in other transactions of the centuries. The advantages which the plebeians gained by transferring the elections to the tribes, were a deliverance from this *veto*, and from the influence which the patricians exercised in the *Comitia Centuriata* by means of the votes of their clients.

Niebuhr's remarks upon the consequences of the institution of the tribunate are profound, and not unimportant, even with reference to the political aspect of the present age. It gave a legal and constitutional form to the contests of the orders; and as long as the *Populus* and the *Plebs* were distinct from each other, it preserved Rome from the tyrannies and from the bloody struggles of parties which prevailed in the Greek cities. It became noxious, only when, by surviving the distinction of the orders, it lost its representative character.

The second volume differs materially from the first, in this respect, that in the preceding portion of the work, the first object of the historian was to expose the falsehood of the popular traditions, although he was unable to restore the true history, except in a very few detached points; and the utmost that could be done was to develop the origin of the several elements of the state, without confidently connecting them with events or with persons; but from the time of the appointment of the tribunes, Niebuhr conceives that the outline of the true history has been preserved, though imperfect and distorted, and his labours are directed to restoring and completing it. The introduction contains a very instructive dissertation on the authorities and documents upon which this portion of the history rests,

and the way in which they were worked up by the successive annalists from Fabius Pictor down to Licinius Macer. The historian shows, that though many most important monuments must have been destroyed in the capture of the city by the Gauls, and amongst them the great pontifical annals, yet that other archives were preserved; such for instance as those which contained the laws of the Twelve Tables, the compacts between the estates at the time of the plebeian secessions, and other laws and treaties which are expressly mentioned. The works which we know to have been composed by Roman antiquarians upon subjects of constitutional law, from L. Cincius Alimentus, the prisoner of Hannibal, to C. Junius, the friend of the younger Gracchus, are a proof that they had some materials to work upon. The returns of the census were preserved; and though these are apparently inconsistent with the received history, Niebuhr turns them to good account in elucidating the relations of Rome with foreign states, and the compacts by which a share in the privileges of citizenship was conferred upon them. Besides these public documents, there were the genealogies and other memorials of private families; that is, of those patricians who dwelt within the precincts of the Capitol, as the Manlii and the Quinctii; and these might comprise some important portions of the history. Family traditions, even where the documents were lost, though very liable to falsification, would not be altogether unworthy of credit; and the custom of funeral orations ensured their preservation. Such were some of the materials which formed the groundwork of the history of the first ages of the republic. In thus vindicating the claim of this history to a certain degree of credit, Niebuhr may at first sight seem to contradict his own positions in the first volume; but there is no real inconsistency in his statements. It is only reasonable to acknowledge a greater degree of certainty in the history, the less remote the period to which it relates; and Niebuhr's judicious remarks in this introduction are a seasonable correction to those who may have interpreted his previous arguments on the character of the early history too strictly, or assigned to them too wide a range, and supposed that he agreed with Beaufort in denouncing, with indiscriminate scepticism, all records of the time before the taking of the city. There are, however, popular legends, which, except that they relate to truly historical names, have little more of truth in them than those of the earlier age. Such are the stories of Coriolanus, Cincinnatus, and even of Camillus.

Niebuhr allows that such legends have so often supplanted the true history, that he is unable to restore it in a continuous

shape; and, therefore, his work, even in this volume, is a series of historical dissertations rather than a narrative. As before, he feels the greatest confidence in the constitutional history; but he is compelled to confess, that the changes of the constitution cannot be traced with the same certainty as its original forms; and that much which he has ascertained to his own conviction will not appear equally clear to others. Under these circumstances, he puts forward a claim which we fear the self-sufficiency of his readers will be unwilling to admit. The language in which it is expressed is eminently characteristic; and it impresses the mind with a conviction of the historian's honest belief in all which he propounds to others.

‘When an enquirer, after gazing for years with ever-renewed undeviating steadfastness, sees the history of mistaken, misrepresented, and forgotten events, rise out of mists and darkness, and assume substance and shape, as the scarcely visible aerial form of the nymph in the Slavonic tale takes the body of an earthly maiden beneath the yearning gaze of love,—when, by unwearied and conscientious examination, he is continually gaining a clearer insight into the connexion of all its parts, and discerns that immediate expression of reality which emanates from life,—he has a right to demand, that others who merely throw their looks by the way on the region where he lives, and has taken up his home, should not deny the correctness of his views because they perceive nothing of the kind. The learned naturalist who has never left his native town, will not recognise the animal's track by which the hunter is guided; and if any one, on going into Benvenuto's prison, when his eyes had for months been accustomed to see the objects around him, had asserted that Benvenuto, like himself, could not distinguish any thing in the darkness, surely he would have been somewhat presumptuous.’—(Vol. ii. p. 14.)

The part of the work in which it appears to us that Niebuhr has persuaded himself that he saw more than other eyes will be able to discern, is that in which he traces a dissension between the *Greater* and *Less Gentes*, and supposes that the two elder tribes at one time attempted to erect themselves into an oligarchy, and to exclude the third tribe from the consulship, and other honourable offices, and so drove the minor patricians to make common cause with the plebeians; that, in a little time, they discovered the error of their policy; and that, after the reunion of the order, the third tribe became the bitterest enemies of the commonalty.—(Vol. ii. pp. 116, 117, 124, 183.) Such intrigues and dissensions within the aristocratical body are not at all improbable; nor is there any thing, we confess, in the course of the history decidedly inconsistent with Niebuhr's hypothesis; but, at the risk of falling under the sentence of

presumption, we must aver that we cannot find sufficient grounds for it. The student, however, need not be discouraged, if upon this point he feels himself compelled to suspend or withhold his assent; for the historian's general views of the connexion of events are very little affected by this speculation. In cautioning the reader upon this subject, we must admit that Niebuhr has placed in a clear light the inferiority of the *Minor Gentes*, and has shown, not only that the senators who represented them were called upon to deliver their votes after those of the *Major Gentes*, but that probably they had not the right of speaking in the Senate till they had held the office of Consul.— (Vol. ii. pp. 113, 114.)

In fact, the opinions of Niebuhr upon this subject are manifestly more crude than upon almost any other point which he has discussed. In making this comment, we cannot be supposed to speak disrespectfully. He has himself informed us, in the preface to the second volume, that he had neglected that portion of the history while he was busy in remoulding the earlier part of his work; and it was only after the completion of the second edition of the first volume that he began to perceive, that a critical examination of the facts would enable him to restore the narrative of the second volume. In the important disquisitions contained in the volume he had nothing to correct, and little to add; but on the subordinate detail of the narrative we have not the results of his mature reflections. On the question of the relation of the *Minor Gentes* this is made distinctly evident. He had perceived, long ago, that there was some misapprehension connected with the use of the terms, the *Older* and *Younger* Patres, which occur frequently both in Livy and Dionysius. In note 1143 of the first volume, and more decidedly in the second volume, (p. 112, and the following pages,) he propounds the opinion, that the mistake of the historians arose from the double meaning of the terms *major* and *minor*, both of which, in the ancient Latin idiom, were used to mark degrees of age, as the former continued to be even by the Augustan writers; and that by the *Older* and *Younger* Patres, we are to understand the patricians of the *Major* and *Minor Gentes*, those of the two superior tribes, and those of the third. To this opinion we fully assent, and acknowledge the great light which it throws upon the narrative of the historians. But we may see how recently it presented itself to Niebuhr's mind, by observing that he retained even in the third edition of the first volume the note in which he intimated his earlier conjecture, that by the *Younger Patres* we are to understand the whole body of the patricians, members of the *Comitia Curiata*, in opposition to the senators,

who were designated as the *Older Patres*.—(See Vol. i. note 832; and compare the interpretation of Liv. ii. 54, with that given in Vol. ii. note 471.)

We are glad to escape from the ungrateful office of controversy, and to direct the attention of the reader to those portions of the volume in which the history of the infant republic is placed in a clear and strong light. Its most important events are connected with the name of Spurius Cassius. The vindication of the fame of this great man, who, among the later Romans, was denounced as a traitor and made a perpetual theme of tyrannicidal declamations, and the full demonstration, after the lapse of so many centuries, of the splendour of his political achievements and the purity of his comprehensive patriotism, is a result of Niebuhr's labours delightful to all who feel a sympathy with intellectual and moral grandeur; and the enthusiasm of Niebuhr himself in the cause of his hero wins irresistibly the esteem and affection of his readers. Spurius Cassius was thrice Consul. Niebuhr has persuaded himself that he has discovered the good deed of his first Consulship in the restitution to the *Luceres* of their right to a share in the supreme magistracy, (p. 117.) We will confine ourselves to the bare fact, that in the year which follows the Consulship of Cassius we find a Consul who probably belongs to the *Minor Gentes*, the first after M. Horatius, one of the founders of the Commonwealth. In his second Consulship, and consequently under his mediation, the secession of the plebeians, which had taken place in the preceding year, was brought to a peaceful end by the redress of their grievances and the establishment of the Tribunate. At this time Rome and Latium were exposed to imminent danger from the growing power of the Volscians, a warlike people who issued from the country afterwards called Campania, and who were extending their conquests towards the North. To form a strong bulwark against this terrible enemy, Cassius concluded a league with the whole confederate nation of the Latins, by which they became, not, as the vanity of Roman writers would represent them, subjects of Rome, but allies on terms of perfect equality. All the rights were communicated to them, which the Greeks comprehended under the term *Isopolity*, that is, all the rights of citizenship, except a vote in the popular assembly and eligibility to magistracies. This article in the treaty has given occasion to Niebuhr to treat of the various degrees of civil rights which the Romans imparted to allied states (on the Rights of Isopolity and Municipium, pp. 49-75);—a discussion of great learning, the difficulty and obscurity of which is to be ascribed to the want of clear information from ancient writers. By another

article in the treaty with the Latins, all that was gained in war, whether land or other wealth, was to be divided equally between the two nations; and finally, we discover from a fragment of Cincius Alimentus, what is disguised in every other statement, that the command of the allied army was intrusted to a Roman and Latin leader alternately. By this wise treaty, Rome renounced pretensions to supremacy, which, after the expulsion of Tarquinius, had caused nothing but destructive wars; strengthened herself against immediate danger; and laid the foundation of a wide and solid dominion. As it was, the Volscians effected extensive conquests in Latium; and it is manifest, that, if a strong league had not been opposed to them, every single city would have fallen before them. The account of this league is preceded by a most valuable disquisition on the constitution of the Latin state.

After an interval of seven years, in the year of the city 268, Spurius Cassius was elected Consul for the third time. The Æqui, a people akin and allied to the Volsci, had begun to push their conquests in the same direction, but more in the interior of Italy. The Hernicans, a people of Sabine origin, held their ground in a mountainous district between the Æqui and the Volsci. For the sake of defence against the common enemy, Spurius Cassius concluded a treaty with the Hernicans precisely similar to his former league with the Latins. Of course, all conquests were now to be divided equally among the three contracting parties. The arrogance of the Roman annalists has represented this treaty as the result of a war in which the Hernicans were conquered, and compelled to submit to terms imposed upon them by Rome; and they have mistaken the stipulation by which one-third of all lands gained in war was to become the property of the Hernicans, for an exaction by which two-thirds of their own territory were wrested from them as from a conquered people, and one-third only spared to them. We cannot stop to expose the gross inconsistencies of this representation. Niebuhr's view of the matter is borne out by all the circumstances, and by the subsequent allusions of the historians.

In this manner the far-sighted and liberal policy of Spurius Cassius had strengthened Rome against external enemies. But when he sought by a measure of disinterested justice to put an end to domestic dissension and to restore the internal strength of the republic, the proud and selfish oligarchy rose against him, and rested not till they had shed his blood as the blood of a traitor. He proposed what is commemorated in Roman history as the first Agrarian Law. There is no subject upon which so much misapprehension has existed as on the Roman Agrarian

Laws. It has been commonly assumed that their object was an arbitrary violation of private property. It has been supposed, for example, that the purpose of the Gracchi, and of Licinius at an earlier time, was to set a limit to property in land, and to divide the excess of all estates above the prescribed measure among the indigent citizens. Theoretical writers, like Machiavel and Montesquieu, have approved of such a scheme; but it has been generally regarded as an iniquitous spoliation. The controversy might have been spared; for there is no truth in the premises. It is true, that there was hardship and injustice in the Agrarian Laws of the last age of the Republic, and they were used as means of political mischief; and hence, even among ancient historians, a prejudice existed against the name, and a false opinion was formed of the early measures which bore this obnoxious title. The reputation of Spurius Cassius has suffered by this prejudice; although the historians, wherever they caught a glimpse of the real ground and tendency of his legislation, were compelled to confess its justice and necessity.

A true conception of the nature of the Agrarian Laws was formed first by the learned Heyne,* and communicated to the world, in 1793, as a salutary check to the revolutionary frenzy which was seeking a sanction for all its extravagancies in precedents from the ancient republics. Other writers followed the hint; and Niebuhr has investigated the subject in all its bearings. This portion of his work is the part which has been most thoroughly weighed and approved, and it is the germ of all the rest; for the relation of the orders first became manifest to him in consequence of his researches into the Agrarian Laws; and hence he was induced to proceed to review the whole history of Rome. The Agrarian Laws related only to possessions in the public domain. This was land, the property of the state. According to tradition, the state had held such property from time immemorial, not only for sacred purposes, but for common use. It seems that originally the public land was left thus common for the sake of pasturage. The territory of the infant city was divided into portions, according to the *Tribes* and *Curiae*, in which each citizen had his separate allotment assigned to him as private property, which he tilled or planted at his pleasure; but for the feeding of cattle it was much more convenient for the body of citizens to hold the open land in common. (Pp. 156, 157.) The extent of the public land was rapidly augmented

* Opusc. iv. p. 350.

by conquest. If a conquered community was reduced to complete subjection, its whole territory became the property of the Roman state. If its inhabitants were incorporated as free citizens, and so became plebeians of Rome, though a portion of their land was restored to them in full property, it cannot be questioned that a portion was reserved to the Roman people. When this public land was not needed for common use as pasture land, or was unfit for the purpose, or inconveniently situated, it was not, at least not after the very earliest times, divided among the citizens, and assigned as private property: the best portions were sold; but as to the rest, a custom grew up, by which individual citizens who wanted it were allowed to occupy it at their pleasure. The property remained in the state; and no length of possession affected the public right. For the use of arable or planted land, the possessor paid to the state a fixed share of the produce; one tenth in the case of corn lands; and an agistment was paid for pasturage. The possessors were thus tenants at will of the state, subject to a rent which was originally paid in kind. We will not stop here to explain how the rights of the possessors, as against individuals, were guarded, as we find that they were guarded in later times: it is sufficient for our present purpose to make it clear, that, whether in early or late times, they had no legal right against the state. Now the reader will bear in mind, that originally the body of the patricians constituted the *Populus*, or the state. Consequently the public land was considered as the property of the patrician order exclusively; and they alone could either share in its common use, or become possessors of it individually. In either capacity, the plebeians were totally excluded from it. The clients profited by it, by grants which they held of their patrons, as their patrons held of the state; but the plebeians derived no benefit from it. In this there was no grievance, as long as the patricians and their clients constituted the main body of the nation, and the plebeians were few and insignificant. But when the plebeian order increased in numbers and wealth, so as to form the chief strength of the nation, and especially when, by the constitution of Servius, they furnished the infantry of the legions by which the conquests of Rome were made, it became a manifest injustice that they should have no share in the lands which they purchased with their blood. Accordingly, it was commemorated by tradition, that Servius, the Father of the Commonalty, enforced the right of the state against many of the possessors of the public lands, and assigned lots in full property to the plebeian citizens. Niebuhr not only acquiesces in this statement, but supposes that Servius provided by law for

the distribution to the plebeians of an equitable share of future acquisitions. However this may be, we may be assured that the claim of the plebeians was disregarded when the aristocratical revolution was effected by the patricians and the second Tarquinius. When it became the interest of the patricians to unite the whole nation against the tyrant, we find that they conciliated the plebeians, by dividing among them the royal domain, and apparently by admitting them to a participation in the public land. At least we learn, upon distinct authority, that very soon afterwards, when they lost all fear of the banished king, and were intent upon usurping all the power of the state for their own oligarchy, they expelled all plebeians from any possessions that they held in the public land. (P. 163.) The iniquity of the patricians now reached its height; for they not only thus reserved to themselves the exclusive enjoyment of the public domain; but, as they themselves constituted the ruling body, by common agreement they relieved themselves from the payment of the tithe for their possessions, and thus made it impossible for the state to give pay to the legionary soldiers, at the very time that they precluded them from all share in the conquests which they made. Sometimes they compelled the soldiers even to surrender their booty for the benefit of the public treasury.

Our limits will not permit us to follow out the subject, and to explain the nature of the Agrarian Laws of later times; but we have said enough to explain the circumstances under which Spurius Cassius proposed his obnoxious measure. His purpose was to distribute a portion of the domain to the plebeians, and to compel the patricians to pay the tithe for the lands of which they retained possession. This proposal of course was acceptable to the commonalty, but was opposed by the patricians with the utmost violence. The account of the contest is altogether disfigured in the historians, in consequence of their confounding the assignment to the plebeians of lands which the state already held, with the stipulations by which future acquisitions were to be shared equally with the Latins and Hernicans. The result was, that the patricians were compelled for a time to yield; the law was nominally enacted, but a provision was made for frustrating it, by intrusting the execution of it to the ten chief men of the Senate, under the direction of the Consuls of the ensuing year. (Pp. 172, 173.)

A violent usurpation was secretly plotted. We cannot discover with certainty by what strength the oligarchy were enabled to carry their designs into effect, but it was probably by the aid of the allied states. Spurius Cassius was accused of

treason by the criminal quæstors, Fabius and Valerius, before the patrician *Populus* assembled in the *Comitia Curiate*, condemned, and executed. Not only was the Agrarian Law disregarded; but to secure the oligarchy against the election of any Consul who might undertake to enforce it, and to avenge its author, the election of Consuls, which, according to law, was held by the *Comitia Centuriata*, was forcibly withdrawn from them, and usurped by the *Comitia Curiate*. (Pp. 177, 183.) This usurpation, however, was maintained to its full extent only for two or three years. The plebeians showed their discontent, first by refusing to serve in the legions, and when they were forcibly enrolled, by suffering themselves to be defeated in the field. A compromise was made, by which the nomination of one Consul was reserved to the patricians in the *Curie*, the election of the other was restored to the centuries; and this apparently continued in force till the time of the Decemvirate. The execution of the Agrarian Law was still demanded in vain.

In the period of these commotions we find a phenomenon without example in the Roman Fasti, that for seven successive years one of the Consuls was a Fabius. It is nearly self-evident that the dignity thus granted to this very powerful house was the price of their co-operation in the usurpations of the patrician oligarchy; though we are not satisfied with the manner in which Niebuhr has traced all the details of the intrigue. When some degree of concord was restored between the orders, the *Fabii*, who had made themselves especially obnoxious to the plebeians, and who felt themselves to be deceived and wronged by the patricians, seceded from the city with all their clients, and formed a settlement on the river *Cremera*, where they were cut off to a man by the *Veientes*. (P. 192.)

We have selected this series of events as a specimen of the mode in which Niebuhr has elucidated the early history of the Republic. It is not our intention to follow him through all his researches. Even did our limits permit it, we would rather stimulate the curiosity of the student, and lead him to the perusal of the work itself. One of the most interesting portions is the history of the Decemvirate, in which Niebuhr shows that that magistracy was not instituted merely for a temporary purpose, but was designed as a permanent form of the constitution. His analysis of the Consular Military Tribunate, which sprang out of the Decemvirate, is likewise exceedingly ingenious. The portion of the history which relates to the Gallic invasion, (from p. 509 to p. 577,) is highly interesting, and written with even more than the usual vigour of Niebuhr. The dissertation on the Celtic nations throws great light on the ethnography of the west

of Europe; and the chronological disquisition, in which he fixes the date of the Capture of Rome at the third year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, or B. C. 382, six years later than the vulgar date, is very acute; and it seems satisfactory, however startling the result may be to those who are accustomed to believe every thing which is gravely set down in chronological tables. The last section, in which he narrates the steps by which M. Manlius, the saviour of the Capitol, was induced by the misery and oppression of the commonalty to put himself at their head as their defender and patron; how he was impeached of treason before the assembly of the centuries and acquitted, and again impeached before the patrician assembly and condemned; how he was driven to desperation by the persecution of the oligarchy, and broke into open insurrection and seized the Capitol, and was slain at last by treachery; is a beautiful specimen of Niebuhr's high moral feeling, his strong sympathy even for the excess of a righteous indignation against injustice and oppression, and his tenderness even for the errors of a great and heroic spirit. In reading such a passage we are carried away by the enthusiasm of the writer; and we forget how difficult it is to estimate the characters and motives of public men, even when their public actions are certainly known; how much more when the truth is to be elicited from scanty and contradictory misrepresentations. Even when such sober doubts occur to us, the zeal of Niebuhr for genuine liberty, his hatred of all wrong, and the purity and elevation of moral sentiment which pervade the history of Rome, command a veneration, which is independent of our judgment on his historical speculations.

Besides this methodical survey of the History of Rome, we should wish to give the reader a specimen of the singular felicity of combination which has enabled the historian to throw so much light on the dark places of antiquity. For this purpose we will select a subject, which, as it does not involve any historical events, can be treated thus separately without violence to chronological order.

We learn in our schoolboy days that the most ancient Roman year consisted only of ten months, or 304 days; and this way of reckoning time, like other immemorial observances of the nation, was referred to the institution of Romulus. Such a computation, if considered as a guess at the length of the true solar year, is so grossly erroneous, that, in spite of all the evidence for the fact, the learned Scaliger refused to believe that such years were ever reckoned. But the weight of concurrent authority is so great, that, if we would believe any thing con-

cerning the ancient institutions of any people, we must believe this.

Again, we learn that a period of five solar or civil years was for some purpose observed by the Romans, and called a *lustrum*; and the termination of this period was generally marked by religious solemnities.

Now these two pieces of philological information any decently taught schoolboy of the upper classes would probably be able to tell us. But we doubt much whether any scholar before Niebuhr perceived any connexion between the two. Niebuhr has pointed out that five years of 365 days contain 1825 days; while six years of 304 days contain 1824 days, or want but one day of coinciding with the former period. He relieves the ancient Romans from the charge of monstrous ignorance and absurdity, which is involved in the supposition that they ever took ten months for the length of the natural year. But while he admits, that for all the purposes of common life they reckoned by the natural year, he shows that for all religious purposes the artificial period of ten months, or 304 days, was used; and the *lustrum*, so solemnly observed, was the period after which the beginnings of the civil and religious years were brought to coincide afresh. (Vol. i. pp. 271, &c.) We will not enter into the discussion of the mode in which he supposes that a compensation was made for the difference of one day, (or rather of nearly two days and a quarter, if we look to the true length of the solar year,) because here his ingenuity appears to have outrun his judgment.

But this mutual elucidation of two observances, both of which were before apparently unmeaning, is but a small part of the illustration which the subject has received from the historian. The religious year of 304 days, like many other religious institutions of the Romans, was borrowed from the Etruscans; and Macrobius has preserved the tradition that it was divided into 38 weeks, if they may be so called, of eight days each, and that every eighth day was a day of public business, on which the Etruscan kings gave audience and administered justice. Accordingly, we find that the *dies fasti* in the Roman calendar, or days appointed under a religious sanction for public business, were exactly thirty-eight. The ancient number was preserved, though the arrangement was altogether changed. To this same division of time are to be referred the *nones* in the Roman calendar; the name given to the day which was the eighth before the *ides*, or middle of the month, or the ninth, according to the Latin idiom, by which both extremes of any period are counted: and also the observance of the *nundinæ*,

the market for the country people, held every eighth day. (Vol. i. p. 273; Vol. ii. pp. 212, &c.)

Niebuhr has noticed, that in several cases in the Roman history, in which it is stated that a truce had been made for a certain number of years, hostilities seem to be renewed before the term of truce has quite expired, and yet no charge is made of breach of faith. For instance, Livy relates that in the year of the city 330, a truce for twenty years was made with the Veientes; and in the year 348 he expressly remarks that the period of truce had elapsed. (B. iv. cc. 35, 58.) These difficulties are explained at once, if we reflect that, among the early Romans, all treaties and truces were concluded by the *Fecials*, ministers of a sacred character, and were solemnized with religious rites; and therefore we may assume that the years by which they were measured were religious years of ten months. Thus a truce for twenty years would, in civil time, last only sixteen years and eight months. (Vol. i. pp. 277, 278.)

With respect to the date assigned to the foundation of Rome, there is a difference of a year or two between the computations of Fabius Pictor, Cato, Polybius, and Varro; and the premises on which they proceed, and the causes of their discrepancies, can be assigned without much difficulty. But we learn from Dionysius, that L. Cincius Alimentus, one of the earliest and the most learned of the Roman annalists, placed the foundation of the city about the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad. This computation differs widely from the statements of the other authors; for instance, it differs by twenty-two years from the reckoning of Polybius. But we find, on the one hand, that the annalists reckoned 132 years for the reigns of the first four kings; and, on the other hand, that the most learned of the Roman antiquaries held that the old reckoning by years of ten months continued in exclusive use till the time of the fifth king, Tarquinius. Now, if Cincius was of this opinion, he would reckon the 132 years to be equivalent only to 110 civil years, and so would deduct 22 years from the date commonly assigned. (Vol. i. pp. 268, 280.)

The year of ten months was the time for mourning, and the time allowed for paying bequests by will. (Polyb. xxxii. 13.) It is more remarkable that it was the measure for the most ancient rate of interest. It appears from a fragment of a gloss in Festus, that a law of Sylla, by which debtors were required to pay as interest the *tenth* part of the principal, or ten per cent, was called a *lex unciaria*. But the phrase *lex unciaria* must originally have described a law, enacting an *unciary* rate of in-

terest, and such a rate was established by the old Roman law. (See Liv. vii. 16; Tac. Ann. vi. 16.) Now the *unciary* rate of interest, Niebuhr shows, beyond all controversy, to be a rate by which the *twelfth* part of the principal was paid at a certain time. But the payment of a twelfth part at periods of ten months would be the same as the payment of a tenth part at periods of twelve months; and thus, when the old mode of reckoning was obsolete, and all calculations were made by the common civil year, the phrase *fenus unciarium* might remain in use to describe interest at ten per cent, and *lex unciaria* to denote a law which re-enacted such a rate. These observations upon interest are taken from a very ingenious chapter in the latter part of the first edition of the second volume, which is not included in the second edition.

Niebuhr has shown that anciently the monthly pay of a legionary soldier was 100 ases. But a knight, who had to keep his horse and groom the whole year round, received 2000 ases for the year. Now, in many ages and countries, the pay of a horse-soldier has been fixed at double that of a foot-soldier; and the same proportion comes out in the Roman army, if we assume the year for which the knight was paid to be the year of ten months. (Vol. ii. p. 439.)

These speculations may serve as an example of the ingenuity and acuteness of the historian of Rome, and of the facility with which he brings statements, apparently detached and unimportant, to bear upon his subject. They will likewise give the student a notion of the entertainment which he will certainly derive from the study of the book, if he be competently prepared to encounter the labour.

Here we close our remarks upon this memorable work; a work, which of all that have appeared in our age is the best fitted to excite men of learning to intellectual activity; from which the most accomplished scholars may gather fresh stores of knowledge; to which the most experienced politician may resort for theoretical and practical instruction; and which no person can read as it ought to be read, without feeling the better and more generous sentiments of his common human nature enlivened and strengthened.

ART. II.—*On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures.* By CHARLES BABBAGE, Esq. A.M. 12mo. London: 1832.

THE object of this work, as stated by the author in his preface, is ‘to point out the effects and the advantages which arise from the use of tools and machines; to endeavour to classify their modes of action; and to trace both the causes and the consequences of applying machinery to supersede the skill and the power of the human arm.’

It is not easy to imagine a more interesting or a more important field of enquiry. But though more or less connected and dependent upon each other, several of the topics which Mr Babbage has undertaken to discuss, involve widely different principles and considerations. To produce a complete work on the economy of machinery and manufactures, would, we incline to think, require the combined efforts of various individuals; for it is, perhaps, too much to expect to find the requisite familiarity with the principles and processes on which the successful prosecution of manufactures depends, combined in the same person with a knowledge of the various historical, moral, and economical questions that must be examined in determining the influence of discoveries in machinery on society. No one who adverts to these circumstances will be disappointed at finding that the work now before us is in many respects imperfect, and, in others, superficial and unsatisfactory. But notwithstanding these defects, it contains within a small compass a great deal of novel and interesting information, presented in a very striking manner. Most of the topics discussed are of the greatest interest; the statements and reasonings may all be easily apprehended; and even when least satisfactory, seldom fail of affording both pleasure and solid instruction.

Mr Babbage has classed the advantages derived from the employment of tools and machinery under the following heads: 1st, The addition they make to human power; 2d, The economy they produce of human time; and, 3d, Their converting substances apparently common and worthless into valuable products. He has given a few illustrations under each of these heads; but they do not seem to be the most striking that might have been selected. The vast additions made to human power by the employment of tools and machines, are, indeed, too obvious not to arrest the attention of every one. There is hardly a single branch of industry in which they do not add immensely to the energies of the labourer; and there are very many

branches, and those too of the utmost importance, that could not be prosecuted without their assistance. The capacity to invent and contrive makes a part of the original constitution of man. He is at all times desirous to make the powers of nature minister to his purposes; and his well-being mainly depends on his success in this respect, or on the skill which he displays in pressing the powers of nature into his service, and making them perform a part of those tasks that would otherwise be either not performed at all, or performed by the hand only. We have been so long accustomed to make use of the most complicated and expensive machines, that we have in a great measure forgotten how much we owe to those that are simpler and cheaper, but not less powerful or useful. The truth is, that we hardly do any thing—that we cannot so much as make a pen, snuff a candle, mend a fire, or dress a beef-steak—without resorting to machinery. We are so much identified with it, that it has become, as it were, almost a part of ourselves. Agriculture could not be carried on, even in its rudest form, without spades and hoes; and the horse had to be domesticated, and iron smelted and forged, before the plough could be introduced. Civilized man is, in fact, indebted to tools and machines, not for an increase of power merely, but for almost every thing that he possesses. Perhaps not one in a thousand of the arts practised amongst us could be carried on by the hand only. Those who investigate the history of the human race, who trace their slow and gradual progress from their lowest and most abject to their highest and most polished state, will find that it has always been accompanied and chiefly promoted by the invention and improvement of tools and engines. What, we ask, has falsified all the predictions of Hume and Smith, as to the increase of the public debt, and enables us to support without difficulty a load of taxes that would have crushed our fathers, as it would crush any other people? This wonderful result has not assuredly been owing to any peculiar sagacity on the part of our rulers, nor to the miserable quackery of sinking funds, custom-house regulations, and such like devices. There cannot, indeed, be the shadow of a doubt that it is to be wholly ascribed to the stupendous inventions and discoveries of Hargraves, Arkwright, Watt, Wedgwood, Crompton, Cartwright, and a few others. These added so prodigiously to our capacities of production, that we went on rapidly increasing in population and wealth, notwithstanding an expenditure of blood and treasure unparalleled in the history of the world. It is believed that an individual can at this moment, by means of the improved machinery now in use, produce about 200 times the quantity of cotton goods that an individual could have produced at the ac-

cession of George III. in 1760 ! The improvement in other branches, though for the most part less striking than in the cotton manufacture, is still very great ; and in some, as in the lace manufacture, it is little if at all inferior. The high and conspicuous place we occupy among the nations of the earth, is not owing to our possessing a greater population, a finer climate, or a more fertile soil ; but to the superior art we have evinced in availing ourselves of the powers of nature. This has multiplied our resources, and increased our power in a degree that was not previously conceivable. It is not going too far to say that we have, at the very least, derived ten times more advantage from the spinning-jenny and the steam-engine, than from all our conquests in India, though these have added nearly 100 millions of subjects to our empire.

Mr Babbage illustrates the effect of machinery in saving time, by referring to the employment of gunpowder in the blasting of rocks. The gunpowder may be prepared and applied with comparatively little labour, while its effects are instantaneous and tremendous. But the invention of the loom, though unnoticed by our author, has, in this respect, been productive of the most signal advantage. Ulloa mentions that the Indians of South America have no other method of making cloth, than by taking up thread after thread of the warp, and passing the woof between them by the hand ; and he adds that they are thus frequently engaged for two or three years, in the weaving of hammocks, coverlets, and other coarse cloths, which a European would, by means of his loom, produce in as many days, or probably hours.* It was not without good reason that the Greeks ascribed the discovery of the arts of spinning and weaving to Minerva. There are none certainly that have been productive of greater advantage ; or have done greater honour to the sagacity of mankind.

The principal improvement made for ages in the art of weaving is the invention of the power-loom by the Rev. Mr Cartwright. In this sort of loom, the shuttle is thrown, and every part of the work performed, by means of machinery ; the joinings of the threads when they break being the only thing left to be performed by manual labour. Notwithstanding the recentness of the invention, power-looms have been already so much improved that they produce various fabrics of a decidedly superior quality to those produced by the hand-loom weavers. Mr Babbage estimates the number of power-looms employed in

* Ulloa, Voyage de l'Amerique, tom. I. p. 336.

Great Britain in 1830, at 55,000, each of them performing as much work as three hand-loom; and we incline to think that this estimate is rather under than above the mark. It appears from the accurate researches of Dr Cleland, that about 14,000 power-loom belong, at present, to Glasgow manufacturers;* and 40,000 would seem to be decidedly too small a number for the rest of the kingdom.

The number of power-loom has been nearly trebled since 1820, whereas the number of hand-loom is believed to have continued stationary during that interval at about 240,000. We have endeavoured to obtain accurate information as to the influence of this competition on the condition of the weavers; but there is a great discrepancy in all the statements that we have seen. On the whole, however, it is abundantly certain that the competition in question has not been by any means so injurious to their interests as might have been supposed. That the wages of the men employed have been reduced in a greater degree than in the other departments of the trade, is true; but they have not fallen to the same extent that the prices of beef, bread, and other important articles of provision have fallen; and as the families of the weavers are now in the habit of rendering them greater assistance than at any former period, while many of their wives and children are employed in waiting on the power-loom, we doubt whether it can be truly stated that they have sustained any material injury from their introduction. Hitherto they seem to have operated rather to extend the manufacture than to supersede weavers. The probability is, that the latter will be able to maintain their ground, till a rise of wages gives a greater advantage to the power-loom than they enjoy at present; and when such a rise takes place, the weavers may, with comparatively little inconvenience, engage in other employments.

In illustrating the use of machinery in converting apparently useless and worthless substances into valuable products, Mr Babbage refers to the skins used by the gold-beater, and to the production of the prussiate of potash from the hoofs of horses and cattle, and other horny refuse. It is singular, however, that he should not have referred, either in this, or in any other part of his work, to the manufacture of paper. Considering, indeed, the many important purposes to which paper is applied, its extraordinary cheapness, and the fact that without it the invention of printing would have been unknown, or of com-

* Statistics of Glasgow, p. 290.

paratively little value, it may be classed amongst the most useful of all the products to which human ingenuity has given birth. The interest attached to its manufacture is greatly increased from the knowledge that it is formed of the most worthless materials. The inventor of the process for converting rags into paper, conferred an incomparably greater benefit on society, than if he had realized the fable of Midas, and transmuted them into gold. It was also particularly deserving of Mr Babbage's attention, from the circumstance of very great improvements having been recently made in the manufacture.

About the year 1800, Mr Didot imported from France the model of a machine for the manufacture of paper, which was improved by the mechanical skill of English artists, and brought into an effective state about 1808. This machine, by superseding hand labour in the conversion of pulp into paper, has been very generally adopted, and has materially promoted that extension of the manufacture which has recently taken place. Mr Dickinson of Hertfordshire, one of the most ingenious and inventive of our practical mechanists, has constructed another machine which performs the same operation by a different method; converting a stream of fluid pulp into a web of dry paper, completely finished and ready for the press, within a distance of about twenty-seven feet, and in about *three minutes* time! The machinery by which this all but miraculous result is effected, is so ingeniously contrived and admirably adjusted, that the continuous sheet of paper, which in its first stage appears like a wet cobweb, hardly capable of cohesion, is drawn forward over various rollers, from one stage of the process to another, at the rate of thirty feet per minute. We are not aware that much difference has taken place for a long period in the machinery for converting rags into pulp; but the present process, which is different from the original method of beating out the rags, has this drawback on its economy and despatch, that it breaks the fibre, and renders the paper less tenacious and durable.

The introduction of the process of bleaching by chlorine, has, we understand, added largely to the supply of materials for paper-making; for, not only the waste of our cotton factories, but even the worn-out bags in which the cotton is imported, are now made to serve the same purposes as linen rags; so that neither the loss of the continental rags, for which the Americans outbid us, nor the daily increasing consumption of paper, have occasioned any increase of its price. Indeed it is not only of far superior quality, but fifty per cent cheaper than it was twenty-five years since.

Mr Dickinson has very recently made an important improvement in the paper manufacture on the principle of veneering in cabinet-work. He makes two webs of paper, each by a separate process; but by laying them together while in an early stage, they are rendered inseparable by the pressure to which they are subjected. This paper is used in copperplate printing; and by adopting a peculiar method of preparing the pulp, and selecting a finer rag for the web which forms the face of the paper, it is much better calculated for taking a fine impression. This admirable invention has put a total stop to the importation of French paper, which was formerly used in considerable quantities by copperplate printers.

Mr Babbage has entered into some rather lengthened, but very instructive details as to copying by means of machinery. In this case the object most usually sought is to obtain the nearest approach to perfect identity, between the thing copied and the copy. This is peculiarly striking in the multiplying copies of engravings, and in the printing of books, cottons, &c. Until the types begin sensibly to wear, copy after copy of a book may be thrown off; and, provided the paper be similar, it will be next to impossible to discriminate between one copy and another. The identity of the figures in printed cottons of the same pattern is quite perfect, and could not be equalled by an artist of the greatest skill, even though there were no limitation as to the time he might expend, or the expense he might incur in copying. In engraving by copperplates, the lines become speedily worn; and if many impressions are to be thrown off, the plate requires frequent retouching, and even with all the aid derived from this resource, the latter impressions are usually very inferior. Engraving by pressure has obviated this difficulty; and is one of the most beautiful instances of the art of copying carried to an almost unlimited extent. 'The delicacy,' says Mr Babbage, 'with which it can be executed, and the precision with which the finest traces of the graving tool can be transferred from steel to copper, or even from hard steel to soft steel, is most unexpected. We are indebted to Mr Perkins for most of the contrivances that have brought this art at once almost to perfection. An engraving is first made upon soft steel, which is hardened by a peculiar process, without in the least injuring its delicacy. A cylinder of soft steel, pressed with great force against the hardened steel engraving, is now made to roll slowly backward and forward over it, thus receiving the design, but in relief. This is, in its turn, hardened without injury. And if it be slowly rolled to and fro with strong pressure on successive plates of copper, it will imprint on a thousand of them a

‘ perfect fac-simile of the original steel engraving from which it
 ‘ resulted. Thus the number of copies producible from the same
 ‘ design is multiplied a thousand fold. But even this is very far
 ‘ short of the limits to which this process may be extended. The
 ‘ hardened steel roller, bearing the design upon it in relief, may
 ‘ be employed to make a few of its first impressions upon plates
 ‘ of *soft steel*, and these, being hardened, become the representa-
 ‘ tives of the original engraving, and may in their turn be made
 ‘ the parents of other rollers, each generating copperplates like
 ‘ their prototype. The possible extent to which fac-similes of
 ‘ one original engraving may thus be multiplied, almost con-
 ‘ founds the imagination, and appears to be, for all practical
 ‘ purposes, unlimited.’ (P. 70.)

It may be worth while, perhaps, to observe, that the introduc-
 tion of the art of engraving on steel has been eminently favour-
 able to the interests of the engravers. Seeing that an engraving
 on copper would hardly afford more than 2000 copies, the en-
 gravers were naturally at first alarmed at the idea of preparing
 a steel plate that would at least afford ten times that number of
 impressions. But this circumstance, by enabling the booksel-
 lers to produce highly embellished works—the Annuals, for
 example—at such low prices as induced the public to take off
 large impressions, has increased tenfold the business of the en-
 gravers, and fiftyfold that of the copperplate printers.

It is not possible to lay down any general principle for deter-
 mining the influence of machinery on power. Machines are
 sometimes introduced because they perform work better, and
 sometimes merely because they perform it more expeditiously
 than it could be done by the hand. But in the vast majority of
 cases they are introduced with a view to the saving of expense,
 or because it is believed that they will do their work cheaper than
 it can be done by manual labour, or by the machinery already
 in use. In some instances, these expectations are disappointed;
 and the machine must, in consequence, be sooner or later laid
 aside. The degrees of success vary in an almost infinite ratio.
 Sometimes, as in the instances of the cotton spinning machinery,
 and the machinery for weaving Nottingham lace, the fall of
 price is quite astonishing; while, in other instances, new ma-
 chines with difficulty withstand the competition of hand labour,
 or of the old machinery, and the fall of price is but inconsider-
 able.

The durability of a machine has, *cæteris paribus*, a very ma-
 terial influence on the price of its work; much more so, indeed,
 than is commonly supposed, or than Mr Babbage seems to have
 been aware of. Thus, supposing a machine which costs L.500

is fitted to last five years, and that the customary rate of profit is six per cent; the work done by it will be worth L.118, 12s., that is, L.30 as the profits on the machine, and L.88, 12s. to accumulate as an annuity at six per cent, to replace the machine when it is worn out. Now, suppose that the durability of the machine is increased to *ten* years: in this case the price of the work done by it will fall no less than *forty-three* per cent, or to L.68; for, an annuity of L.68, accumulating for ten years at 6 per cent, will amount to L.500. It is obvious, therefore, that the question of durability enters deeply into the question of price, and that it is a most important element to be taken into account in estimating the efficiency of any machine. At the same time, however, it might be imprudent to purchase even a high degree of durability by any considerable increase of cost in the first instance. ‘Machinery,’ says Mr Babbage, ‘for producing any commodity in great demand, seldom actually wears out; new improvements by which the same operations can be executed either more quickly or better, generally superseding it long before that period arrives; indeed, to make such an improved machine profitable, it is usually reckoned that in five years it ought to have paid itself, and in ten to be superseded by a better.’—(P. 231.) And in corroboration of this statement, he quotes the following paragraph from the evidence of a witness before a committee of the House of Commons:—‘A cotton manufacturer who left Manchester seven years ago, would be driven out of the market by the men who are now living in it, provided his knowledge had not kept pace with those who have been, during that time, constantly profiting by the progressive improvements that have taken place.’

The durability of a machine depends on various circumstances; partly on the materials of which it is constructed; partly on the skill displayed in its construction, and the care taken to keep it in repair, particularly to correct every shake or looseness in the axis; and partly upon the small mass and slow velocity of its moving parts. Every thing approaching to a blow, and all sudden changes of direction, are injurious.

Mr Babbage has a chapter on what he calls the ‘Influence of Verification on Price,’ that is, on the cost of verifying the fact, whether an article be of the precise quality represented. In a few cases the goodness of an article may be learned by a mere inspection; but when it may be adulterated without the fraud being easily detected, the expense of verification, or of acquiring a security against fraud, may very sensibly affect its price. We believe, indeed, that adulteration is not carried to any thing like the extent that is commonly supposed; and, at any rate, it is

not an evil that will ever be put down by subjecting the preparers or venders of articles to any sort of restriction. Mr Babbage does not directly propose this; but any one who reads this chapter of his book, will, however erroneously, be more than half-inclined to think that such is his opinion. In truth and reality, however, the buyer of an article, if he would guard against fraud, must trust entirely to his own vigilance and sagacity. If he confide in police regulations, he is almost sure to be deceived. When businesses are carried on under a system of fair competition, a reputation for probity and fair dealing is of the highest value. The public very soon discover those on whose honour they may rely; and those who resort to manufacturers or dealers of equivocal character, generally do so with their eyes open, balancing between the risk of being cheated, and the getting of the article at a somewhat lower price. But wherever businesses are conducted under a system of *surveillance* or restriction, and articles are marked by public functionaries that their quality may be learned without examination the moment they are submitted for sale, character becomes of far less importance. It must also be borne in mind that the corruption of inferior officers is seldom a very difficult matter; while, even though their virtue were proof against every temptation, it is obvious that their interest in the detection of fraud is almost nothing compared with the interest of those who buy the articles. Mr Babbage has quoted a paragraph from the evidence of Mr Corry of the Irish Linen Board, in which that gentleman, after describing the frauds practised in the bundling of flax in Ireland, proposes to obviate them by putting the flax markets under 'good regulations.' But does any one suppose that those who hesitate not to defraud their customers, though such fraud inevitably prevents the sale of the article, except at a more than equivalent reduction of price, will be forced by the mere interference of a public officer, to assume that virtue of which they are really destitute, and to act honourably and fairly? We should have liked had either Mr Corry or Mr Babbage explained the grounds on which it is concluded that regulations would be successful in putting down abuses in the flax-trade, when they have totally failed in every other instance in which they have been tried. It is unnecessary to travel out of Ireland for an example of their inefficacy. The butter trade of that country was for a lengthened period under the control of particular officers, whose business it was to inspect the butter brought to market, to see that it was not false packed, and to ascertain its weight and quality. But so far from suppressing abuse, these regulations increased it in a tenfold degree. In a memorial

respecting the butter laws, presented to the House of Commons in 1826 by the Chamber of Commerce of Dublin, it is stated that 'these numerous and vexatious regulations; their interference with the freedom of traffic and the rights of property; the temptations they create, and the facilities they afford for fraudulent evasion; and their perpetual endeavours to effect by compulsory and penal legislation the purposes which would otherwise be more surely and successfully accomplished by the natural operation of individual interests, clearly mark the necessity of revision.' A committee was soon after appointed to investigate the subject, and the laws were substantially repealed in 1828; nor, so far as we know, has any one ever thought of eking out the catalogue of Irish grievances by alleging a deterioration in the quality of the butter; which, indeed, is well known to be materially improved. The same has proved to be the fact with the regulations as to the woollen and linen manufactures, the fishery, &c. In no one case have they ever been productive of advantage; nor can a single instance be specified of the repeal of regulations as to quality not being attended with beneficial results. Although, therefore, we do not object to Mr Babbage enlarging on the disgraceful practices of adulteration and fraud, we protest against its being imagined for a moment that it is possible to abate the nuisance by the introduction of checks and regulations. This would be to make bad worse. Instead of improving, it would poison and vitiate the entire 'economy of our manufactures.'

The proper distribution of labour among the different individuals engaged in manufactures, is one of the most important of all the principles on which their success depends. It would be to no purpose to recapitulate the well-known statements by which Dr Smith has explained the powerful influence of the division of labour in facilitating production. But Mr Babbage has given an illustration of the influence of this division, which, though it had been observed before, was not noticed by Dr Smith, and has not attracted, at least in this country, the attention it deserves. In most manufactures and businesses, the work to be done consists of a number of separate parts, some of which may be completed by individuals having half the strength, skill, dexterity, &c., required to complete others. Now it is obvious, that but for the division of labour, it would be necessary to employ individuals having the maximum degree of strength, skill, &c., required in certain parts of the work, in those where very inferior qualifications might suffice, which would materially enhance its cost. This inconvenience is, however, effectually obviated by making a proper allotment of work among different individuals.

In the same factories, where workmen employed in departments requiring peculiar skill, or where the labour is severe, may be realizing 6s. or 7s. a-day, women and children are frequently employed at not more, perhaps, than 1s. a-day. The exact degree of skill and strength required to perform any operation is thus appropriated to it. A man is not compelled to do the work of a boy or a girl; but the means being all properly adjusted to the ends, the maximum effect is produced with the smallest amount of labour, and at the smallest cost. Mr Babbage has given a very striking example of the operation of this principle in the instance of the pin manufacture, which we regret our limits will not permit our laying before the reader. But the principle is so very obvious that it must, even without any illustration, at once command the assent of every one.

The real advantage of the application of the power of steam to give motion to the machinery of a spinning mill, or of a number of power-looms, appears to be a good deal misapprehended. It does not consist so much in any direct saving of labour, as in permitting it to be carried on in the most proper situation. The work that is done by the aid of a stream of water, is generally as cheap as that which is done by steam, and sometimes much cheaper. But the invention of the steam-engine has relieved us from the necessity of building factories in inconvenient situations merely for the sake of a waterfall. It has allowed them to be placed in the centre of a population trained to industrious habits; and has facilitated their different operations, to an extent not easy to be imagined, by enabling the various processes and subsidiary arts connected with any one great manufacture, to be brought close together, and carried on, as it were, in the same workshop.

The office of one of the leading morning newspapers affords, perhaps, the most striking example anywhere to be met with, of the division of mental and manual labour, and of the application of machinery to expedite work. In a well-conducted paper, each department is contributed by different individuals, who have made it their peculiar study. Articles on politics are supplied by one hand, and those on the theatre, the fine arts, &c. by others. But it is in the publication of the debates in Parliament that the most extensive co-operation, combined with the greatest despatch, is required. This is a point that has been well illustrated by Mr Babbage. ‘In the publication of our daily newspapers, ‘it frequently happens that the debates in the Houses of Parlia- ‘ment are carried on to three or four o’clock in the morning, ‘that is, to within a very few hours of the time for the publica- ‘tion of the newspaper. The speeches must be taken down by

‘ reporters, conveyed by them to the establishment of the newspaper, perhaps at the distance of one or two miles, transcribed by them in the office, set up by the compositor, the press corrected, and the papers be printed off and distributed, before the public can read them. Some of these journals have a circulation of from 5000 to 10,000 daily. Supposing 4000 to be wanted, and that they could be printed only at the rate of 500 per hour upon one side of the paper, (which was the greatest number two journeymen and a boy could take off by the old hand-presses,) sixteen hours would be required for printing the complete edition ; and the news conveyed to the purchasers of the latest portion of the impression, would be out of date before they could receive it. To obviate this difficulty, it was often necessary to set up the paper in duplicate, and sometimes when late, in triplicate ; but the improvements in the printing machines have been so great, that 4000 are now printed on one side in an hour.

‘ It is scarcely imagined by the thousands who read the *Times*, in various quarters of the globe, what a scene of organized activity the factory presents during the whole night, or what a quantity of talent and mechanical skill is put in action for their amusement and information. Nearly 100 persons are employed in this establishment ; and during the session of Parliament, at least twelve reporters are constantly attending the Houses of Commons and Lords ; each in his turn, after about an hour’s work, returning to translate into ordinary writing the speech he has just heard and noted in short-hand. In the meantime, fifty compositors are constantly at work, some of whom have already set up the beginning, whilst others are committing to type the yet unread manuscript of the continuation of a speech, whose middle portion is travelling to the office in the pocket of the hasty reporter, and whose eloquent conclusion is perhaps, at that very moment, making the walls of St Stephen’s vibrate with the applauses of its hearers. These congregated types, as fast as they are composed, are passed in portions to other hands ; till at last the scattered fragments of the debate, forming, when united with the ordinary matter, forty-eight columns, re-appear in regular order on the platform of the printing press. The hand of man is now too slow for the demands of his curiosity, but the power of steam comes to his assistance. Ink is rapidly supplied to the moving types by the most perfect mechanism ; four attendants incessantly introduce the edges of large sheets of white paper to the junction of two great rollers, which seem to devour them with unsated appetite ; other rollers convey them to the type already inked, and having

‘ brought them into rapid and successive contact, re-deliver them
 ‘ to four other assistants, completely printed by the almost mo-
 ‘ mentary touch. Thus, in one hour, 4000 sheets of paper are
 ‘ printed on one side; and an impression of 12,000 copies, from
 ‘ above 300,000 movable pieces of metal, is produced to the pub-
 ‘ lic in six hours.’—Pp. 215—218.

Most parts of Mr Babbage’s work contain similar brief notices of different arts and processes. To the general reader, therefore, or those who wish to acquire a superficial knowledge of the subjects of which it treats, it is eminently interesting. But it is far too desultory to be of any material use to practical men. Those who are moderately well acquainted with the principles on which mechanical combinations depend, and with the ordinary details of manufacturing, will, we are afraid, find little in it to instruct or enlighten them in the conduct of their peculiar businesses. It contains, indeed, many acute and valuable remarks, and much wholesome advice. As an example, we may quote the following passage with respect to mechanical inventors :

‘ The arts of contriving, of drawing, and of executing, do not usually reside in their greatest perfection in one individual, and in this, as in other arts, *the division of labour* must be applied. The best advice which can be offered to a projector of any mechanical invention, is to employ a respectable draughtsman, who, if he has had a large experience in his profession, will assist in finding out whether the contrivance is new, and can then make working drawings of it. The first step, however, the ascertaining whether the contrivance has the merit of novelty, is most important; for it is a maxim equally just in all arts, and in every science, that *the man who aspires to fortune or to fame by new discoveries, must be content to examine with care the knowledge of his contemporaries, or to exhaust his efforts in inventing what he will most probably find has been better executed before.*

‘ This, nevertheless, is a subject upon which even ingenious men are often singularly negligent. There is, perhaps, no trade or profession existing, in which there is so much quackery, so much ignorance of the scientific principles, and of the history of their own art, with respect to its resources and extent, as is to be met with amongst mechanical projectors. The self-constituted engineer, dazzled with the beauty of some, perhaps, really original contrivance, assumes his new profession with as little suspicion that previous instruction, that thought and painful labour, are necessary to its successful exercise, as does the statesman or senator. Much of this false confidence arises from the improper estimate which is entertained of the difficulty of invention in mechanics; and it is of great importance to the individuals, and to the families of those who are thus led away from more suitable pursuits, the dupes of their own ingenuity and the popular

voice, to convince both them and the public that the power of making new mechanical combinations is a possession common to a multitude of minds, and that it by no means requires talents of the highest order. It is still more important that they should be convinced that the great merit and the great success of those who have attained to eminence in such matters, was almost entirely due to the unremitting perseverance with which they concentrated upon the successful invention the skill and knowledge which years of study had matured.'—Pp. 212—213.

This is sound and good, but it is far too general to be of much use. Mr Babbage, at least as it appears to us, would have done better had he illustrated his views by a sketch of the progress of invention; by examining in detail some of the more important operations of machinery, and showing, by practical instances, how inventors have been led to avail themselves of properties and combinations not previously taken advantage of. The history of the steam-engine, and of Sir H. Davy's safety lamp, strikingly exemplifies the gradual and secure progress by which able and ingenious men advance from the known to the unknown, or by which they infer from facts and principles, and the results of contrivances and combinations with which they are familiar, what will be the result of others hitherto untried. Had Mr Babbage given an account of the process by which these, or other great inventions, have been perfected,—pointing out the route the inventors followed in advancing from one stage of the discovery to another, the circumstances which induced them to adopt the contrivances calculated to bring about the wished for result, the difficulties that opposed their progress, and the means by which these were obviated,—he would have done essential service to the cause of discovery. It is all very well to tell a projector what he ought, and what he ought not to do. But such instructions come with ten times more effect, when you show that they are practically as well as theoretically accurate, by tracing step by step the career of those who, by following them, have immortalized their names, and added immeasurably to the wealth and enjoyments of their fellow men. The want of any such developement is one of the principal defects of this work; and detracts much from its utility.

We are surprised that Mr Babbage should not, in any part of his book, have attempted any investigation of the circumstances to which Great Britain is mainly indebted for her comparatively rapid progress in manufactures. Such an enquiry, had it been properly conducted, could not have failed of leading to the most interesting results. Our superiority in the 'economy of machinery and manufactures,' is assuredly not a consequence of chance

or accident; and by tracing and exhibiting the circumstances on which it principally depends, Mr Babbage would not only have made us acquainted with the real sources of our peculiar prosperity, but, which is still more important, with the means by which they may be preserved, and rendered more productive. To attempt to supply this deficiency would far exceed our limits; but there are two or three considerations to which we may briefly advert.

The causes of our manufacturing eminence are of two sorts, partly moral and partly physical. Of the former, our free institutions, the absence of all oppressive internal regulations, the equality of the public burdens, and the security we have so long enjoyed, are by far the most important. In all these respects Britain has enjoyed peculiar advantages. The liberty of the press, and the political privileges of the mass of the people, have made them intelligent, given them comprehensive views, and elevated their desires. They have consequently been able to make discoveries, and to avail themselves of combinations of power, that a less instructed people would have wholly neglected. Since the act abolishing monopolies was passed in 1623, internal industry, and the intercourse between different parts of the country, have been practically unfettered; the restraints arising out of corporation privileges having had but little influence. Every man has been permitted, without let or hinderance, to pursue his own interest in his own way; to adopt every device by which he supposed he should more easily attain his object; and to carry his labour and products to the best market. Now this freedom, so essential to the full development of the inventive powers, has not been enjoyed, at least to nearly the same extent, in any other European country, with, perhaps, the single exception of Holland. In France, for example, the privileges of the different *maîtrises, jurandes, &c.*, were carried to such an extent, as to lay an independent workman under the greatest difficulties. In addition to this, the whole kingdom was divided into provinces, each of which had its own *peculiar taxes and revenue system*, its own manufactures, &c.; and so jealous were these separate districts of each other, that they usually surrounded their frontiers with a cordon of troops, whose duty it was to prevent any but a regulated and very limited intercourse with their fellow-subjects. Their commerce was, in consequence, almost annihilated; and instead of being excited to efforts of emulation and invention, by the competition and example of different and distant provinces, manufacturers and artisans had nothing to stimulate their activity and enterprise beyond the narrow precincts of the district in which they happened to reside. In Spain

and Germany matters were even worse ; so that instead of wondering at the slow advance of arts and manufactures on the continent, compared with their progress here, it might have been fairly expected to be still slower.

The revolution in France, and the subsequent convulsions in other continental states, swept away almost all the regulations that obstructed the freedom of internal commerce and industry. The consequence has been, a comparatively rapid advance in the arts and manufactures of the continent during the last thirty or forty years. But though the revolution and the war contributed to their progress by giving them freedom, it did not give them that *security* which we have long enjoyed, and which is quite as indispensable as the absence of regulations to the successful prosecution of arts and industry. The want of any lively belief in the stability of the established order of things, and the apprehension of changes, of which it is impossible to foresee the results, oppose formidable obstacles to every sort of enterprise ; and particularly to all projects that require a lengthened period for their completion. Without security, industry, even if it should spring up, must speedily droop and decay. It is absurd to suppose that comprehensive views and desires can exist and lead to action, if it be doubtful whether their objects may be realized ; or, if realized, whether they would not be immediately destroyed, or torn from those whose labour, skill, and anxious thought, had acquired them. But in this country every man has felt assured that he would reap all the advantages of superior industry, talent, or ingenuity, and be allowed to dispose of his fortune at pleasure. For upwards of a century we have been in the enjoyment, with few and transient interruptions, of security, both in *fact* and in *opinion* ; and it should be borne in mind that the latter is hardly less essential than the former. This circumstance has had the most signal influence on our progress. No British capitalist has ever hesitated about engaging in any adventure which promised an adequate though very late return. The vast amount of capital expended on docks, canals, &c.,—the investments in the funds, and our life-insurance system,—show the strength and powerful operation of this principle. So long as this security is upheld undiminished, we have no fears for the public welfare. But if it should be materially impaired, it requires little sagacity to foresee that the progress of invention will be speedily arrested, and that our fall will be even more rapid than our rise.

Our insular situation, temperate climate, and the inexhaustible supplies of coal and of the useful minerals with which we are

furnished, are among the most prominent of the physical circumstances to which our manufacturing prosperity is ascribable. Since steam came to be of such importance as a moving power, an abundant supply of coal has become quite essential to distinction in manufactures; and the want of this prime necessary in the southern counties is the principal, or rather, we believe, the sole cause of the decay of manufactures in them, as well as of their astonishing increase in the north.

Mr Babbage has made some observations on the influence of taxation on manufactures; but we cannot say that they possess much novelty or interest. Heavy as our taxation undoubtedly is, still we are not of the number of those who look upon it as productive only of mischief. In a few departments, indeed, it is in the last degree oppressive and injurious. But its mischievous operation in them might be obviated without touching the general principles of the system, which, we hesitate not to say, is, on the whole, well devised; and which, at any rate, would not be improved, but vastly deteriorated, by the adoption of a graduated property tax, or of any other of those crude and generally fraudulent projects that are now afloat. Taxation has many bad effects; but it is not so uniformly pernicious as is supposed. We incline to think, that though highly detrimental in some respects, the increased taxation to which our manufactures were subjected during the war, had, speaking generally, a powerful influence in accelerating their progress. Every one allows that an increase of wages, by lessening the profits of the manufacturers, and stimulating to new efforts of skill and ingenuity, has a favourable effect; and we have yet to learn that there is any thing in a moderate increase of exertion to make it operate differently. We may be excused, perhaps, for subjoining the following striking illustration of the influence of improvements in diminishing the burden of taxation, and of the stimulus given by high duties to the ingenuity of the producers.

Previously to 1786, the duties on spirits in Scotland were charged according to the quantities supposed to be produced. But as this mode of charging the duty was found to open a door to extensive frauds, it was resolved to substitute in its place a license duty corresponding to the size of the still. As the shape of all the stills in use was similar, and as the quantity of spirits that a still could produce in a year, according to its cubic contents, had been accurately calculated, it was supposed that this plan would effectually prevent smuggling, and that the officers would have nothing to do but to inspect the stills to see that their size was not increased. On the first introduction of this apparently well considered system, the license duty on each

still was fixed at 30s. a gallon. But the principle on which the duty was calculated was very soon falsified. The stills previously in use were very deep in proportion to their diameter, so that it required, at an average, about a week to perform a single operation. No sooner, however, had the new method of charging the duty been introduced, than it occurred to two ingenious persons, Messrs John and William Sligo, distillers at Leith, that by lessening the depth of the still and increasing its diameter, a larger surface would be exposed to the action of the fire; and that they would consequently be able to run off the contents of the still in less time. Having adopted the plan, they found that it more than answered their expectations, enabling them to perform that process in a few hours that had hitherto occupied them a week. Messrs Sligo had the exclusive possession of this important invention for about a year; but the secret was of too great importance to be long concealed; and the moment it transpired the plan was adopted by all the other distillers. In consequence, in 1788, the license duty on the still was raised from 30s. to L.3; but this increase having redoubled the activity of the distillers, it was again raised, in 1793, to L.9 a gallon; in 1794, to L.18; and in 1795, it was advanced to the enormous sum of L.54 a gallon! Still, however, the ingenuity of the distiller had outrun the increase of the tax; and it was proved before a committee of the House of Commons, in 1798, that distillation had been carried to such a pitch of perfection, that stills had occasionally been *filled and discharged in eight minutes*. This it was supposed must be the maximum of velocity; and the license duty was laid on the still on the hypothesis that it could, at an average, be run off in this time; or that it could be filled and run off once every eight minutes during the whole period that the manufacture was in activity. But the ingenuity of the distillers was not even yet tasked to the utmost; and it was ascertained that towards the latter end of the license system stills of forty gallons had been at an average filled and run off in the almost incredibly short space of *three* minutes; being an increase of 2880 times in the rapidity of distillation that obtained when the license plan was introduced in 1786.

It is true that this prodigious velocity was attended with a great expense of fuel, and it is admitted that the spirits were not quite so good as those distilled by a less rapid process. The old plan of levying the duties was, therefore, resorted to in 1815; and the distillers have since enjoyed the fruits of their ingenuity, and of the stimulus afforded by the license duty, without being tempted to strain the process to the utmost by working against time.

We have not referred to this striking instance in order to apologize for oppressive taxes, or to extenuate their bad consequences; but to show, that, though a particular tax, by interfering improperly with the operations of the manufacturer, or from its too great magnitude, may be exceedingly injurious, this is not of the essence of all taxes; and that duties may be so contrived as to have no injurious effect, and to act as a stimulus to, and not as a drag upon invention. So long as the national faith is preserved unbroken, and adequate means are provided for preserving internal tranquillity and external respect, so long must heavy taxes be kept up. And while every thing ought to be done that is possible to obviate their defects and to lighten their pressure, there is neither sense nor honesty in exaggerating their pernicious operation, or in exciting an 'ignorant impatience' of the public burdens, that can lead only to national bankruptcy and ruin.

Mr Babbage has hardly said any thing as to the influence of machinery and extensive manufacturing establishments on the numbers and condition of the labouring classes; and yet, as it appears to us, this is about the most important enquiry involved in the 'economy of machinery and manufactures.' It would not, we think, be difficult to show that this influence has been in every respect most salutary; that it has done more than any thing else to augment the intelligence and the comforts of the workmen; and that they are quite as much interested as their employers, in giving full scope to the inventive faculty, and in the maintenance of that tranquillity and security so effectual to the existence of improved manufactures. These, however, are topics on which we cannot enter at present, though we may, perhaps, revert to them at no distant period. In the meantime we may safely recommend the little work on Machinery published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. It contains a great deal of valuable information presented in a very attractive form, and is a very excellent publication.

Mr Babbage would seem to have a quarrel on his hands with the leading Booksellers; and he has avenged himself by giving what he calls an account of their profits. According to his statement the retail bookseller never realises less than $33\frac{1}{3}$, and generally as much as 40 per cent on his sales! If this be so, bookselling must be the best business in the world. We are astonished that the ludicrous extravagance of such statements did not satisfy Mr B. that there must be some error about them. He tells us, moreover, that this 'excessive rate of profit' has drawn to the book trade too great an amount of capital. We know something of this

trade, but our information is most probably not so good as our author's, for we confess no statement ever seemed to us to be wider of the mark. It is, we believe, pretty generally allowed, that the book trade is at this moment, and has long been, in a most unsatisfactory condition. There are very few rich houses in the business; and till we saw Mr B.'s book, we understood it to be admitted on all hands that there was no extensive business in the empire in which capital was so deficient. That there are defects in the mode of conducting the business, we readily allow; and we believe they principally originate in the system of long credits, which, in our apprehension, is itself a consequence of the want of capital. Whether the publishers referred to by Mr B. have done right or wrong in combining together, we do not pretend to say; but there are hundreds of others not privy to their combination; and if it be more for the advantage of authors and of the public to deal with the latter than with the former, they will certainly do so. Mr B. may be assured that competition operates to the same extent in bookselling as in brewing, baking, or any other business; and it is a contradiction and an absurdity to suppose that a large class of individuals, enjoying no monopoly and exercising no peculiar skill, should continue to make thirty or forty per cent profit, when others are scarcely making ten.

We perceive, too, that Mr Babbage is as little satisfied with the Reviewers of books as with their Publishers. There is less novelty, however, in his complaints on this ancient topic, and we therefore leave him to the quiet enjoyment of his own modest and considerate thoughts in regard to it; quite sure that in doing so we commit him to company on which he sets a sufficiently high value.

In conclusion, we beg to return Mr Babbage our unfeigned thanks for the present instructive volume; regretting, however, that we cannot dismiss it with the recommendation of saying that it exhibits any thing like a complete view of 'the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures.' The statements we have made in the course of our examination of its contents, will probably induce our readers to agree in our opinion.

ART. III.—*A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand, in 1827; together with a Journal of a Residence in Tristan d'Acunha, an island situated between South America and the Cape of Good Hope.* By AUGUSTUS EARLE, Draughtsman to his Majesty's Surveying Ship, the *Beagle*. 8vo. London: 1832.

THE New Zealanders, since the Five Nations of Canada have disappeared, are decidedly the most interesting savages on the globe. They combine, in the highest degree, all that is terrible, with all that is engaging, in that form of human society. Our interest respecting them is singularly heightened at the present moment by the new aspect which they exhibit, and the change which is in course of being effected upon them by British intercourse;—an intercourse between the extremes of civilized and savage life, by which the features of both are strangely and curiously blended. Hence New Zealand presents now an extremely different scene than it did to Cook, or even to the navigators who visited it twenty, nay, ten years ago; and, notwithstanding the too great similarity of some elements, the present author's narrative exhibits, in many respects, a new country and people.

Mr Earle himself, is perhaps as extraordinary a phenomenon as any which he describes. From his earliest years, he has been a wanderer over earth and sea—running continually along the links which connect London with the remotest extremities of the globe. He has travelled chiefly with the view of finding subjects for his pencil, and has transmitted from his wild and distant haunts, materials for exhibition in the British metropolis, the centre of art and civilisation. Several of the panoramas with which the London public have been gratified in Leicester Square, were from delineations made by Mr Earle in and around the Antipodes. Such is the adventurous person who has undertaken to pourtray to us what the New Zealander now is. In the absence of a profound and philosophic observer, who could scarcely be expected to visit those shores, we are very glad to have the picture drawn by his animated pencil. Its tints are fresh and vivid;—laid on boldly and roughly, like those which he spreads over his panoramic canvass. He has thus produced a volume, at once extremely amusing and full of information; yet are there considerable portions of it, which require to be carefully sifted. In all his wanderings he has not acquired the faculty of putting two ideas, or even two facts together. He is, nevertheless, exceedingly fond of coming to general conclusions, which, being expressed forcibly,

in a confident tone, are, on a superficial perusal, rather imposing. But they are invariably drawn from the single fact which happens to be before his eyes; and very often the next page affords a complete refutation of them. Mr Earle, too, has founded upon such data not only judgments, but projects of a very momentous description, which it may be necessary to subject to a rigorous examination.

We did not expect any thing from the author on the subject of the early discovery of New Zealand; and his account accordingly is not only defective, but erroneous. Tasman by no means committed the blunder with which Mr Earle charges him, of assigning the name from a resemblance in its alleged marshy surface, to that of the European province of the same name. That eminent navigator accurately describes the country, along which he sailed for several hundred miles, as one of the finest in the world,—composed of rich level plains along the coast, and high land in the interior: he never mentions a marsh; in short, he did not call it New Zealand. Imagining it to form part of a vast southern continent, of which the eastern extremity was the Staten Land near Terra del Fuego, he applied that name to it also. But Henrik Brower, in that very year, ascertained the original Staten Land to be a quite distinct and not very extensive island. The Dutch then named Tasman's discovery, New Zealand, as a companion to New Holland, thus giving a representative in the Pacific to each of their great European provinces.

Cook, in his first two voyages, drew a complete picture of the New Zealanders;—of all in that people that is terrible and beautiful—their wars, their crimes, their impassioned tenderness, and pleasing social intercourse. Later visitants have done little more than add fresh illustrations, often indeed striking, but still of the same features. Mr Earle has perhaps placed them in a more picturesque light than any of his predecessors; and before we proceed to that most interesting part of the subject, which relates to the new condition and prospects of this rude society, we shall draw from him some sketches of those features in their character, which remain still nearly unaltered.

The motive, which induced our traveller to set sail for this savage land, is very characteristic. He had seen at Sydney a few specimens of 'this splendid race of men,' and was anxious to ascertain whether they really were, as a people, taller and of finer proportions than the English. He therefore took a place in a vessel conveying passengers to that country, particularly some ladies belonging to a missionary establishment. As soon as the ship entered the river, which he designates by the odd orthography of E. O. Ke Anga, a number of canoes were seen

pushing out, each of their crews eager to be first on board. They came on deck at every point, pleasure beaming in their countenances, and proceeded forthwith to give their visitors 'a dance of welcome, standing on one spot, and stamping so furiously, that I really feared they would have stove in the decks, which our lady passengers were obliged to leave, as when the dance began, each man proceeded to strip himself naked.' The movements appear not to have differed materially from those of the war dance, as described by Cruise; in which 'the performers, who are perfectly naked, assemble in an irregular group, and jump perpendicularly from the ground as high and as frequently as possible, uttering a most piercing and savage yell.' Our traveller, however, on turning upon this wild group the eye of a painter, was extremely edified; and on this and other occasions, he could not forbear envying the artists of antiquity for the displays afforded to them by the gymnastic exercises, and pitying those whom fate has thrown upon this degenerate 'age of coats and breeches.' His observation convinced him of the superiority of this race, particularly over the savages of America. 'They were generally taller and larger men than ourselves; those of middle height were broad-chested and muscular, and their limbs as sinewy as though they had been occupied all their lives in laborious employments. Their colour is lighter than that of the American Indian, their features small and regular; their hair is in a profusion of beautiful curls, whereas that of the Indians is straight and lank.' There seems no doubt that, like the other leading Polynesian tribes, they derive their origin from the Malays, and, indeed, generally from the brown race of the Indian Archipelago; but the forms, which there are short, broad, and clumsy, seemed to be happily developed amid the wild freedom of New Zealand, and the voluptuous ease of Otahete.

The natives, after this wild display, sat down to supper, and behaved in so polite and respectful a manner, as quite won the good opinion of the ladies. Next morning they carried them most gallantly in their arms from the ship to the boats, which could not approach on account of the shallows. Mr Earle, quite delighted with his new acquaintances, took a ramble into the country, where he suddenly encountered the appalling spectacle of a human body roasted, and dogs feeding on its remains. He had been aware before of what this indicated; 'still,' says he, 'the coming suddenly and unexpectedly upon a sight like this, completely sickened me.' A poor young slave, it appears, employed to watch a plantation, had been so attracted by the appearance of the ship, that his attention being thus wholly engrossed, the hogs broke into the grounds, and com-

mitted extensive damage. 'The result was certain;' the chief struck the unfortunate boy dead by a blow on the head with his stone hatchet, and ordered the body to be roasted and eaten. 'We took care,' says the writer, 'not to shock the feelings of the females, by letting them know the tragedy so lately acted in the village, or horrify them by telling them that one of their carriers was the murderer. It would have been difficult to make them believe it of such a noble-looking and good-natured fellow.'

A still more shocking instance afterwards occurred. The author and his companions were informed, that a fine young girl who had been with them the preceding day was killed, and in course of being cooked for dinner. They ran to the spot, and saw evident signs of the murder: 'bloody mats were strewn around, and a boy was standing by them actually laughing; he put his finger to his head, and then pointed towards a bush. I approached the bush, and there discovered a human head. My feeling of horror may be recognised, when I saw the features of the unfortunate girl I had seen forced from our village the preceding evening. We ran towards the fire, and there stood a man preparing the four quarters of a human body for a feast; the large bones having been taken out, were thrown aside, and the flesh being compressed, he was in the act of forcing it into the oven. While we stood transfixed by this terrible sight, a large dog, which lay before the fire, rose up, seized the bloody head and walked off with it, into the bushes, no doubt to hide it there for another meal.'

Atooi, a chief, after some attempts at evasion, acknowledged that this infernal banquet was preparing for himself, and even boasted of the dexterity with which he had accomplished the murder; admitting that the only offence of the victim consisted in having run away to her friends. 'Shall I be credited, when I again affirm, that he was not only a handsome young man, but mild and genteel in his demeanour; and the poor victim to his bloody cruelty, was a pretty girl of about sixteen years of age!' The English gentlemen indignantly carried off the half-roasted corpse and buried it. They were assured, however, that they had acted very imprudently, and had gained nothing; since the remains were afterwards dug up, and the savage purpose completed.

These statements not only remove every doubt, if there had been any, as to the cannibalism of the New Zealanders, but exhibit the crime under darker and more revolting colours than ever. It was not, as has been supposed, under the impulse of a relentless vengeance, or amid the intoxication of frenzied triumph, that they fell upon and devoured the body of a mortal

enemy. There seems no doubt, from the above, and other relations, that a detestable epicurism forms one of the impulses to it, and is gratified wherever no motive of kindness or respect interposes. It is stated, as something like a palliation of this enormity, that the New Zealanders labour under a very peculiar difficulty in procuring animal food; and the author has seen persons from the interior, who never even tasted it in any shape. Their advocates therefore contend, that the introduction of European flocks and herds, of which there is a fair prospect, will gradually wean them from this horrid propensity.

Mr Earle's recitals disclose another evil, of the extent of which we were by no means fully aware. There are, it seems, amid this people, so celebrated for their proud independence, a body of helots, held under worse than Spartan bondage. 'The free Zealander,' says Mr E., 'is a joyous good-humoured-looking man, full of laughter and vivacity, and is chattering incessantly; but the slaves have invariably a squalid, dejected look; they are never seen to smile, and appear literally half-starved. The male slave is never allowed to marry, and any intercourse with a female is usually punished with death. Never was there a body of men so completely cut off from all society.' It can only be said in extenuation, that these were enemies, the children of those whom the chiefs had vanquished in battle; who, after their parents had fallen victims to the spear and the savage banquet, were carried home and reared in bondage.

Mr Earle agrees with every other authority, as to the intense fury with which war is here waged,—not in full and regular array, but by surprise and ambush, with the sole view of effecting the destruction of the enemy. Our author had presented to him a full image of it in the mock-fight, which forms their favourite amusement. 'They divided themselves into two parties; one half the number took their station on a hill, and lay concealed; the other party crouched on the plains to receive the attack, all kneeling on one knee, with their eyes fixed on the spot whence they expected the rush of their pretended enemies. In a moment, the concealed party burst forth from their ambush, with a tremendous and simultaneous shout, and the mock battle began with great fury. Nothing in nature can be imagined more horrible than the noise they make on these occasions. I have heard, under circumstances of some peril, the North American Indian war-whoop; but that is trifling compared with it, and their countenances are hideous beyond description. My principal astonishment was, that they did not actually kill each other, or at least break each other's bones, for they seemed to strike with all the fury

‘ and vigour of a real engagement; but they kept such exact time, that at a moment’s notice they all left off, and began joking and laughing.’

Our traveller was witness to a far more dreadful scene, the triumphal return of a victorious expedition, with ‘ quantities of plunder, human heads, human flesh, and many prisoners.’ The only living trophies consisted in a miserable train of women and children, who, torn for ever from all that they held dear, were doomed to spend their lives, the oppressed slaves of a proud and savage foe. They bore every mark of wretchedness and dejection; yet it is pleasing to observe, that the women of the conquering tribe shed tears of sympathy over these captives, and endeavoured to soothe their misery. Of the chiefs who had fought and fallen in this bloody conflict, there remained only the heads dried by a peculiar process, so that the outline, and the image tattooed on the face, were still uninjured; and a few ‘ tid-bits’ of the flesh in baskets, to be reserved for occasions of high festival. Yet, even in its darkest scenes, human nature has some redeeming features. There is among this savage society a class of ‘ peace-makers,’ whose life is spent in going from one hostile chief to another, ‘ to explain away insults, to offer apologies, and to strive, by every means in their power, to establish peace between those about to plunge their country into the horrors of war.’ Twice had the author known their efforts successful; and even in a country devoted to war, they were held in the highest honour.

We turn with pleasure to the domestic and social character of the New Zealanders, in which sphere they exhibit those amiable qualities so much celebrated by travellers. Our author fully shares the partiality felt by those who have lived in their society and gained their friendship. They all celebrate their warmth of heart, their courteous and polished manners, their easy good-nature. The most remarkable circumstance is, that feeling of security said to be experienced by strangers, who, surrounded by these furious cannibals, feel as if they were in the midst of their intimate friends. That this impression is to a great extent delusive, appears too clearly from the instances in which the New Zealanders have proceeded to the most direful extremities, against those with whom shortly before they were united in the closest seeming friendship. Hence, some have not hesitated to assert, that all this cordial and pleasing intercourse was from the first a system of deep and deliberate treason;—that while they caressed, they marked their victims for death. Their advocates, on the contrary, maintain, that this friendship, while it lasted, was perfectly sincere; but that in every such case, some wrong on the part of their European visitors, some insult to their

pride,—at least some unconscious collision with deep-rooted superstitions and prejudices,—gave the fatal turn, and converted love into deadliest hatred. Without saying that this is completely established, we must yet admit it to have proved true in so many instances, as to afford a presumption, that some similar solution would be found for each of those dreadful catastrophes which have befallen Europeans upon these shores.

The strong ties of kindred, friendship, and even clanship, by which New Zealanders of the same tribe are attached to each other, have attracted the notice and admiration of all travellers. Friends, who meet after a long absence, melt usually into floods of tears; and on the death of any generally beloved individual, a scene takes place of the most wildly impassioned lamentation. Besides the usual signs of distress, they seize sharp instruments and inflict deep wounds on the face, till the blood flows copiously and mingles with their tears. It must not be concealed, that the fair New Zealanders, who act the most conspicuous part on these occasions, incurred sometimes the ridicule of Mr Earle, who insinuates, that these are often mechanical displays, without much correspondent feeling. In one place, he speaks of their 'cutting their flesh as a cook would score pork for roasting;' and elsewhere roundly asserts, that 'this cutting and mourning 'is completely a matter of business.' We incline to think, however, that this is one of his hasty conclusions from too limited premises. The infliction of external pain is a natural mode of expressing, and in some measure relieving, mental agony. Beating the breast, and tearing the hair, are recognised among us as genuine indications of extreme distress. National customs of this kind must spring from national character; though after they have become general, decorum may require that they should be observed in circumstances when the real grief may be somewhat faint. The occasion which called forth the above severe remark of Mr Earle, was that of the taking up and reintering the bones of a chief who had died four months previously, and consequently when the violence of grief must have greatly subsided. He admits even here that there was 'one real mourner, who never moved from the bones, nor once lifted 'up her eyes from them; she neither howled nor cut herself, 'and yet she inspired me with pity. This woman had been the 'only wife of the late chief; and I was informed they had lived 'many years together, and had a large family; she looked as if 'she herself was on the very brink of the grave.'

The practices of the New Zealanders in regard to the female sex are abundantly revolting. Their virtue, while unmarried, is held in very little estimation, or rather is made the subject of regular traffic by their parents or nearest relations. Cook in-

deed describes this trade as conducted in a somewhat more reserved and respectable manner than in Otaheite, or the other islands; but even this decorum seems now in a great measure lost. After marriage, however, fidelity is exacted with the utmost rigour, and with all the relentless severity of the national character; the breach being punished with instant death. During Mr Earle's stay, a chief, being satisfied of the guilt of one of his wives, took up his patoo-patoo, or stone-hatchet, went to her, and without reproaching her, or saying a single word, struck her dead on the spot. He had such a remnant of humanity as not to eat her; but the body was thrown unburied to the dogs, till the English gave it sepulture. Yet the great men, having numerous wives, many of whom were originally captives, are not always unwilling to treat for the disposal of them. A chief, who saw that a fine young girl, one of his ten wives, was a favourite with the English, invited and even importuned them to take her in exchange for a musket; but into this treaty they did not think fit to enter.

Superficial writers have represented this people as destitute of religion, because they have neither temples, priests, nor sacrifices. But the New Zealanders are strongly impressed with the usual train of ideas which prevail on this subject among rude nations. They adore a supreme being, named Atua (Eatooa of Otaheite) as the author of every change in nature,—yielding to his will even a blind and mistaken submission. Attempts are made to cure a slight disease, but whenever it assumes a dangerous aspect, it is concluded that the Atua has determined upon taking the patient away, and that it would be profane to endeavour to obstruct this design: the sufferer is therefore devoutly abandoned to his fate. But the most striking superstition is that of *taboo*, by which a particular spot, with the aid of certain mystic ceremonies, is invested with so sacred a character, that it cannot be made the theatre of any ordinary occupation, nor even trod upon, without incurring the deadliest guilt. One application of this belief is exceedingly useful. Whenever a field is sown or planted, the taboo is applied, and forms round it a fence more secure than the loftiest wall or hedge. This consecration, however, is most inconvenient to a stranger, who cannot take a walk into the fields without being liable, at one step, to find himself become a profane being, the object of universal horror. Our author had the utmost difficulty in obtaining forgiveness for having lighted his fire with a few tabooed chips from a neighbouring dockyard. 'A poor hen of ours did not escape so well; she, poor thing, ventured to form a nest, and actually hatched a fine family of chickens amid these sacred shavings. Loud was the outcry, and great the horror she occa-

'sioned, when she marched forth cackling with her merry brood 'around her. She, and all her little ones, were instantly sacrificed.'

To the operation of this principle, it would appear, may be ascribed the dreadful catastrophe which, in 1772, befell the French officer Marion, with eleven of his crew. Nothing has thrown a deeper stain on the character of the New Zealanders; for Crozet, the narrator, protested most solemnly, that the French had not been guilty of a single deed tending to interrupt that perfect harmony which had long reigned between them and the natives. He charges the latter, therefore, with deliberate perfidy; saying, 'They treated us with every show of friendship for thirty-three days, in the intention of eating us on the thirty-fourth.'" Still he admits, that, on one mysterious day, a striking change took place; the natives ceased to frequent the vessel; and youths who had been accustomed to exchange testimonies of ardent friendship with the French officers, discontinued them with indications of deep distress. The mystery seems solved by the statement of George, the noted New Zealand chief, who informed Mr Earle that he was present at that dreadful scene; that the French, wishing a supply of fish, had trailed the seine on a part of the coast rendered sacred by the taboo. The natives warned, entreated, implored them to desist; but in vain. The French probably laughed, and never bestowed another thought on the subject; but it rankled deep in the minds of the natives, and excited that thirst of vengeance which blood only could allay.

It is time now to allude to the changes which have been effected by European intercourse; which, though not yet quite so immense as the author supposes, are such as must gradually give a new, and, we trust, improved character to this remarkable race and country. Nothing can be more singular than both the agents and instruments in producing this change. The former are the crews of whale-ships, who, of late years, have found it convenient, in their way to the southern fishery, to seek refreshment and supplies in the ports of New Zealand. These new apostles of civilisation effect its diffusion by distributing muskets, the implements of war and destruction. To obtain these, has become the first object and passion of the New Zealander; for this, he is ready to make any sacrifice: he submits to a labour which he would otherwise have spurned, and studies improvements which he would have held in contempt. The author is, however, mistaken, if he supposes that no culture existed till introduced by this impulse. Cook found considerable spots of land round all the villages laid out and tilled with a care and neatness which excited his admiration. It was nearly confined, however, to the *humera*, or sweet po-

tatoe, an inferior species, which was reared, too, only as a luxury; the chief dependence for support being on the roots of fern, with which the fields were covered. Now the range of cultivation is greatly extended; and the produce includes our superior kinds of potatoe, and Indian corn. Hogs also have been introduced, and are diligently reared, as being the article most in demand at the ships, and for which muskets can be most readily exchanged. Though the natives have a strong relish for this species of food, they entirely abstain from it, and reserve their whole stock for the purchase of arms. The only portion which ever reaches them is that rejected by Europeans as unfit for use; when it forms a most grateful present. Goats and poultry are in the progress of rapid multiplication, and black cattle are beginning to be introduced by the missionaries. Our author laments the ravages committed on the useful animals by a mischievous breed of dogs; but these were not, as he supposes, introduced from Europe; they are indigenous, being found by Cook, who describes them as a numerous and ugly species.

The natives have been wonderfully successful in the attainment of their favourite object. When Captain Cook landed there was not a musket in the country; now there is scarcely a free New Zealander that wants one. Their use of them, however, is still very unskilful. 'The New Zealander, while holding a musket, is quite in a state of trepidation; and though it is his darling weapon, he seems always afraid of it, and is never sure of his aim till he is quite close to his object.' Besides, 'they are so fond of cleaning, scrubbing, and taking them to pieces, that in a short time the locks become loose, the screws are injured, and they are soon rendered entirely useless, to the great surprise and dismay of their owners, who are continually pestering Europeans, by bringing them *sick* muskets;' imagining that every white man, if he cannot make, can at least repair one. Government and the missionaries have prohibited the sale of muskets from views of humanity, that are certainly plausible; yet our author thinks them erroneous, and we incline to agree with him. All the elements of civilization have an intimate connexion with each other. Art, even when employed to perfect the instruments of destruction, has a tendency to introduce more improved habits. To provide the means of war, the arts of peace must be cultivated; and these becoming habitual, will produce a gradual change in the national character. We do not concur in Mr Earle's satisfaction, that, from their being so generally diffused, the possession of arms gives no preponderance to one chief or tribe over another. We would rather it had been otherwise. A conqueror,—another Tamahama,

—who should reduce an extensive tract of country, and a number of tribes under his sway, would probably be the most powerful instrument in accelerating civilization. The introduction of European discipline will, perhaps, be the first circumstance that will confer such a superiority. Any chief who could command two well trained companies, might soon become Emperor of New Zealand.

But there is another moral reform which the author represents the English crews as having effected, of so extraordinary a nature as to require some investigation. The illicit intercourse, it is said, between the British seamen and the unmarried females, has put an end to the most extensive system of infanticide ever known. ‘A universal and unnatural custom existed among them, which was that of destroying *most* of their female children in infancy,—the *few females* who were suffered to live were invariably looked down upon by all with the utmost contempt. The difference now is most remarkable. The natives, seeing with what admiration strangers beheld their fine young women, and what handsome presents were made to them, by which their families were benefited, feeling also that their influence was so powerful, have been latterly as anxious to cherish and protect their infant girls, as they were formerly cruelly bent on destroying them. Therefore, if one sin has been, to a certain extent, encouraged, a much greater one has been annihilated.’ We shall not here enter into any casuistical question as to the real value of this strange improvement, or the merit of the English seamen in producing it. We would first ask them and Mr Earle, upon what ground they assert the former prevalence of this crime to any thing approaching the extent stated. There are a series of narratives succeeding at short intervals, from Cook’s time to the present, not one of which mentions the prevalence of such a system, or notices any disproportion between the sexes, such as must, in so remarkable a degree, have been the consequence. On the contrary, throughout the whole period, polygamy has been most extensively practised. Mr Nicholas, who resided there nearly two years, in an enquiry into the causes of the thin population, never mentions this practice, nor alludes to it as existing.* The only statement on the subject is by Mr Cruise, who seems to have made very particular enquiries into the domestic concerns of the people. He says, ‘In the native families, when the number of females has *far* exceeded that of the males, the disappointed mother *has been known* to sacrifice the former.’† This appears to have been

* Voyage to New Zealand, ii. 296, &c.

† Residence in New Zealand, p. 275.

the whole amount of female infanticide in New Zealand, and affords certainly slender ground for the exultation expressed by the author and his friends. We fear, indeed, we must mention another subject, respecting which Mr Cruise laboured under the darkest suspicions. Considering the extensive intercourse already alluded to, it appeared to him very mysterious that there should be no trace of any offspring betraying a mixed parentage, between the English and New Zealanders; and, on the most anxious enquiry, he could find only the alternative of infanticide or artificial abortion. Mr Earle did not puzzle his brain with this problem; but, though the cause has increased probably tenfold, there does not occur in his narrative the slightest indication of the existence of that class, the absence of which gives rise to such gloomy surmises.

There is another class of British subjects who have settled in New Zealand, and acquired an influence over its inhabitants. These are the Missionaries of the Church of England Society, who, in 1814, obtained a grant of 200 acres of land, and have since formed several other settlements. They find, however, by no means the same favour in the eyes of Mr Earle, who never mentions them but in terms of complaint and sarcasm. Without waiting for any answer from them, we can easily perceive that this alienation arose solely from an entire opposition of temper and habits. They treated him, it appears, in a polite and friendly manner, but coldly,—shunning any approach towards intimacy. All men have a right to choose their associates; and allowing fully our author's merits, he is plainly not that sedate and sober person who was likely to gain their confidence. He appeared also in intimate association with the whale-fishing crews; whom the missionaries accused, and apparently with justice, as counteracting, by their example, the moral instructions bestowed upon the islanders. The different views of the parties may be illustrated by our author's narrative of a Christmas excursion. He and several of his companions repaired to the mission-house, with the materials of a copious bowl of punch, and the determination to have a jovial celebration of the day. As they approached, however, they became most indignant to find the windows shut, and all access denied; and when, instead of the proposed merry meeting, the missionaries soon after came out to preach. The most serious transaction which he had with them was at a time when the alarm of a general war appeared to place British settlers in extreme danger. On this occasion, he avers, what we are not disinclined to believe, that the missionaries showed a much deeper concern for their own safety than for his, and even an impression that the preservation of

their lives was of more consequence to society. At the same time, we find them asserting, what he does not contradict, that they had made extraordinary exertions to transmit to him an intimation of his danger. They refused, indeed, a boy as a guide across the country; but these boys being pupils, whom the natives had intrusted to their care, could not, very justifiably, have been placed in a situation of danger; especially with a guide in whom they had not entire confidence. Indignant at this refusal, he disdained to ask a pair of shoes, which he might probably have obtained. Mr Earle seems to view as a crime the care which the missionaries took in making themselves comfortable; but if they did not neglect their sacred functions, this fault was at least venial. Perhaps, indeed, nothing could have tended more to the improvement of the natives, than the example thus set of industry, neatness, and plenty. Even Mr Earle could not withhold his admiration at the view of their cottages, in a beautiful valley,—‘complete pictures of English comfort, content, and prosperity;’ and the sight must have been equally gratifying to the eye of a New Zealander. It appears, indeed, that both their employers and themselves have made strenuous exertions to improve the temporal condition of the natives, by introducing the most useful productions, and domestic animals. Mr Earle himself admired the fine fruits which were brought down to the ship; the culture of which is admitted to have been introduced by that body. In visiting an inland chief, he was much surprised to see a very fine bull, cow, and calf, till informed that they were gifts from the missionaries. It would appear, therefore, that though whale-crews and muskets may have given the main stimulus to the improved industry of New Zealand, the missionaries have furnished the models and materials; and the one will perhaps be as essential as the other to its farther progress. Both he and Mr Cruise agree, that they have failed in producing converts; and it does not appear that they make any boast on that subject; yet it is admitted, and even complained of, that they have acquired an extraordinary influence over the minds of the people; that the chiefs anxiously desire to have a mission-settlement on their lands, and readily send their children to its schools,—which would scarcely be done if they came out, as is asserted, objects of derision. One suggestion, however, seems to merit consideration, whether it might not be advantageous to teach them to read in the English rather than in the native language; as very ample stores of information, and new ideas, otherwise inaccessible, would thus be opened to them.

On one minor point, which respects the taste displayed in the costume of these *eleves*, the author must be allowed to be a compe-

tent judge. 'These pious men,' says he, 'certainly have no taste for the picturesque; they had obscured the finest human forms under a seaman's huge clothing: Boys not more than fifteen wore jackets reaching to their knees, and buttoned up to the throat with great black horn buttons, a coarse checked shirt, the collar of which spread half-way over their face; their luxuriant beautiful hair was close cut off, and each head was crammed into a close Scotch bonnet.' There certainly could have been no objection to their being neatly, and even tastefully attired; yet the missionaries might plead, that nothing was farther from their object than to rear studies for the painter; that to have sent forth a half-naked, plumed, and painted warrior, however picturesque, was completely foreign to their design. It does not appear that his friends, the seamen of the whale ships, have been more happy in embellishing the objects of their tenderness. 'I have seen,' says he, 'a party of very handsome girls, just landing from one of the whalers, their beautiful forms hid under old greasy red or checked shirts, generally put on with the hind parts before. In some cases, the sailors knowing their taste for finery, bring out with them from London old tawdry gowns, and fierce-coloured ribands. And thus equipped, they come on shore the most grotesque objects imaginable, each highly delighted with her gaudy habiliments.'

Before closing this article, we cannot forbear adverting to a project which has been started by successive visitors of New Zealand, and which our author recommends with peculiar earnestness; namely, to make it the seat of a colony. Nothing perhaps can more strongly prove the fascination of New Zealand society, than the repeated assertions, that a colony might exist in the country in perfect security. Our author hesitates not to assert, that 'if it were the object of our government to form a new colony, they could not select a more desirable spot than New Zealand.' He insists, that the dread entertained of the New Zealanders is 'an unfortunate prejudice;' and declares, 'that a body of Europeans may now reside in perfect security in any part of these islands.' We shall need to go very little indeed beyond our author's own pages to find a complete refutation of these assertions.

The facts already referred to in Mr Earle's work sufficiently prove, that the New Zealander is in no degree become a milder or less dangerous character. He does indeed appear most desirous that English traders should come into his ports; and will endure from them wrongs, and even insults, which twenty years ago would have roused him to deeds of vengeance. But let us hear our author as to the motives of this forbearance.

‘ The whole soul of a New Zealander is absorbed in the thoughts of war ; every action of his is influenced by it, and to possess weapons which give him such decided superiority over those who have only their native implements of offence, he will sacrifice every thing. The value attached by them to muskets, and their ceaseless desire to possess them, will prove a sufficient security to those who enter their harbours, or remain on their coasts, as I know from experience, that the New Zealanders will rather put up with injuries, than run the risk of offending those who manufacture and barter with them such inestimable commodities.’ It is sufficiently evident, that the motive here assigned neither indicates any increased mildness of temper, nor would avail a colony which should settle in the country, without affording to the natives any supply of this implement of war.

What is our author's own experience ? He spent not quite six months in New Zealand (though the title-page says nine), arriving on the 30th October 1827, and departing on the 21st April 1828. During this time, his party, though in the vicinity of a tribe who were particularly friendly to them, were once robbed of nearly all they had, and twice placed in imminent peril of their lives. The first disaster was occasioned by the attack of the Narpooes, a more powerful tribe than their allies, who not only forbore attempting to defend them, but when they saw the work of plunder begun, joined in it, and ‘ proved themselves the most adroit and active thieves imaginable ;’ so that whatever the Narpooes left, they carried off. The next danger was from George, their most intimate ally, to one of whose enemies they had, with imprudent humanity, given shelter. George demanded his instant surrender, and replied to all their pleadings, ‘ Any other man than this I would have pardoned ; but it was only last year he killed and helped to eat my own uncle, whose death still remains unavenged ; I cannot allow him to leave my country alive ; if I did, I should be despised for ever.’ As the English considered their honour concerned in not giving up the refugee, George prepared to attack them with fifty or sixty armed savages, whom they were wholly unable to resist ; while the slaves behind were kindling a huge fire, on which to roast this object of enmity, and probably his defenders. Happily, by working skilfully on the chief's fears, that Englishmen would for ever quit his shores, they succeeded in effecting an accommodation. The third occasion was after George had been killed in battle, when apprehensions were entertained of a general war throughout the island. The author, who had then occasion to traverse part of the country,

saw some calamitous scenes;—villages that had been crowded with inhabitants were entirely desolate; an enterprising colony of Scotch mechanics, who had undertaken the sawing of timber, had fled; and fine harvests were waving, without any one to reap them. The imminent danger of the party is shown, by the argument with which Mr Earle attempted in vain to dissuade them from fortifying their position;—‘that in the event of our ‘allies being worsted, we should all be involved in one common ‘massacre; whereas, if no resistance was made, plunder alone ‘would have been the extent of the injury we should suffer.’ It happened fortunately, that a general meeting of the chiefs took place, and peace was concluded.

It thus appears evident, that no such mitigation of the ferocity of the New Zealanders has taken place, as could exempt a colony from alarming vicissitudes. Mr Earle urges, that there had been no general massacre of any ship's crew since that of the *Boyd*, in 1810. In 1813, however, the crew of the American brig, *Agnes*, were captured, and nearly all murdered and devoured. An account of this event, from the mouth of the seaman Rutherford, is given in a volume of the ‘*Library of Entertaining Knowledge*,’ which contains a very good summary of what was then known respecting New Zealand. But the very period of Mr Earle's residence, was signalized by an event of this nature. The *Enterprise*, a fine vessel, which had sailed from Sydney, was wrecked on the coast of New Zealand. The crew were ascertained to have reached the shore in a boat, when they were murdered, and, we presume, devoured by some party of the natives. These were supposed to have been a tribe, the enemies of those to whom the *Enterprise* was bringing a supply of muskets, and who, therefore, considered her crew as acting a hostile part. Mooetara, the friendly chief, instantly set out, and took vengeance ‘on all the hostile tribes that fell in his way.’ From the blind manner, however, in which the penalty was inflicted, it seems very uncertain, whether it fell on the real offenders.

We are willing to admit to the full, all that has been said as to the New Zealanders never proceeding to any such dreadful outrages without some provocation. But in truth, we have great doubts, or rather we have not any hopes, that all the members of a mixed colony would in their department be so very cautious, as not to give just, and even deep cause of offence to these proud islanders. We have already seen how it might be given undesignedly, through mere ignorance of their manners and superstitions. Even were all this avoided, we should not anticipate a long duration of harmony. The New Zealanders

may at present look forward with pleasure to the coming of a colony, which would gratify their love of novelty, and secure some immediate advantages. But men do not foresee the feelings which will arise in themselves under new circumstances. When they beheld their country occupied, their possessions narrowed, themselves braved, and perhaps lorded over by a band of foreigners, we have no doubt that a confederacy would be formed for their expulsion. Such a settlement would, we are convinced, soon become the signal for a war of extermination, more terrible than that which has extinguished the Indian name in the regions east of the Mississippi. We should consider it much more doubtful in the present instance how it might terminate, and which would be the party extirpated. The New Zealanders are not only brave in the highest degree, but their numbers are on the whole considerable. They have resisted the vice of intoxication, to which savages are so prone, and which to the American Indians has proved so much more fatal than the sword. They seem, besides, amid all their faults and crimes, to possess an energy and spirit of improvement, by which, with the aid of communication and example, they may raise themselves to the level of civilized society. Let Britain, then, cover with her people, her arts, and institutions, the immense regions of the Australian continent; let her drive before her, or enclose in corners, the handful of savages who wander over its surface. But let the New Zealanders have the trial, whether, by their own efforts, aided by example, they can rise from the abyss of barbarism, and present a new form of civilized life. Let them cultivate a taste, if it be possible, for the industry, arts, and humanity of Europeans, without being supplanted by them, or losing entirely those characteristics which would render them a peculiar people.

Our survey of the author's residence in New Zealand has extended to such a length, that we can barely refer to the remaining part of the work. It relates to a period which he spent, three years before, at Tristan d'Acunha. This island-rock, situate midway between Africa and America, about 1000 miles from each,—beat on the one side by the waves of the Pacific, and on the other by those of the Atlantic,—is certainly one of the wildest and most solitary spots on earth. Britain maintained there for some time a garrison, which she has now withdrawn; and only two or three families have been induced to remain, by the facility of subsistence. Its scenery and productions are delineated by Mr Earle, in vivid colours; but our limits preclude us from making any farther extracts.

ART. IV.—*Platonis Convivium. Recensuit, Illustravit L. I. Rückert. Lipsiæ: 1829.*

WE suppose that there are few ardent scholars, who have not wished to realise to their eyes and ears some of the more characteristic scenes of classical antiquity. That notion was in the mind of Swift, when he conducted Gulliver to the Island of Sorcerers: But the magic powers, there placed at the disposal of his hero, are not employed exactly as might have been desired. It was the mark of a vulgar appetite, to call up ‘Alexander the Great at the head of his army, just after the battle of Arbela.’ Perhaps, it would not have shown a much more curious taste to evoke his great Athenian adversary, amid the glories of the Bema and the Pnyx. These are things easily conceived by a quick fancy—the military pomp—the popular assembly—the monarch flushed with conquest—or even Demosthenes himself, in the agony or the triumph of Eloquence. Necromancy, in our hands, should rather have conjured up some scene, in which the aspect, mode, and fashion of antiquity, are made difficult to imagine by their distance from our own;—the exhibition of an Aristophanic comedy, with 30,000 spectators in the theatre—the inner wonders of the Mystical Temple, such as Eleusis revealed them to the enfranchised gaze of the *Epoptæ*—or that great masterpiece of a forgotten art, that beautiful blending of mental and physical enjoyment, of which we can give so minutely accurate details, yet never form a truly adequate conception, a Feast after the manner of the Ancients.

We have the word *banquet* in our language, but we have not the reality among our customs. Talk as we please of the march of refinement, it appears, like other forced marches, to have caused the dropping of many good things upon the road. At least, the important art of feasting, in the true acceptation of the term, has disappeared from what moderns call society. The men of the classical ages,

Queis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan,

better understood its theory and practice. There were of course national distinctions, affording ample room for comparison and preference. To us, for example, the elaborate freaks of Roman luxury have sometimes seemed to betray an imperfect epicurism: We read, with occasional misgivings, the fifty chapters lavished by Petronius on the supper of Trimalchio. But among the best Grecian tribes, and other kindred communities, we find admirable

specimens of scientific social relaxation. Even the rough Thracians, whose affinity with the Greeks no given number of philologists will ever disprove, had some festive customs more honoured in the observance than the breach.* They did not, with horrible barbarity, carve at table like the English; nor, like the Americans, bolt their victuals at the risk of suffocation, and decamp. They had their music and their jesters; and but for the practice of sitting upright, like the Homeric heroes, and the European savages of the present day, a practice which Athenæus has the face to praise in the teeth of his own elegant tribute to the pleasures of recumbency; †—but for this, and an inconvenient habit of *super naculum* potations, we might envy Xenophon his reception by King Seuthes. No bad thing, too, was a Macedonian entertainment of the year 300 or thereabouts before our era. Take as an example the wedding-banquet of Caranus, ‡ abundant as those flesh-pots of Camacho, from which the judicious Sancho so reluctantly withdrew; glittering with gold and silver; odorous with garlands and perfumes; enlivened with actors, jugglers, tumblers, buffoons, fire-eaters, and an octogenarian dancing-woman; and sweetened beyond all other condiments, by magnificent donations to the guests. Yet, from this picture of splendour, as from the Roman extravagancies already alluded to, we turn with a higher zest to the more simple, tasteful, recreations of genuine Greek conviviality. What an amiable specimen we have in that extemporaneous feast got up at Cotyora, by the leaders of the Ten Thousand, in honour of the Paphlagonian ambassadors! There was enough to eat, as Xenophon expressly informs us, § though they lay upon grass couches, and drank out of horn cups; and then, after due pæan and libation, came the better part of the amusements. The *brief* of these, to use Shakspeare's phrase, is far from uninviting. Imprimis, the 'lamentable comedy' of the sword-dance, in which one performer seems to strike, and the other to fall, to the great consternation of the Paphlagonians; while it is added, with all the simplicity of Bottom in the play, 'that he is not killed indeed.' || Next the beautiful *Carpæa*, one

* Xen. Anab. l. vii. c. 3.

† Athen. l. x. c. 31.—Ἐπει δὲ τρυφᾶν ἤρξαντο καὶ χλιδῶσι (he is speaking of the Greeks), κατεβύθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν διφραν ἐπὶ τὰς κλίνας. . . . χορηγούσης οἶμαι τῆς παρασκευῆς εἰς τὰς ἡδονάς. The last sentence forms an unanswerable argument in favour of the reclining posture at meals.

‡ See the curious *Convivial Epistle* of Hippolochus to Lynceus, the scholar of Theophrastus, preserved by Athenæus, l. iv. c. 2.

§ Εὐαχίαν μὲν ἀκούσα παρείχον.—Xen. Anab. l. vi. c. 1.

|| Ἡν δὲ οὐδὲν πεπονθῶς.—Xen. ubi sup.

of those mimetic exhibitions, which would have put to the blush Madame Genlis with her acted proverbs, or the charades in which even bashful Britons are occasionally tempted to expose themselves:—‘ One of the dancers having laid down his arms beside him, pretends to sow and drive a yoke of oxen, often looking over his shoulder as if alarmed—a robber approaches—the husbandman snatches up his arms and gives battle, (*all this in good time to the music of the pipe*;) at last the knave binds the true-man, and takes off both him and his beasts; or sometimes the husbandman gets the better of the robber, yokes him with the cattle, and so drives him away with his hands tied behind him.’ After this a Mysian gives the shield-dance; he has a buckler in each hand, and imitates the gestures of a pair of combatants. Then the Mantinean and Arcadian march, pæan, and other manœuvres, still all in arms, at which the ambassadors cannot sufficiently admire. Lastly, to soothe their trepidation, the Pyrrhic by a dancing-girl, who trips it with singular agility. In such convivialities we perceive, that the mere stomach was the thing least minded. And so too it was in the great centre of Hellenic arts and elegance, in the ‘Greece of Greece,’ as she was not less justly than proudly styled. Let us spread the canvass for a picture, that may respond to the Miltonic exclamation,—

‘ What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,
Of ATTIC taste, with wine?’

For spare, though delicate, was the true Athenian entertainment. The great antiquarian agrees upon this point with the learned poet. ‘ Better,’ says a hungry parasite quoted by Athenæus in his fourth book,—‘ better is the preliminary whet at Chalcis, than the whole set-out at Athens!’*—‘ It won’t do,’ cries the comic Alexis, ‘ when one expects a Thessalian to sup-
per,

In Attic guise, on calculation nice,
To wage an even battle with starvation.†

These taunts, however, must be understood with some allowance. The Athenians, like Goldsmith’s inimitable Mr Tibbs, hated ‘ your immense loads of meat, which are country all over, extremely disgusting to those who are in the least acquainted with

* Athen. l. iv. c. 8.

† We cannot see how else to render,

Οὐκ Ἀττικηρῶς, οὐδ’ ἀπικριβωμίνας
λιμῶ παρελθεῖν.

Alex. Ap. Athen. l. iv. c. 14.

‘high life.’ But if the reader will trust himself to our guidance, we become bound, that he shall not lack a sufficiency of grosser aliment, in addition to ‘the feast of reason and the flow of soul,’ which he will naturally look for in the city of Minerva.

But it must not, even with Athenians as our hosts—it must not be a *family-party*. Against this Menander warns us:—

Ἔργον ἐστὶν εἰς τρίκλινον συγγενείας εἰσπεσεῖν,—κ. τ. λ.*

A bore it is to take pot-luck, with welcome frank and hearty,
 All at the board round which is placed a downright family-party.
 Old daddy seizes first the cup, and so begins his story,
 And lectures on, with saws and jokes—a Mentor in his glory.
 The mother next, and grandam too, confound you with their babble;
 And worse and worse, the grandam’s sire will mump, and grunt, and
 gabble;
 His daughter with her toothless gums, lisps out “*the dear old fellow!*”
 And round and round the dotard nods, as fast as he grows mellow.

Avoiding these mutual endearments, and the risk of salt-fish, cabbage, and vetches, with which such a scene would be accompanied, we undertake to cater at once for company, viands, and amusement. Let the time be during the great Panathenæan festival—the place a villa in the Peiræus.† You shall have a wealthy citizen or two, a victor in the games, (as being a mere youth he shall *sit*, while his father and the rest recline,) and a philosopher, with some four or five of his disciples. Or suppose a snug party at a tragic poet’s, the day after his *Epinicia*, or triumphal feast:‡ here will be found a brother dramatist of the comic school, perhaps a conversational physician, without doubt something in the shape of a philosopher, with fragments of his *tail*, and by good luck a statesman may drop in. Then, as to the *matériel* of the banquet, we cannot take a better guide than a few extracts from the famous parodist Matron, whose verses are preserved by Athenæus.§ We need not say what poems he is imitating.||

Δεῖπνα μοι ἔνεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπα, καὶ μάλα πολλὰ,—κ. τ. λ.

* Menand. ap. Athen. l. ii. c. 86.

† Xen. Conviv. c. 1.

‡ Plat. Convivium.

§ Athen. l. iv. c. 13.

|| Almost every line is an imitation of some passage in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. ‘We cannot wonder,’ says Mr Twining, ‘at its effect upon a people who had all Homer in their memories.’—Twining’s *Aristotle on Poetry*, Note 15.

The feast, for cookery's various cates renown'd,
 By Attic host bestow'd, Oh Muse! resound.
 There too I went, with hunger in my train,
 And saw the loaves by hundreds pour'd amain,
 Beauteous to view, and vast beyond compare,
 Whiter than snow, and sweet as wheaten fare.

After the bread—always an important part of an Athenian supper—he commemorates the green groceries and shell-fish:—

Ἐνθ' ἄλλοι πάντες λαχάνους ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἱάλλον, — κ. τ. λ.

Then all to pot-herbs stretch'd their hands in haste,
 But various viands lur'd my nicer taste;
 Choice bulbs, asparagus, and, daintier yet,
 Fat oysters help my appetite to whet.

About thirty different kinds of fish are next immortalized in sounding hexameters—the anchovy, the turbot, the mullet, the eel, the thunny, and many of inferior note and name. We can make room only for a grand *entrée*,—

Ἦλθε δὲ Νηρῆος θυγάτηρ, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα
 Σηπίνη εὐπλόκαμος, — κ. τ. λ.

Like Thetis' self, the silver-footed dame—
 Great Nereus' daughter, curly cuttle came;
 Illustrious fish! that sole amid the brine
 With equal ease can black and white divine;
 There too I saw the Tityus of the main,
 Huge conger—countless plates his bulk sustain,
 And o'er nine boards he rolls his cumbrous train!

* * * * *

Right up stairs, down stairs, over high and low,
 The cook, with shoulder'd dishes marches slow,
 And forty sable pots behind him go.

'Ham and mustard' are not forgotten, though it causes the poet a sigh, to think that on the morrow these must be exchanged for the cheese and bannock of his own economical *ménage*. There is fowl, moreover, as well as fish:—

Παῖς δέ τις ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀγει τρισκαίδεκα νήσσας, — κ. τ. λ.

With these appear'd the Salaminian bands,
 Thirteen fat ducklings borne by servile hands;
 Proudly the cook led on the long array,
 And placed them where the Athenian squadrons lay.

A much-to-be-deplored hiatus must intervene in our translation, before we give the conclusion of the feast:—

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόρποιο μελίφρονος ἕξ ἔρον ἔντο, — κ. τ. λ.

When now the rage of hunger was repress,
 And the pure lymph had sprinkled every guest,

Sweet lili'd unguents* brought one blooming slave,
 And one from left to right fresh garlands gave ;
 With Lesbian wine the bowl was quick supplied,
 Man vied with man to drain the racy tide ;
 Then groan'd the SECOND TABLES laden high,
 Where grapes and cool pomegranates please the eye,
 The lusty apple, and the juicy pear—
 Yet nought I touch'd, supinely lounging there ;
 But when the huge round CAKE† of golden hue,
 Ceres' best offspring, met my raptur'd view,
 No more these hands their eager grasp restrain,
 How should such gift celestial tempt in vain ?

The additional means of recreation must depend upon the humour of the company—gay or grave—lively or severe. If their mood be gay, besides enough of talk, and a little singing, by the banqueters themselves, you shall have a professional buffoon‡—a regular diner-out, who pays for meat in jokes, and introduces himself under cover of a pun. When the tables are withdrawn, a Syracusan master of revels shall lead in his band of three performers,—a boy, a female piper, and one who blends the character of dancing-girl and juggler. The boy is handsome, and plays deftly on the lyre. He can sing, too, and dance with gestures as graceful as the girl's : and not a motion shall he make, which the buffoon will not travesty in a living caricature. Then the girl, as she dances, shall keep throwing and catching a dozen hoops at a time ; or she shall fling somersets in and out of a circle set round with pointed swords.

But room for a more attractive spectacle ! THE BALLET OF BACCHUS AND ARIADNE. The fair representative of the Naxian goddess, dressed as a blooming Eastern bride, is seated in the nuptial chamber. The deity of wine, flushed with celestial revelry, draws near, while the measure called by his own name is sounded on the pipe. Now comes the trial of dramatic skill. Triumph sparkles in the eyes of Ariadne ; she does not rise, nor run to meet him, but you see that she can hardly keep her

* Socrates objects to this part of an Attic entertainment. See his remonstrance, and the curious reasons on which he grounds it, in Xen. Conviv. c. 2.

† The fourteenth book of Athenæus, (cc. 51—58) must be consulted by those who wish to know how high a place was held by the whole family of cakes among the delicacies of the ancients—what an infinite variety of shapes and names they bore—and by what endearing epithets their merits are recommended to the notice of the epicure.

‡ Xen. Convivium.

seat for joy. Her immortal lover moves towards her in the dance—a kiss is printed on her lips—he sinks upon her knees. She blushes ‘rosy red, love’s proper hue’—yet is not that embrace left unreturned. But it would require the pen of Wieland, or of Xenophon himself, to do justice to that scene of exquisite dalliance. Suffice to say that the spectators will greet it with long plaudits, and thunders of *encore*.*

But suppose you are of Plato’s† opinion that these pleasures are signs of a plebeian taste, and that the true gentlemen—the *καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ συμπόται*—to whom, however, he permits the refreshment of hard drinking,‡ may be abundantly diverted by means of their own resources, without the hired aid of dancing-girls and musical professors. Why, in that case, there is nothing for it but, after libation, and a hymn, and a few customary ceremonies,§ to send away the female minstrel, to pipe to herself if she like, or to the women in the gynæceum, and so to set in for polite conversation. Luckily that name may fairly be applied to the *λόγοι ἐπικυλικεῖοι*, the *bottle-talk* of Athens. It will want some of the charms of modern post-prandian discourse. There will be no buz of scandal—no din of politics—not a word about trusts and turnpikes. But these deficiencies will peradventure be forgiven to men who can be didactic without being tedious—metaphysical without being dull—and even disputatious without being angry. They will display, in all abundance, diversity of sentiment, and rivalry of wit, and smartness of irony; but they will not wax red in the face—call each other *Sir*—and part enemies for life.

This character of Attic conversation might be easily corroborated by an appeal to the ancient authorities of which we have already made use. To the imitative genius of the Greeks the whole scenery and action of a convivial entertainment offered too tempting a subject to be passed over in silence. Accordingly many pens did honour to the Good Genius of festive enjoyment. Not to mention the authors of gastronomies, gastrologies, or other treatises on cookery—by whatever name they may be called—we could give, from Athenæus and other sources, a pretty ample catalogue of writers, both of verse and prose, who indulged their fancy in symposiac descriptions. We are not

* Οἱ δὲ συμπόται ὀρώντες ἅμα μὲν ἐκρότου, ἅμα δὲ βόων αὐθις. Xen. Conviv. c. 9. For the rest of the description, and an account of the effect on the beholders, the original must be consulted.

† Plat. Protag. p. 344. ed. Bek.

‡ Κἄν πάνυ πολὺν οἶνον πίωνιν. Plat. Protag. ubi sup.

§ Plat. Conviv. §. 5.

sure that the loss of the supper of Timachidas—an epic poem in eleven cantos* of orthodox hexameter—is much to be deplored; but who does not regret the Banquet of Epicurus,† and all the light—now for ever lost—which it would have thrown upon his amiable philosophy? Yet he is blamed, in the Deipnosophists, as deficient not only in the specifications of place and time, but in the far more essential grace of variety. *All partisans of the atomic theory—and all currying each other's backs with the most sage-like mutual adulation*—such are the colours in which the heroes of his symposium are pourtrayed.‡ It must be observed, however, that the same critic, who thus censures Epicurus, is not a whit more gentle in speaking of two extant compositions§—one from the hand of Xenophon, and one from that of Plato—whose beauties appear to us to be of the highest order, and to demand something better than a cursory allusion, whenever the topics to which they relate are brought into notice.

How well qualified Athenæus was to criticise such productions—conceived and executed as they both are in the very spirit of elegance—may be inferred from the fact that he urges against them grave accusations of anachronism, and want of fidelity.|| As if the object of these admirable writers had been to study chronological precision, or historical exactness, rather than truth of character, and picturesqueness of dramatic effect! So speaks in their behalf the prince of chronologers,¶ who has a

* Athen. l. i. c. 8.

† Athen. l. v. c. 3, &c.

‡ Athen. l. v. cc. 3, 12.

§ See Athenæus on the banquets of Plato and Xenophon; l. v. cc. 12, 13.

|| Athen. l. v. cc. 56, 57.

¶ Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. p. 224.—By the way, in his first count against Xenophon, Athenæus most probably is the real blunderer. The charge is that Xenophon introduces *himself* at the supper of Callias (B. C. 421), when, says the antiquarian, he was perhaps not born,—at least a mere boy. But Xenophon appears to have been born about B. C. 444 (*Corsini Fast. Att.* tom. iii. p. 7), and of course was old enough to take a part—especially as a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον* (for he does not say any thing)—at an entertainment given 23 years later. The second charge proceeds upon the notion that Xenophon makes Socrates allude to something that passed at the feast of Agathon (in February B. C. 416), as described by Plato. But this is a gratuitous assumption. Xenophon seems not to have thought of the feast of Agathon; in the passage on which Athenæus attacks him. In Plato's banquet there is a glaring anachronism, where Aristophanes speaks of the dispersion of the Mantineans, which did not take place until B. C. 385—more than thirty years after Agathon's entertainment. But, instead

paramount claim to be heard upon any question of this nature. Nor less idle is that sort of criticism which would press the banquets of Xenophon and Plato into a demonstration of the famous quarrel supposed to have existed between these illustrious disciples of a common master. There are differences, no doubt, in their modes of managing the subject. We have followed their differences as a clew in tracing out two distinct kinds of entertainment. Xenophon keeps the piper and her musical companions: Plato turns her out. Xenophon introduces a buffoon: in Plato whatever buffonery appears is chargeable on the *καλοῦργαθοὶ* themselves. But there is nothing like antagonism in this; no running of one work in a tilt against the other. It is even impossible to determine which of the two was first written. Weiske and his party give the precedence to Plato: Böckh agrees with another party in giving the precedence to Xenophon. According to Böckh, Plato had Xenophon in his eye while writing, yet wrote without any manifestation of hostility; according to Schneider, Xenophon wrote in express opposition to Plato: according to us, this is a foolish controversy, and instead of arraying the feasts in adverse competition, it will be better to do justice to their separate merits.

From Xenophon we have borrowed largely in previous paragraphs. His symposium reflects a graceful but sincere image of elegant Athenian life. Nothing can be more pleasingly imagined than the whole of this little drama. The opulent Callias gives a supper in honour of Autolycus, who, at the Panathenæan games, has borne off the prize of the Pancratium. Having taken his young friend to see the races in the morning, he is now on the way, accompanied by him and his father, to a house—not by any means his only house*—possessed by him in the Peiræus. They are followed by Niceratus—a husband still in his honeymoon—and stumble upon Socrates, surrounded as usual by a knot of disciples. Sending some one to show Autolycus the road, Callias goes up to the philosopher, and presses him, with his four familiars, to join the party. ‘He shall feel more ‘honoured’, he says, ‘by having such men at his table, than by ‘the company of generals, colonels of cavalry, and candidates for

of reprobating this, Athenæus merely says that the symposium is a ‘trifling figment’—ὄλως ληθές ἐστι— which could not be exact in its details, since Plato (born B. C. 429) was only in his fourteenth year at the time when it was held! Plato, like any other *dramatist* of a real event, proceeds upon a basis of truth, but to expect perfect accuracy in the superstructure would be absurd.

* See Schol. ad Aristoph. Ran. v. 504.

‘office.’ Hereupon the great Ironist does not fail to display a little of his peculiar talent; the others make a show of declining the invitation, ‘as was naturally to be expected,’ observes Xenophon—(how similar in all ages are the forms of courtesy!)—but, as also was naturally to be expected, they do not like to break the heart of Callias by persisting in their refusal. So, after some have taken a bout in the palæstra, and some have anointed themselves, and some have bathed, they assemble at his hospitable board. A part of the recreations then provided for them has been described by us with sufficient minuteness; but the entire properties and action—so to speak—of the piece are set forth and sustained with equal vivacity. There is the star-like beauty of the young pancratiast, which, ‘as a light shining in the darkness,’ makes him the cynosure of every eye; there is the hearty mirth and boon companionship of Socrates, mixed up with his caustic humour, and his shrewd, man-of-the-worldlike observations; and above all there is a determined effort throughout, both in the main plot and in the by-play, to heap honour and glory on that extraordinary man, whom the soul of Xenophon loved, and who, whatever faults there might be in his philosophy, had at least the art to bind to himself, with indissoluble cords, the affections of his wisest, best, and most amiable contemporaries.

Partly in honour of that ‘old man eloquent,’ of whose person, character, and habits, so lively a picture is drawn in the course of the work—and partly to unburthen his teeming mind of some of its devotion to abstract love and immaterial beauty—did Plato, too, compose a banquet. Though it cannot be said to surpass Xenophon’s in grace or picturesqueness, yet the flight it takes is unquestionably higher; and those sublime persons, who may find something to sneer at in the feast of Callias, will have room to lavish their enthusiasm on almost the whole of the supper of Agathon. Its divine eloquence—great part of it in that difficult style, hovering between prose and poetry, which was pronounced by Burke to be superior to either—forms certainly the principal charm of this beautiful dialogue; yet here, likewise, as in most of the Platonic compositions, the introduction, and all the accompanying incidents, are essentially dramatic, and full of those delicate touches of reality which reveal the pencil of a master. Even the oblique, second-hand method of narration adopted by the author—for Apollodorus is made to repeat to a companion what he himself had heard from the ‘little, bare-footed’ Aristodemus—even this mode of telling the story, though at first sight it looks rather clumsy, is so managed as to produce a pleasing and natural effect. The entertainment, he says, was given many long years before; but Aristodemus had

been one of the company, as it became a prodigious admirer of Socrates to be; and, besides, the sage himself had confirmed his account in several particulars. This 'little, unshod' disciple had one day encountered the son of Sophroniscus, fresh-washed, and—contrary to his usual philosophic contempt of such conveniences—with his feet cased in slippers. 'Whether are you bound, and why so smart?' was the question he felt impelled to ask. 'To sup with Agathon,' answered Socrates. 'I avoided him yesterday, on his great day*—not relishing the idea of the crowd—' but promised to be with him this evening; and, as to this 'smartness of mine, why, "sweets to the sweet,"† you know.—' But what say you, Aristodemus? Are you inclined to go along with me, without any invitation?' Some more of the same sort of painting follows. Socrates, lost in meditation, lags upon the way. His friend, however, is received by Agathon with the easy tone of polished society all over the world: 'Ha! Aristodemus, you are come in good time to sup with us—if any thing else in the shape of business has brought you, put it off for the present. I was looking for you yesterday to ask you, but could not set eyes upon you. But what have you made of Socrates?'—Whether Plato meant to be in some slight degree satirical even at the expense of his mighty master—or whether he wrote in perfect unconsciousness of the impression he was likely to produce—it is hard to decide; but assuredly there is much comic force in the sketch of certain little affectations by which this enquiry has been caused. The absence of mind which Socrates displays upon the street—the turning aside into a neighbour's porch, where he stands wrapt in vision—his total inattention to the summons of Agathon's domestic—his appearance at last when supper is half-over—all these are diverting characteristic traits of a philosopher who knew precisely how far mankind may be worked upon through their gaping love of singularity, and who carried his passion for stage-effect down to the latest moment of his life. But at last, as we have said, the great lion of the evening appears, and takes his place beside the landlord. At the proposal of one of the guests, seconded by Aristophanes—whom we here find on the most amicable terms with the hero of the 'Clouds'—*Liberty-Hall* is proclaimed. The important privilege of voluntary drinking being thus secured, and the music turned out of the room, Eryximachus the physician makes a motion that

* Τοῖς ἐπινικίαις—the day of his *Epinicia*, or triumphal feast. Agathon had won the prize of tragedy.

† Ἴνα καλὸς παρὰ καλὸν ἴα.

their discourse shall be a celebration of the praises of Love. That some such discourse actually occurred, and made no little noise in Athens at the time, may be inferred from more than one passage in the dialogue; but though the style and temper of the different speakers are evidently preserved to the very life in the report of their orations, we must not suppose that Plato pretends to give an exact statement of their words and arguments. Yet, did our limits allow, we would gladly give an abstract of those singular specimens of colloquial epideictic eloquence, and show with what dramatic skill the author has diversified their tone,—from the vague enthusiasm and mythic lore of Phædrus, to the more masculine simplicity and accurate distinctions of Pausanias—the professional harangue of the physician—the grotesque imagery, wild rampant humour, and exquisite diction of Aristophanes—the sophistical subtleties and florid rhetoric of Agathon—the rich irony, the interrogatory slyness, the bold morality, the transcendant sublimity of Socrates—

But hark! a tumult thunders at the gate—the sound of merry-makers and the voice of minstrels. Shouting loud as he approaches—calling ‘for Agathon,’ and demanding ‘to be led to ‘Agathon’—supported on one side by the woman whose music has been heard without, on the other by the arms of his attendants—a reveller staggers through the hall and stops at the open doors of the banqueting apartment. His features glow with wine—ribands flutter round his head—a thick coronet of violets and ivy clasps his brow.—That is *ALCIBIADES*. In the flower of his manly prime, in the bloom of his wonderful talents, in the full blow of his vices, there stands the great moral Antithesis, the living type of the Athenian character—the warrior, the fop—the statesman, the voluptuary—the demagogue, the patriot—the orator, the drunkard—the lisper, on whose utterance assemblies hung—the spendthrift, whose extravagance did honour to his native land—the man who would have made his country mistress of the world—the man who destroyed her!

We are not going to say any thing here of the brilliant enco-mium on Socrates which is put into the mouth of Alcibiades. It is full of gaiety and banter, combined with an effusion of honest warmth and strokes of vigorous description. But there are one or two convivial incidents, connected with his appearance, that must not be omitted. Drunk as he is when he comes in, he constitutes himself at once symposiarch,—deliberately orders a huge cooler, holding at the least four pints, to be filled with wine,—and drains it to the bottom. Socrates, whose well-seasoned stomach was accustomed to such feats, is the only one to follow his example. Then his irruption having shown the

way, no sooner is his speech concluded, then a fresh band of festive rioters break into the room. All now is noise, disorder, and intense drinking. Phædrus, the physician, and some others steal away. Aristodemus sinks into a long slumber—for the nights, we are told, were long at the time—and wakens not till cock-crow. Rubbing his eyes and looking round him, he perceives that all the rest are gone or napping upon the couches; but *there* are Agathon, Aristophanes, and Socrates still at it, boxing about a large goblet, to which they pay their successive devotions. Socrates seems to have the talk to himself. All that he was saying Aristodemus cannot pretend to remember, for he was yet more than half-asleep; but, as far as he could comprehend, the philosopher was lecturing the two dramatists on their own art, and compelling them to admit that the talent for comic and tragic composition is one and the same. Out-argued, rather than convinced, they nod as he harangues. First Aristophanes drops over—he had been well *soaked*, as he expresses it,* the day before; and early in the night has had a fit of the hiccup, which he cures by tickling his nose. Agathon falls next, by the time that the light has fairly dawned. And so Socrates, having laid them both prostrate, gets up and goes his way to the Lyceum, spends the whole day in that favourite haunt, and does not think of home or of bed until the evening.

Plato having written a symposium, Plutarch also thinks it necessary to give us the picture of a banquet. We wish any one would read it who is not yet convinced of the justice of an opinion formerly avowed by us,† that the Bœotian should have kept to his biographies. And having done so, let him explain to us, if he can, why Mr Mitchell bestows upon it the epithet of *excellent*.‡ Though we do not, on that account, with some scholars, hold it to be spurious, yet with them we rate it as a poor, trivial, and jejune performance,—devoid of fancy, spirit, or elegance. ‘Compared with Xenophon’s,’ says Reiske, and, he might have added, with Plato’s, ‘it looks no better than a schoolboy’s ‘exercise.’ The conception is extremely crude. Supposing it had been possible for the Seven Sages to be collected at the table of Periander, who but Plutarch would have thought of bringing so many luminaries together for any purpose of edification or amusement? Even *two* suns cannot shine in one hemisphere, nor two wits at one board. Inevitably ‘the first lion

* Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔμει τῶν χθὲς βεβαπτισμένων.

† No. CVII. p. 58.

‡ Trans. of Aristophanes, vol. ii. p. 174.

‘thinks the last a bore.’ There must be some conversational hero—some Socrates, as in the banquets of Plato and Xenophon—to carry all before him. This Plutarch did not see. And the execution is not superior to the plan. There is no air of life and reality breathed over it. The few touches of that kind which the author does attempt, are signally unfortunate;—the truly *Neapolitan* sketch, for example, of Anacharsis seated in the portico, while a damsel *passes her fingers through his hair*; in return for which amiable attention, he is to impart to her the Scythian method of cathartics! Having made women part of his company, Plutarch is the less excusable for the want of lightness and vivacity in a scene, which he seems, indeed, merely to have chosen as a vehicle for a certain quantity of anecdotes, riddles, and conundrums, utterly unconscious of its further capabilities, and untaught by preceding genius as to the grace and beauty with which it might be clothed.

When engaged with the subject of convivial antiquities, it would be ungrateful to slur over the name of Athenæus. His massive and multifarious work does not, however, belong to the same class with those already reviewed. In the first place, it does not come under the category of *Greek* banquets, since the feast of the Deipnosophists is given at Rome by a Roman. Moreover, the imitative form, though the author, or his epitomizer for him, claims the merit of dramatizing in the fashion of Plato, might just as well not have been assumed. It is no dramatic representation of what was likely to occur at a party of literary epicures. Though we have the *savans* at supper, the supper, for all the purposes achieved, might have been given without the *savans*. In their characters there is no individuality; in their talk no reciprocation; and in the action a remorseless contempt of all the unities. How could any mortal conversation drag on through fifteen books, to the extent of five octavo volumes?* How could the productions of every season, without a miracle, be congregated at one festive display? But to say the truth, Athenæus seems generally to forget his framework altogether. Only now and then are we reminded that there are *dramatis personæ* and the outline of a plot. The real character of his work is a vast repository of information upon topics of the most heterogeneous description—kings and cookery—fish and physicians—pot-herbs and poets—all things of earth, all

* We give no weight to Schweighäuser's conjecture, that the supper may be supposed to continue for several days. He has evidently misunderstood some of the passages cited in support of this theory.

things of ocean, and all things of air. It is an exhaustless quarry for the antiquarian, and—witness Ælian and Eustathius—a never-failing resource for the plagiarist. The author appears to have wished to erect a monument, not of his genius or judgment, but of his learning; not to exhibit his own thoughts or powers, but to record what others—historians, poets, orators, philosophers, grammarians—had said or sung upon an infinite variety of subjects. In favour of his erudition, it is enough to mention that he quotes at least eight hundred writers, some of them fifty times over; and that in theatrical literature alone, two thousand pieces must have formed a portion of his reading. And thus, though the Deipnosophists exhibit no resemblance of an actual ancient entertainment, thither must every one repair who would combine correct ideas of the several parts of which it was made up.

Among these parts was one, hitherto but slightly alluded to, upon which we hold ourselves pledged* to offer some observations. In a fine burst of sentiment, conceived in that spirit of melancholy which so often at once saddens and beautifies his poetry, and which makes him, amid all his faults, both as an artist and a moralist, the most bewitching of tragic writers, Euripides has complained of that ancestral folly, by which music and song were introduced into the circle of convivial pleasures.† But how could it have been otherwise in the country of *his* ancestors? Greece was, without exaggeration, a land of minstrelsy. It is not to a few great names and splendid exhibitions, to temples, and theatres, and national assemblies, that we need appeal for proof of this assertion. View her people in their domestic occupations, their hours of labour or refreshment; peep into their houses, their workshops, their taverns; survey their farms, their vineyards, their gardens; from all arises an universal sound of melody. The Greek weaver sang at his loom; the Greek baker sang beside his bolter; the reapers sang in the field, the water-drawers at the well; the ‘women grinding at the mill’ beguiled their toils with song:

ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει· κ. τ. λ. †

* See No. CIX. p. 201.

† Eur. Med. v. 193. ‘Who but Euripides,’ somewhere observes the acute James Tate of Richmond, ‘would have thought of putting that exquisite passage into the mouth of a nurse?’ Euripides was a true stickler for *equality of speech*.

‡ Plutarch. Sept. Sapien. Conviv.

Grind, grind away, mill,
 Pittacns, too, is a grinder,
 And yet Mitylene is still,
 And suffers his edicts to bind her.
 Tally-yo-ho, yo-ho,
 Tally-yo-ho the grinder !

On board ship was heard one kind of strains ; around the wine-press pealed another ; the shepherd had his own peculiar stave ; the ox-herd rejoiced in ballads more suited to the ears of ‘ horned ‘ bestial ;’ the ‘ godlike ‘ swineherd disdained to be outdone. Greek nurses, like other nurses, soothed fretful infancy with lullabies ; Greek bathing-men, unlike the grim race of modern bathing-women, were given to be musical. At bed and board, in grief, in love, in battle, in festivity, walking, running, swinging, sitting, or recumbent, still they sang. Young men and maidens, old women and children, woke the untiring echoes. Beggars asked for alms in verse.* No occasion, great or small, of a mortal career, was without its appropriate harmony ; marriage had its epithalamia—its soporific† strains at midnight—its rousing strains‡ in the morning ; parturition had its hymns to Diana ; Death himself was forced to drop the curtain to soft music.

How, then, we repeat, could convivial entertainments be forsaken by the Muses ? It might be very well for the gruff Romans, whose temperament never attained the fascinating airiness of the Greek character, to scout them from the table.§ And the specimens of festive melody, which it has been our own fortune to hear, do not impress us with an ardent desire for their general reintroduction into modern society. But with the Greeks the custom of convivial song,—based upon a religious observance,|| maintained with due solemnity among the domestic habits of heroic life,** and admirably harmonizing with the genius of the language and of the people who spoke it,—was not suffered to grow obsolete. What had been decorous at the feasts of great chiefs and ancient kings—what had been ascribed to the gods themselves as a fit accompaniment of nectar and ambrosia††—continued, unlike many celestial things, to hold its place in the

* For elegant specimens of the mendicant songs, (*χελιδονίσματα, κορωναίσματα,*) see Mitchell's translations of Aristophanes, vol. i. pp. 197, 267. The originals are in Athenæus.

† Κατακοιμητικά.

‡ Διεγερτικά.

§ Cic. Tusc. i. 2.

|| Hom. Il. A. 472.

** Hom. Od. A. 154. ©. 72.

†† Hom. Il. A. 601

most exclusive circles of even Athenian fashion. Imagine the Prince of Waterloo called on for a song—and his reputation, whether as warrior or statesman, sinking with a conservative party, on account of his refusal to favour the company! Yet, if we recollect aright, both Cimon and Themistocles lost caste with their contemporaries for something of the kind; and the youth in Aristophanes, who affects to despise vocal accomplishments,* is evidently a person of bad style, who would not have risen above the flash level in a London career. On the other hand, the comic poet—himself (as we perceive through all his coarseness) a man of consummate manners—takes care, in the conclusion of the Wasps, or ‘the Dicast turned gentleman,’ according to the ingenious term suggested by Mr Mitchell, to represent the power of joining in a catch as one of those *talens de société* most indispensable to the success of an “exquisite” at Athens. The law of *no song no supper* was not absolutely enforced upon individuals; but at least there was no supper without a song.

We are not going to trace the prevalence of this custom through the different communities of Greece, nor to enter into all the details of the subject which might please an antiquarian, otherwise we might note the Pæan among other curious particulars of the Arcadian *mazonés*, or Bacchanalian feasts; we might say a word or two upon the banquets of the Rhapsodists,† and upon that strange prototype of a modern Dutch concert, the Syrbenæan chorus, in which every one sang in the strain or measure he best liked, and the leader of the band was the most tumultuous and irregular of all.‡ But we propose to confine our observations to the Attic varieties of convivial song.

Of these Julius Pollux, in his *Onomasticon*, appears to enumerate only two. But four kinds may be easily distinguished. There was first the *Pæan*, a hymn in honour of some deity, chanted by the whole company in full chorus; there was then a round of *Solos*, each guest singing in succession to the lyre, if he could play upon that instrument, or, if not, with a branch of myrtle in his hand; there were those stormy serenades, the *Comi*, shouted by midnight revellers to the music of the pipe; sometimes within doors, but more frequently upon the streets, to the dismay of all sober citizens, whose closed gates were not always a sure barrier against the irruption of the drunken performers; and there were the *Scolia*, the most remarkable species

* Aristoph. *Nubes*, v. 1340.

† Athen. l. vii. c. 1.

‡ Athen. l. xv. c. 54.

of festive poetry, suggesting, by their mere name, many questions that have long been debated among scholars.

The origin of that name, which is at least as old as the time of Pindar, is one of the most curious of these questions. Without entering, however, into an examination of all the strange etymologies that have been proposed—the most of which are carefully reported by the venerable Potter—we declare for the opinion of Dicæarchus, the pupil of Aristotle, who, living at a time when the amusement was still in vogue, and having probably joined in many a bout of it in his day, speaks from the fresh impression of a current belief with more authority than can ever be assigned to etymological guesses. According to him, this species of catch was called *Scolium*, ‘crooked’ or ‘oblique,’ from the irregular and interrupted order in which it was sung, by those of the company, wherever they might be placed, who were skilful enough to take a part, and who had either their memories stored with the favourite pieces, or readiness enough to strike in with extemporaneous effusions of similar argument to the ditty of the first performer. To preserve an agreement in the sense—and, if possible, likewise in the measure—throughout each series, was accounted a trial of ability. But we gather from a famous scene in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, already alluded to, that unexpected turns of sentiment, and sudden strokes of satire—quite in the spirit of the most ancient Greek festive songs*—were congenial to a style of poetry, whose graver specimens of power or elegance proceeded from such pens as those of Sappho, Simonides, Praxilla—perhaps Aristotle.† Take Mr Mitchell’s version, with all its amplifications:

Bdelycleon. A strain from the attendant lyrist follows.
Then, for your fellow-drinkers there are met
Theorus, Cleon, Æschines, and Phanes,
And a rough fellow at Acestor’s side,
Of the same fashion as himself. You join
The circle—well—catches go round—let’s see
How you will bear your part.—

Philocleon. Nay, for a song,
Not one of all our mountaineers excels me.

* Consult the hymn to Mercury, v. 52.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τῷζε Φίρων ἑρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα
Πλήτρω ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέρος· ἢ δ’ ὑπὸ χειρὸς
Σμερδαλίον κονίβησι· θεὸς δ’ ὑπὸ καλὸν αἰεῖν
Ἐξ αυτοσχεδίης πειράμενος, ἥύτε κούροι
Ἦβηται θάλισσι παραίβολα κερταίουσιν.

† His *Pæan*, as some account it, is by others held to be a *Scolium*.

Bdel. To the proof—suppose me Cleon—good: what next?
I chant a stanza from Harmodius—good—
You take me up.—Now I begin.

(*Preludes, then sings.*)

*Burgh and city, hill and dale,
Search them all—and mark my tale;
You'll not find in Attic land,—*

Phil. (*Preludes, then sings.*)

*Mong the little or the great,
For this knave a duplicate,
Take him either tongue or hand.*

Bdel. 'Twill cost your life to utter such a speech;
He'll bellow endless exile, ruin, death,
Within your ears.

Phil. Then I've another strain:
Stop and pause, madd'ning wretch, hold thy frenzied career!
'Tis for Athens I plead, 'tis for her I show fear:
Impending destruction hangs over her walls:
The bolt's shot—all is over—she totters, she falls!"

Bdel. Put case, Theorus then, your next-hand neighbour,
Grasp hard at Cleon's hand, and chant as follows.

*As the story-books tell
In old times it befell,
That Admetus—but read and you'll know, sirs,
For the gallant and brave,
Who think light of a grave,
How the heart-springs more cheerily flow, sirs.*

What ready answer have you now to that?

Phil. An answer, boy, full, loud, and musical.

*From sycophants base
Who are looking for place,
Jove in mercy thy servant defend!
From tricksters that fawn
Upon purple or lawn;
But most from a two-sided friend.*

&c., &c., &c.

In Italy, even at the present hour, there is a convivial practice somewhat similar to this phasis of the classical diversion. 'After their dinners and suppers', says Lord Byron in one of his characteristic letters, 'they make extempore verses and 'buffoon one another; but it is in a humour which you would 'not enter into, ye of the north.' Among *us of the north*, at least among our German brethren, the only faint resemblance of the *Scolia*, which we can trace, is in the *liver-rhymes*, as they were named from the allusion with which they always commenced, that once were chanted round the board of Teutonic festivity. The following *Highgate* distich will yield an example:

Die Leber ist vom Hecht, und nicht von einem Schein,
Wem Wasser schmeckt, der trinck's; ich trinke lieber Wein.

The liver is a pike's, it is not of a swine,
Drink water he who likes—I'd rather drink good wine!

Why the pike's liver was honoured with this peculiar mention, in preference to that of any other animal, the Germans themselves, as far as we know, do not pretend to explain; and the puerile and ridiculous nature of the verses thus distinguished, relieves us from the necessity of further noticing the subject.

Very different was the merit of the Grecian catches. Some of the noblest breathings of impassioned minstrelsy, of which the Greek language can boast, appeared under this convivial form. We know no poetry, for instance, in any tongue, that excels in glorious strength and simplicity, the celebrated lines in honour of the slayers of Hipparchus. Their author, who deserved to be immortal, is not certainly known; but though chronology laughs at the error of those who have ascribed them to Alcæus, they are not unworthy of his 'golden plectrum' and 'threatening strings.' We shall print them according to the arrangement of Ilgen.*

1.

Ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω
ὡσπερ Ἄρμῶδιος κ' Ἀριστογείταν,
ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην,
ἰσολόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην.

2.

Ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,
ὡσπερ Ἄρμῶδιος κ' Ἀριστογείταν,
ὅτ' Ἀθηναίης ἐν θυσίαις
ἄνδρα τύραννον Ἰππαρχον ἐκαινέτην.

3.

Ἄει σφῶν κλέος ἔσσεται κατ' αἶαν
Φίλταθ' Ἄρμῶδιος κ' Ἀριστογείταν,
ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανετο
ἰσολόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησατόν.

4.

Φίλταθ' Ἄρμῶδι', οὐ τι που τέθηκας
νήσοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σε Φασίν εἶναι,
ἵνα περ ποδάκι' Ἀχιλῆα
Τυδείδην τε ἰσθλον Διομήδεα.

* ΣΚΟΛΙΑ, hoc est Carmina Convivalia Græcorum, &c. Edidit Carolus David Ilgen. Jenæ, 1798.

If with the measure of Burns we could assume his mantle, it might be possible to convey the spirit of these thrilling stanzas to the English reader :

1.

Wreath'd with myrtles be my glaive,
Like the falchion of the brave,
Death to Athens' lord that gave,
Death to tyranny !

2.

Yes ! let myrtle-wreaths be round
Such as then the falchion bound,
When with deeds the feast was crown'd,
Done for liberty !

3.

Voiced by Fame eternally,
Noble pair ! your names shall be,
For the stroke that made us free,
When the tyrant fell.

4.

Death, Harmodius ! came not near thee,
Isles of bliss and brightness cheer thee,
There heroic breasts revere thee,
There the mighty dwell !

Amid the doubts and contradictions of historians and philosophers—Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato—it is difficult not to believe that the action thus commemorated, though prompted, perhaps, like the revolt of Tell, by private injury, was an example of that rude justice, whose ambiguous morality is forgiven for its signal public benefits. Something of greatness and true splendour there must have been about a deed, of which the memory was cherished as an heir-loom by the whole Athenian community of freemen, and made familiar as household words by constant convivial celebration.* Not until the decline of Attic liberty, and the approach of universal degradation, did a comic writer † presume to sneer at the lay of Harmodius as wearing out of fashion. It was an ill sign of the poet to indulge in such a sneer ; it was a worse sign of the people to endure it.

Together with its other recommendations, this series of Sco-

* Aristoph. Achar. v. 942. 1058.

† Antiphanes ap. Athenæum, l. xi. c. 110.

lia serves well to show the breaks in the performance, and the points at which the different singers took up their several parts. The same thing is distinctly shown, in our opinion, by the following spirited lines of Hybrias the Cretan, of which Hermann rightly makes two divisions:

1.

Ἔστι μοι πλοῦτος μίγξας δόρυ καὶ ξίφος,
καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισήϊον, πρόβλημα χρωτός·
τούτῳ γὰρ ἀρῶ, τούτῳ θερίζω,
τούτῳ πατῖα τὸν ἄδυν οἶνον ἀπ' ἀμπέλων·
τούτῳ δεσπότη μνωίας κέκλημαι.

2.

Τοὶ δὲ μὴ τολμῶντ' ἔχειν δόρυ καὶ ξίφος,
καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισήϊον, πρόβλημα χρωτός,
πάντες γόνυ πεπτηῶτες ἔμδον
· · · · · κυνεῦντί τε δεσπότην,
καὶ μίγξαν βασιλῆα φανέοντι.

We may entitle them

THE SOLDIER'S CATCH.

1.

My wealth is here—the sword, the spear, the breast-defending shield ;
With this I plough, with this I sow, with this I reap the field ;
With this I tread the luscious grape, and drink the blood-red wine ;
And slaves around in order wait, and all are counted mine !

2.

But he that will not rear the lance upon the battle-field,
Nor sway the sword, nor stand behind the breast-defending shield,
On lowly knee must worship me, with servile kiss ador'd,
And peal the cry of homage high, and hail me mighty Lord !

Many, as they read these stanzas, will have their thoughts recalled with melancholy pleasure, to the 'Allen-a-dale' of our own great departed Minstrel, whose strains—free as they are of all conscious imitation—so often, through the force of kindred genius, seem to echo the bold music and vigorous expression of the finest Grecian poetry.

Ilgen, in his preface to the edition of *Scolia* already referred to, discovers no less than nine different classes into which the extant poems of this sort may be distributed: the satirical—the amatory—the historical—the mythic—the precatory—the ethical—the political—the eulogistic—the potatory. Under the

sixth and most numerous division he includes one which we may cite to show how the Greeks contrived to give, in the shape of an apologue, the spirit of our well-known, vernacular, objurgatory criticism of *Pot* upon *Kettle*.

Ὁ καρκίνος ὄδ' ἔφη
 χαλᾶ τὸν ὄφιν λαβών·
 εὐθὺν τὸν ἔταρον ἴμεν,
 καὶ μὴ σκολιὰ φρονεῖν.

With his claw the snake surprising,
 Thus the crab kept moralizing :—
 ' Out on sidelong turns and graces,
 Straight's the word for honest paces !'

But, as we cannot pretend to offer selections from every class, we shall blend the quotations, for which we can still find room, with a few final remarks on the metre of the *Scolia*.

It is truly observed by Ilgen that, as nature herself seems to suggest iambic modulations to the asperity of anger or the petulance of sarcasm, the iambic foot would abound in the first extemporaneous sallies of convivial satire. From the Iambus, which in technical language is said to consist of *anacrusis* and *arsis* (υ-), there arises, by the addition of a *thesis*, the foot styled Amphibrachys (υ-υ), which is just a catalectic iambic syzygy. That failure of voice and strength, which succeeds an impetuous effort, accounts for the frequency of this imperfect measure in effusions of anger or invective. Thus, according to Ilgen, the wrath of Achilles, which Homer clothes in thundering dactyls,

Οἶνοβαρῆς, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο,

would have assumed, in real altercation, the following shape.

ἀναιδῆς,
 κυνὸς συ
 ἔχεις μὲν
 τὸ ὄμμα,
 τὸ κῆρ δὲ
 ἐλάφρου.

What, then, more likely than that festive petulance and license, breaking out into spontaneous song, should adopt these easy and natural numbers? Once adopted, they would be readily transferred to other moods of sentiment, appearing in convivial poetry. But, from the Iambic and Amphibrachian metres, by a process depending on the greater or less exertion and sustentation of the

voice in utterance, arise the Bacchian (v---), the Antispastic (v---v), the Dochmiac (v---v-), the Pherecratian (----v), (v--v), Phalæcean (----v|v--v|v--v), of very common occurrence in Scolia, and other measures which have been adapted to them.

We may trace this process in examples. Thus it can be demonstrated from some passages in Plato,* that a popular Scollium in honour of Health had at first the simple Amphibrachian form :

Ἄριστον
ἰγεία·
ἔπειτα
τὸ κάλλος·
τρίτον δὲ
ἡ ἰσχυς·
ἔπειτα
ὁ πλοῦτος.

Let Héalth be
First réckon'd ;
And Béauty
Be sécond ;
And Stréngth as
Of twénty,
And Ríches
In plénty ;
Oh ! thése are
Our glóriés,
Their númer
Just fóur is !

As if we were to analyze the amatory verses of Gray—

‘ With beauty,
With pleasure,
Surrounded,
To languish,’ &c. &c.

Simonides, going to work upon this original foundation, while he alters the nature and order of some of the blessings enumerated, likewise changes the measure :

Ἰγμáινει μὲν ἄριστον ἀνδρὶ θνατῶ,
δύττερον δὲ καλὸν Φυὰν γενέσθαι,
τὸ τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν ἀδόλωσ,
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἡβῆν μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

* Plat. Leg. ii. p. 75, i. p. 18. t. viii. ed. Bip.

Oh ! Health, it is the choicest boon Heaven can send us,
 And Beauty's arms, bright and keen, deck and defend us ;
 Next follows honest Wealth—riches abounding—
 And Youth's pleasant holydays—friendship surrounding.

Ariphron the Sicyonian gives us the ' last and most improved edition :'

Ἰγίεια, πρῆσβίστα μακάρων,
 μετὰ σὺ νείημι
 τὸ λειπόμενον βιοτᾶς,
 σὺ δέ μοι πρόφρων σύνοικος εἶης·
 εἰ γὰρ τις ἢ πλούτου χάρις, ἢ τεκνέων,
 τᾶς τ' ἰσοδαίμονος ἀνθρώποις
 βασιληίδος ἀρχᾶς ἢ πόθων,
 οὓς κρυφίοις Ἀφροδίτης ἄρκυσι θηρεύομεν,
 ἢ εἰ τις ἄλλα θέσθεν ἀνθρώποισι τέρψις,
 ἢ πόνων ἀμπνοᾶ πέφανται·
 μετὰ σῆο, μάκαιρ' Ἰγίεια,
 τέθλε πάντα, καὶ λάμπει χαρίτων ἕαρ·
 σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὐτις εὐδαιμων.

1.

Health ! supreme of heavenly powers,
 Let my verse our fortunes tell—
 Mine with thee to spend the hours,
 Thine with me in league to dwell.

2.

If bright gold be worth a pray'r,
 If the pledge of love we prize,
 If the regal crown and chair
 Match celestial destinies—

3.

If sweet joys and stolen treasures
 Venus' furtive nets enclose,
 If divinely-granted pleasures
 Yield a breathing-space from woes—

4.

Thine the glory, thine the zest !
 Thine the Spring's eternal bloom !
 Man has all, of thee possest,
 Dark, without thee, low'rs his doom.

There can be no question, we think, from the ingenious turn of the sentiments, and the style of expression in these verses, that though Maximus Tyrius speaks of them as *ancient*, their

author must be placed, at some interval, below the date of Simonides. We believe, likewise, that Athenæus is wrong in calling this composition a Pæan. It wants some of the distinctive marks of the Pæan, while its subject strongly pleads for its insertion in the class of Scolia. Perhaps, indeed, it was made up of different Scolia by the same writer, or at least was intended to be sung in parts, whose limits are pointed out in the stanzas of our translation.

It was a pretty recreation!—one of those modes of social pleasure in which our own times are behind the attainments of the classical ages. Fret about it as much as we please, a man who candidly studies the philosophy of life must acknowledge that in some things ‘those Ancients’ had the best of it. A learned contemporary has made the profound discovery that Demosthenes—the only consummate orator that the world ever saw—was superior to most modern editors of newspapers:—we dare not aim at such high matters of criticism, but we will venture to conclude, as we began, by sounding the praises of Greek conviviality. Could a certain ‘annihilation of space and time’ effect our transportation to Athens in the days of her glory, it is to the festive table that we should be most eager to repair:—our entertainer might be either Callias or Agathon—provided it were not ALCIBIADES.

* See Quarterly Review—article on Greek Elegy.

- ART. V.—1. *Report from and Minutes of Evidence taken before the Secret Committee of the House of Commons on the Bank of England Charter.* Printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th August, 1832.
2. *An Examination of the Evidence taken before the Committee of Secrecy on the Bank of England Charter.* By ALEXANDER MUNDELL, Esq. London: 1832.
3. *Historical Sketch of the Bank of England: With an Enquiry into the Expediency of prolonging the Exclusive Privileges of that Establishment.* London: 1831.
4. *A Plain Statement of the Power of the Bank of England, and the Use it has made of it: With a Reply to the 'Historical Sketch of the Bank of England.'* London: 1832.

THE question as to the renewal of the Charter of the Bank of England, is one of the very highest importance. The nature of the future monetary system of the country must depend on the mode in which it is decided; so that it is not a subject interesting merely to the holders of bank stock, or the government, but which comes home to the business and pockets of every individual in the empire. We do not think that there is much difficulty as to the principles which ought to regulate the decision of this great question; but the details are involved in a good deal of obscurity, and so many adventitious topics have been introduced into the discussion, that we should hardly be intelligible did we not subject it to a pretty lengthened examination.

The Bank of England, as every one knows, was established in 1694. In 1708, an act was passed prohibiting any other association, with more than *six* partners, from issuing notes payable on demand anywhere in England; and though no law prohibits the issue of notes in London by companies with six or fewer partners, none have ever been issued; probably because it was foreseen that they could obtain no considerable circulation in competition with those issued by the Bank. A part of the capital of the Bank, amounting to about fourteen and a half millions, is lent to the public at *three* per cent, forming a security for her issues; and rendering, as stated by Dr Smith, her stability equal to that of the British government. Besides supplying London and several country districts with paper, the Bank conducts the whole pecuniary business of the state; receiving the taxes, answering the drafts of the Treasury, paying

the dividends, transferring stock, circulating Exchequer bills, &c. The emoluments received by the Bank, in her capacity of public banker, form one of the sources of her profit.

Though never attempted in London, banks for the issue of notes, with six or fewer partners, have been, for a long period, established in most parts of England,—their numbers having rapidly increased since the American war. In consequence, however, of their insufficient capital, or of some error in their management, or both, a large proportion of these establishments failed in 1793, 1815 and 1816, and more recently in 1825-26. These failures were productive of very great distress; and in order to prevent their recurrence, by increasing the solidity of the banks, it was enacted, in 1826, that the limitation in the act of 1708 should be restricted to a circuit of sixty-five miles round London; liberty being given to form joint-stock banks, with any number of partners, anywhere beyond this circle. At present, therefore, the Bank of England is virtually possessed of the monopoly of the issue of notes payable on demand within the metropolis, and all other places not more than sixty-five miles from the Exchange. And as the charter expires in 1833, the first question to be discussed is, whether should the issue of bank paper in the metropolis be continued as at present, in the hands of one body, or be made free? If it be decided that there ought to be no restriction on such issue, there is an end of the enquiry, in as far at least as the Bank of England is concerned. But if it be decided that the restriction should be continued, the next subject for enquiry will be, whether the Bank of England be the most proper body to be intrusted with the issue of paper in the metropolis? and, if this be decided in the affirmative, the third and last head of enquiry will resolve itself into an examination of the conditions under which the privilege should be intrusted to the Bank.

I. The important enquiry whether the power to issue paper in London should be confined to one body, or be conceded to all who choose to comply with such rules or regulations as may be prescribed for their conduct, has not attracted so much notice as might have been expected. The arrangement laid down by the act of 1708, seems to have been, for the most part, tamely acquiesced in, till the discussions arose as to the renewal of the charter, some two or three years ago. It is now, however, contended, that there is no good reason for restricting the issue of bank paper in London more than in Scotland, and other parts of the empire; that such restriction is a violent interference with the freedom of industry; that banking, like all other businesses,

is best conducted under a system of free competition ; that if the issue of notes be conceded to a single body, they will certainly abuse their power by issuing them at one time in excess and at another time too sparingly, as their interest or caprice may dictate ; that these are not imaginary but real evils, and have been realized in the conduct of the Bank of England ; and that nothing but a system of unfettered competition can protect the public from injurious fluctuations in the supply and value of money, and secure for us the invaluable advantages of a good banking system.

But, whatever may be thought of the policy of confining the issue of paper in London to one body, the argument of those who object to it, on the ground of its being a violent interference with the freedom of industry, must go for little. We are as sincerely anxious for the extension of freedom as most persons. But we do not apprehend that it would be promoted by leaving it to every one to issue money at pleasure. This, however, is what the proposal of those who argue in favour of the unrestricted issue of paper really amounts to. Why, it is asked, should not banking be as free as any other department of industry ? To this we reply, that the question now under discussion respects *the issue of paper* ; and that *banking* is not an equivalent, but a widely different expression. A banker is, in the proper sense of the word, a person who *takes care of other people's money* ; who receives payments on their account, cashes their checks, and so forth. Now, so far from wishing that this business should be in any degree limited, we are decidedly of opinion that it should be as free as that of brewing or baking. There neither is, nor ever was, a good reason why banking companies, that is, companies for taking care of people's money, should not be allowed to be constituted in London or anywhere else, with ten or ten thousand partners. Nor is it of the least importance, in a public point of view, that an individual prefers dealing with Stevenson or Fautleroy, rather than with Lloyd or Coutts. But the issue of money, or of substitutes for money, is a totally different affair. No one has ever thought of objecting to the law which enacts that all coins of the same denomination shall be of the same weight and fineness ; nor to that which enacts that all bank-notes shall be payable on demand. Money is at once the measure of value, and the universal equivalent, or *marchandise bannale*, used by the society. Women, minors, and in short all sorts of persons, must use it ; so that it becomes the bounden duty of government to provide that it be issued on sound principles. If an individual, in pursuing his own interest in his own way, manufacture too much or too little cloth, or too much or

too little beer, the circumstance will hardly be felt by any one except himself and his immediate customers, and will be without any sensible public influence. Not so the proceedings of the issuers of money. Speaking generally, it is for their interest to extend their issues as much as possible; but if in doing this any one company extend its issues beyond the proper limit, it will, by rendering the currency redundant, occasion a fall in the exchange and a drain for bullion; which will operate not merely on the offending party, but on all the other issuers of paper, and may also be productive of very great public distress. The issue of money is, therefore, a matter *sui generis*. In putting it under regulation, we merely endeavour to provide against mischiefs that would inevitably arise were it left to every one to supply it at pleasure. It is to no purpose to tell us, that notes not being legal tender, any one who dislikes a particular note may reject it. People must take and pay away notes who are totally without the means of knowing any thing of the character or fortune of their issuers. And though they were all issued upon undoubted security, they might be, and, indeed, on that account would be most likely to be, issued in excess; and if so, there would inevitably be a revulsion that would affect every individual in the empire. It is clear, therefore, that the issue of paper ought to be put under such restraints as may seem best fitted to obviate the inconveniences which its unrestricted issue would be sure to entail on the public.

But admitting that it may be expedient to enact certain rules as to the issue of paper, still it may be and is contended, that there are no grounds for confining its issue in the metropolis to one body; and the example of Scotland is referred to in order to show, that the power to make unlimited issues of paper, far from being injurious, is highly beneficial. But it does not follow that because the lion's tail is at liberty we ought to unmuzzle his mouth. Before it is concluded that a banking system which succeeds in one part of the country will succeed equally well in another part, it must be shown that they are similarly situated. Those, however, who undertake to show that there is any great similarity between Scotland and the metropolis, or between the functions of the Scotch banks and those of the Bank of England, will have a somewhat troublesome task on their hands. In truth and reality, there is hardly a shade of resemblance between them; nor is it possible that the Scotch system of banking, if tried in London, could exist for a week. London is the focus to which all the great pecuniary transactions of the empire are brought to be balanced; in it also are our accounts with the Continent and America adjusted; and it is the pivot on which the foreign ex-

changes turn. If the Scotch banks, generally, or if any particular bank, issue too much paper, a local rise of prices will take place; and there may, in the end, be a greater demand in Edinburgh for *bills* on London, in consequence of the greater exportation of English produce to Scotland; but, though the contrary has been stated, there never is, in a case of this sort, *an additional demand upon the Scotch banks for so much as a single sovereign*. The currency of Scotland can neither permanently exceed nor fall below the level of the currency of England; and as Bank of England notes circulate freely in Scotland, this equality is maintained, not by the exportation and importation of coin and bullion, but by varying the bills on London and the amount of Bank of England paper. The occasional redundancy of paper in this part of the empire, as compared with England, is consequently productive of very little inconvenience to the parties concerned, and of none to the public. But any over-issue in London, or by the country banks in general, has a widely different effect. Bank of England notes will not circulate in Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Paris, as they do in Edinburgh and Glasgow; so that the moment the exchange is depressed by an overflow in the metropolis, or *throughout the country*, there is a demand for bullion for exportation. It is no longer a question about adjusting the paper of one province by that of another. The whole is in excess: The issuers in London, from a regard to their own safety, are, consequently, obliged to lessen their supplies of paper; and the city currency being in this way contracted and rendered more valuable than that of the provinces, a reaction takes place that is felt in the remotest quarter. It is ludicrous, therefore, to talk about the same system of banking being applicable in Edinburgh and London. Gold is very rarely seen in Scotland; and we believe we are correct in stating, that when a run took place on most banks, during the political excitement in May last, there was not, at its commencement, 100,000 sovereigns in the possession of all the banks in Edinburgh.

It is contended, however, that it is not really true that the multiplication of banks of issue in London would occasion any over-issue of paper; that they would probably act in concert; and that if they did not, the notes of any bank that might over-issue would be immediately returned upon *it*; so that its proceedings could occasion no public inconvenience. But if the banks acted in concert, that is, if they met together to consult upon and to decide as to their proceedings, they would be to all intents and purposes one bank; and the only difference between them and the Bank of England would consist in this, that their government would be clumsy in the extreme; and

that as their responsibility to the public would be much more divided, and consequently much less felt, they would have less motive to keep within the legitimate sphere of their duty. But it is unnecessary to dwell on this hypothesis. It is abundantly certain that different banks would not act in concert; and it therefore becomes of importance to enquire how they would act, and what would be the probable result of that competition of which so much has been said.

Suppose, then, that several banks of issue are established in London, all possessed of ample funds; that they each issue an equal amount of notes; and that the currency is at its proper level, and the exchange at par; or, which is the same thing, that bullion is neither coming in nor going out of the country. A single establishment, like the Bank of England, would not, under such circumstances, think of contracting or enlarging its issues; but were there several companies, there would certainly be an over-issue. Each bank being anxious to advance its own interests, by getting the greatest share of business, would be disposed to take every fair step by which so desirable an end could be promoted. Now suppose that any single establishment, from a wish to augment its business, or to annoy its competitors, or any other cause, should discount on lower terms, or be less scrupulous as to those with whom it dealt, or gave greater facilities of any sort for the transacting of business, its notes would be issued in increased quantities. The consequence of this would be, that the exchange would sooner or later be depressed, and there would be a demand for gold for exportation. It must not, however, be supposed that this drain would affect the bank that had over-issued more than it would affect any of the rest. The circumstance of its notes being issued on more advantageous terms would, by attracting customers, extend the natural limits of their circulation; so that the redundancy of the currency might be occasioned as much by the other banks not sufficiently narrowing their issues, as by the increase in its own. But however this might be, it is obvious, since all the banks are supposed to enjoy equal credit, that their notes would be indifferently returned upon them. The public would have no means of knowing whether it was the bank A or the bank B whose proceedings occasioned the depression of the exchange; and though they were aware of the fact, it would be of no consequence; for the public confidence in the different banks being equal, each individual wishing to export bullion would send in those notes for payment that came first to hand, without enquiring or caring by whom they had been issued.

It is, therefore, clear, that were there a number of banks for the issue of notes in London, it would be in the power of any

one opulent establishment to cause a depression of the exchange, and a drain for bullion that might involve the country in the greatest difficulties. It is obvious, too, that it would not be in the power of the other banks, even were they so disposed, to counteract the proceedings of the bank endeavouring to extend its issues, except by playing into its hands, and proportionally diminishing their own. This, however, is about the very last thing they would think of. On the contrary, it is quite certain that the moment any one of them began to attempt increasing its business by giving greater accommodation to its customers, most of the others would do the same. They would endeavour to outstrip each other in the career of popularity; and would, in consequence, hurry on that catastrophe which would be the inevitable result of their existence.

Instead, therefore, of being any cure for the defects inseparable even from the best devised system for the issue of paper, the introduction of a system of competition would aggravate them in a tenfold proportion. There is a radical difference between the supply of bank-notes and of every other article. The greater the supplies of beef, bread, or beer, and the lower the terms on which they may be obtained, so much the better; but it is not so with paper. Such an amount of it can only be safely issued as will supply the place of the gold that would circulate in its stead were it withdrawn. If it be attempted to issue more than this, there will be a demand for gold for exportation; which will continue until the surplus paper be wholly returned upon the issuers. And should any single bank give way during the process of contraction, or be unable to meet the demands upon it for gold, the chances are ten to one that a panic would be excited, and that such a run would take place as would prove fatal to several of the London banks, as well as to those in the provinces.

There are other considerations that show, perhaps, still more conclusively, the mischief that would result from having more than one bank of issue in London. In ordinary periods, the Bank of England does not discount largely; and Mr Horsley Palmer has explained the reasons which make the directors decline entering, in this department, into competition with the private banks. At the same time, however, the mercantile advances by the Bank are always considerable; and any individual who has reasonably good security to offer, is always able to obtain loans from the Bank; and to her also all the private bankers and dealers in money are occasionally in the habit of resorting. But it is not by its working in ordinary periods, when harvests are good, and the exchanges at par, or rising, that we are to

judge of the merits of a system of banking. We must look to it in periods of distress and difficulty; and see how it works when the harvest is bad, and the exchange depressed; or when, owing to a distrust of the country banks, or any other cause, a panic and a fall of prices is taking place at home. It is in these unfavourable circumstances, when credit is paralysed, and government securities become all but unsaleable, that the signal advantage of an institution like the Bank of England becomes obvious. She is then, as it were, the *point d'appui* of the whole moneyed and commercial interests; and has frequently sustained them, even at the risk of imminent danger to herself. During the crisis in the latter part of 1825, and the beginning of 1826, the Bank of England advanced about ten millions on the security of stock and other property that had become a drug; and but for this timely and effectual aid, the ruin of a large proportion of the mercantile class must have ensued, and the whole financial system of the country been brought into considerable jeopardy. Mr Harman, speaking of this period, says:—‘We lent assistance by every possible means, and in modes that we never had adopted before:—we took in stock as security; we purchased Exchequer bills; we made advances on Exchequer bills; we not only discounted outright, but we made advances on deposits of bills of exchange to an immense amount; in short, by every possible means consistent with the safety of the Bank; and we were not upon some occasions over nice; seeing the dreadful state in which the public were, we rendered every assistance in our power.’ (Report, p. 154.)

But it is quite impossible that any such assistance could be rendered by private metropolitan banks of issue. Private associations for issuing notes, being under no public responsibility, uniformly keep on hand the smallest possible quantity of bullion with which it is practicable for them to conduct their business; for the smaller their bullion, the greater is their profit. It would, indeed, be out of the question to suppose that such institutions should at any time think of making advances in coin; and least of all would they think of making them when the exchange is falling, and demands are pouring in for gold. Neither would they at such periods make advances in paper; for they would be justly apprehensive of its being returned upon them; and their object would not be to augment, but to narrow their liabilities as much as possible. But supposing they were willing to make advances in paper, they would not be of the smallest use. The Bank of England has existed for nearly a hundred and forty years, she is known to every body, and her notes pass readily everywhere. But it would not be more absurd to send

a packet of rags to Liverpool, Manchester, or York, and expect them to be taken instead of sovereigns, than to attempt supplying their wants by sending them the notes of the new-born associations that would spring into existence in London, were the existing restriction abolished. These associations might be sufficiently respectable, and highly esteemed by those to whom they were known; but their notes would not be taken in the provinces at any time, nor would they circulate, even in the city, in a period of distrust. Who would have thought of supplying the Londoners in December 1825, with the notes of a Yorkshire or Lancashire banking company? And what reason is there for supposing that the notes of private London companies should, under the like circumstances, enjoy any greater consideration in the provinces? Nothing, therefore, can be more obvious, than that were the restraints on the issue of paper in London abolished, the trading interests would be left, in seasons of discredit and difficulty, wholly to their own crippled, and perhaps unavailable resources; without any of that efficient support they have been accustomed to receive from the Bank of England. Surely, however, such a result cannot be too earnestly deprecated. And were there no other objections to a free issue of paper in London, the effect it would have in aggravating the difficulties incident to periods of distress, ought to be held as conclusive of its impolicy.

Hence it appears, that the plan hitherto followed of intrusting the power to issue paper in London to one body, is the best that can be devised. Such a body, having no competition to fear, may regulate its issues by the state of the exchanges; increasing them when they are rising, and diminishing when they are falling; and this will be done, without any effort on its part, by the public bringing gold to exchange for notes in the former case, and receiving gold instead of notes in the latter. So long as the power to supply London with paper immediately payable in coin is committed to a single body, the exchange can never deviate considerably from par; but were every one free to issue paper, it is impossible to foresee the extent to which the exchange might be depressed, or to form any adequate notion of the mischief and confusion that would flow from the competition of contending parties. It appears, too, that were there a number of banks in London, they would be wholly unable to render any part of that assistance to the commercial interests in a period of discredit, which has been so liberally afforded by the Bank of England; and the want of which might involve them in the greatest difficulties.

These conclusions are not the result of any speculative views.

They are deduced from the best ascertained principles; and are corroborated in their fullest extent by the evidence of all the practical men, whose opinions are entitled to any deference, examined before the late committee. Mr Grote, a banker in London in extensive business, and not at all apt to be biassed in his opinions by any peculiar deference for what is established, has expressed himself very distinctly upon this point. We sub-join an extract from his evidence:—

‘What do you think of the policy of more joint-stock banks of issue than one, being established in the metropolis?—I should think it would be *decidedly mischievous*; I see no benefit to be derived from the multiplication of banks of issue, and a considerable chance of evil.

‘What are the advantages which you think arise from having only one joint-stock bank of issue in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, and what are the disadvantages that would arise from more than one being established?—If there be one bank of issue only, you get the circulation considered as a whole, which would be impossible if the circulation were distributed amongst six, or eight, or ten banks. With one bank of issue only, if that bank be placed under the control of publicity, you have a much better security for the circulation being administered upon fixed principles, and enlarged or contracted with a constant reference to the foreign exchanges, than you would have if there were six, or eight, or ten banks. No one among these competing banks would be either able or willing to measure its own separate issues with reference to that total of circulating medium which might be proper for the country at the moment. Each bank would study principally the means of increasing its own circulation, and would be tempted to extend its issues, not at the time when it might be desirable for the circulation generally that they should be extended, but at any time when there was a prospect of unusual profit, or of acquiring new connexions, taking the chance of being able to supplant the notes of other banks.

‘Do you think that many joint-stock banks of issue being established in any district of the country, adjusting their balances, as is the practice of joint-stock banks, at short periodical intervals, affords any greater security against over-issue than a single bank having the whole of the paper currency of that district?—*Decidedly less security against over-issue.* The temptation to over-issue, if there be many issuers, seems to me to be greater than it is in the case of there being only a single issuer, because the rivalry between various issuers leads each to be more liberal in its advances during any period of excessive speculation.’ (Report, p. 377.)

The opinion of every other banker is, we believe, exactly similar, and such also is the unanimous opinion of all the best informed merchants. Mr Tooke, who, to great knowledge of the history and principles of commerce, unites the most intimate

acquaintance with its practical details, expressed himself as to this point before the Committee as follows:—

‘ Is it your opinion that it would be advantageous to establish other banks of issue in the metropolis besides the Bank of England?—I do not see any more reason for the establishment of two or more banks for the coining of paper for the metropolis, than I should for the establishment of two or more mints for the coining of the metals; I conceive that *there is no possible advantage to set against the probable inconvenience.*

‘ Do you think there would be any probable inconvenience?—Yes, I do; the inconvenience might not be very considerable, but whatever there was would be perfectly gratuitous.

‘ Will you state what you conceive would be the inconvenience?—If a single source of issue is sufficient, of course the degree of inconvenience attending any addition to it must be matter of very vague conjecture; each of two banks would either, if they were in competition, try, by extended accommodation, to increase their issues, when the demands of the circulation did not really justify it, or they would only between them grant the same accommodation, and issue the same quantity of paper with the same proportion of reserves. In the former case, there would be a fluctuation of enlargement and contraction beyond the occasion, and an increased danger of eventual suspension; in the latter case, there might be no particular inconvenience, but I do not see the possible advantage.’ (Report, p. 273.)

In addition to the inconveniencies already mentioned, as inevitably resulting from the supply of the London currency by different issuers, a very great difficulty would be experienced in adjusting the internal transactions of the country. This has been pointed out by Mr Loyd, in his valuable evidence.

‘ Will you state to the Committee whether you think the effects of the exclusive privilege of the Bank of England of being the sole issuer of the metropolis has been advantageous or not upon the circulation?—More advantageous than a multiplied number of issues would have been.

‘ Do you consider it so with reference to the public generally, or with reference to the interest of the bankers?—I consider it so on both accounts.

‘ Would not a competition with banks of issue in the metropolis interfere materially with the business of private bankers?—Very materially, I conceive.

‘ In what way?—It would require a considerable length of time to state the various ways in which it would produce practical inconvenience in the working of business. London is the centre, in which all the money transactions of England are ultimately adjusted; and such being the case, I conceive it to be absolutely necessary there should be *one circulation, in which all parties throughout the country may adjust such transactions.* If you have more than one circulating medium

in London there will of course be differences of opinion as to the solidity of the different issues, and different degrees of partiality towards the different concerns issuing them, which would create great confusion. In case parties in the country wrote to their agents in London to send them money into the country, they would not know in what issues to send it, and they would have standing instructions from different parties to send the issues of different concerns; the same would be the case, in all probability, with their London customers; one person would refuse to take payment except in the issue of a certain concern; another would require the issue of a different concern, which would create interminable confusion. In addition to that, I apprehend any adjustment of their transactions, by the different bankers in London among themselves, would be almost impracticable, unless they agreed upon some one issue in which it should be effected. I do not know in what other way they could come to an adjustment. In addition to that, I am inclined to think that the profits of the issue would be found, when divided amongst different concerns, not to be sufficient to enable them to carry it on.' (Report, p. 232.)

It would be useless to quote additional evidence to show the pernicious results that would certainly follow from allowing more than one body to issue paper in London. If we supposed that there could be any further doubt or question on the subject, we should extract some portion of the clear and satisfactory evidence of Mr Norman, (Report, p. 183.) But, as we feel quite sure that the foregoing statements and reasonings will have more than satisfied our readers, we shall take leave to dismiss this part of our subject.

II. Holding it then as satisfactorily established, that the power to issue paper in London ought to be confined to some one body, we have next to enquire which is the most proper body to intrust it to.

It is, we believe, admitted on all hands, that, supposing the privilege of issuing paper money in London is to be conceded to a private association, nothing whatever could be gained, while a great deal might be lost by taking it from the Bank of England. But it was contended by Mr Ricardo, and has since been contended by others, that the power to issue paper ought not to be committed to any association of private persons, but that it ought to be exercised for the advantage of the public, by commissioners appointed by government. We shall endeavour briefly to enquire into the grounds of this opinion.

The great, or rather we should say the only, argument of those who recommend the institution of a government bank of issue instead of the Bank of England, proceeds on the assumption, that it would be productive of a considerable saving to the pub-

lic. This, however, is an advantage which seems a good deal more than doubtful.

It was proposed by Mr Ricardo, whose project is the only one worth noticing, that towards the expiration of the charter, government should supply the Bank of England with fourteen and a half millions of state notes, to be substituted in the place of an equal number of their own, by which means the debt due by the public to the Bank would be discharged; and that so many additional state notes should be issued as would be sufficient to purchase the bullion in the possession of the Bank. This being done, Mr Ricardo proposed that the commissioners for the government bank should be excluded from interfering, either directly or indirectly, in banking business, properly so called; and that they should merely pay bullion for, and receive it in exchange for their notes. The supposed advantage of this plan consists in its effecting an apparent saving of the large sum of L.416,000 a-year,—the interest on the bank capital lent to government.

It is clear, however, that a very large deduction must be made from this balance. Supposing, for a moment, that the plan proposed by Mr Ricardo is carried into effect, there must, in the first instance, be deducted from the saving of L.446,000 the sum of L.70,000 a-year paid by the Bank for stamps, and the expenses of managing the government establishment. This latter item, supposing the government bank were conducted as economically as the Bank of England, would amount to L.106,000 a-year, which being added to the stamp-duty, and deducted from the gross profit of the new establishment, would reduce the apparent gain to L.270,000.

This, however, would be liable to still further and more material deductions. The issues of the Bank of England amount at present to about nineteen millions; and it is the concurrent opinion of the directors, that in order to provide for the safety of their establishment, the stock of coin and bullion in their coffers ought, at an average, to amount to at least a *third* part of their liabilities; and Mr Tooke and some other eminent authorities think it ought to amount to a half. But, supposing the directors to be right, and that a third would suffice, where, on the proposed plan, would it be found? Suppose that government commissioners come in the place of the directors of the Bank of England, and issue nineteen millions of notes. Of this sum L.14,686,000 must go to pay off the debt due to the Bank, leaving only L.4,314,000 to exchange for bullion, to purchase a suitable establishment, &c. But, instead of four and a third millions being adequate for such purposes, it would require from six to

seven millions to procure an adequate supply of bullion, or a supply equal to one-third the issues; and from L.400,000 to L.500,000 for the necessary accommodations. It would be out of the question to attempt to procure additional bullion by issuing more than nineteen millions of state-notes; for the circulation being fully supplied by the notes already in circulation, any attempt to issue more would defeat its own purpose; as much bullion being sure to be drawn out of the Bank by the increased demands of the public as could be got in by the increased issues of the managers. In order, therefore, to set the scheme on foot with such a stock of bullion as would suffice to place the National Bank on a tolerably secure footing, government would be obliged either to continue indebted to the Bank of England, in from three to four millions, or to make an advance of that sum to the commissioners of the National Bank; so that a farther deduction of about L.100,000 a-year would have to be made, on this account, from the apparent profits of that establishment.

But this is not all. At present the unfunded debt of the country, bearing interest at two and a fourth per cent, amounts to about twenty-five millions; and the question arises, could this amount of unfunded debt be kept afloat were the Bank of England deprived of the privilege of issuing notes? Now, we undertake to say, and we believe we shall be supported by the concurrent authority of all the most intelligent bankers and merchants of London, that it could not; and that the instant a government bank is established on the plan proposed by Mr Ricardo, it will be necessary to fund the floating debt. The Bank of England, from her great capital and connexions, from her being at once a bank of issue and a bank of deposit, and from the unlimited confidence placed in her by the public, is able, on any emergency, temporarily to retire any amount of Exchequer bills that may be presented. But no government bank, dealing only in bullion, could do, or so much as attempt to do, any such thing; and it would be wholly out of the power of any association of private individuals. It is, indeed, utterly impossible that the credit of government could be sustained in any period of distress or difficulty, under the project of a National Bank, without funding the floating debt. This, however, could not be done at less than from three to four per cent, and the difference between paying an interest of three and a half per cent, and of two and a fourth per cent, on twenty-five millions, would amount to L.312,000 a-year; and would, when added to the previous items, a great deal more than extinguish the entire amount of the apparent profit gained by the establishment of a National Bank.

Instead, therefore, of such an institution being any source of

profit to the public, it would be exactly the reverse. But, besides occasioning a considerable pecuniary loss, it would be attended with several very serious practical inconveniencies.

The Bank of England is at once a bank of issue, a bank of deposit, and a bank of discount; and her vast wealth and unlimited credit enable her, as has been already seen, to render the most essential assistance to the trading interests in periods of discredit, of whom she is then the sole stay and support. But a National Bank could not render any such assistance; its functions being confined to the mere exchange of notes and bullion, it would not be in the power of its managers to interfere, however urgent the crisis. And after what we have witnessed since 1792, it may be fairly presumed, that emergencies would arise under such a system, when, from the difficulty of disposing of funded property and other floating securities, or of obtaining loans upon them, individuals of the largest fortune might be reduced to the greatest straits. And yet it is proposed to subvert a system which affords an antidote to such a state of things, that room may be made for one that would leave the disease to operate unchecked! An extraordinary degree of cheapness would certainly be required to balance the injurious consequences that would infallibly result from such an ill-advised change. This, however, is a recommendation of which the proposed plan would be entirely destitute. It would cost much more than the present one; at the same time, that it would have all its defects without one of its peculiar advantages.

It has, however, been contended that the National Bank might not only be a bank for the exchange of notes for bullion, but that it might also discount bills, deal in government securities, and transact the ordinary banking business of the government. It is easy, however, to see that no such power could be conceded to the managers of a public or state bank, without the most pernicious results. Were they intrusted with the power of discounting, or of making advances by way of loan, a door would be opened for every species of jobbing and abuse. But it is essential to the existence of a National Bank, that its functionaries should be quite free from every sort of imputation. Cæsar's wife must be not only pure, but above suspicion. But it is next to certain that the managers of a public bank for ordinary banking purposes would at all times be exposed to the gravest and most serious charges; and whether these were true or false, their effect would be about equally mischievous. A public bank discounting to individuals or to government would be a mere state engine; and ministers would be made directly responsible for all its proceedings. When accommodation was refused to

an individual opposed in politics to the minister of the day, the refusal would be ascribed to the influence of party considerations. A fall in the funds would be said to be the result of improper sales of stock made by the managers in furtherance of the views of ministers; so that they or their friends might purchase on advantageous terms, regardless of the injury done to others. The whole conduct of the establishment would be viewed through a false medium, and would be misrepresented and maligned even when most proper. Such a bank would be a nuisance of the first magnitude. Nor would any government which had a just sense of what it owed to itself, or to the public interests, tolerate its existence even for a single moment.

We borrow from the tract, entitled 'Historical Sketch of the 'Bank of England,' the following paragraphs in relation to this part of our subject.

'It may be said, perhaps, that the directors of the Bank of England have the same facilities for improper dealings as the directors of a National Bank would have; and that, notwithstanding, it has on no occasion been so much as insinuated that they ever availed themselves, in their business transactions, of the information they acquired in the Bank parlour. But the circumstances under which the Bank directors are chosen, and the responsibilities under which they are placed, are widely different from those that would obtain in the case of a National Bank. The former, speaking generally, are possessed of good fortunes; they are selected because of their extensive mercantile experience, and make it a point of honour neither to act upon, nor to communicate to others, the resolutions agreed to by them in their capacity of directors, previously to their being published. Need we say, that the managers of a National Bank would be of a very different character? They would owe, like similar public functionaries, their appointments, not to their fitness for the office, but to its suitability for them; instead of being already rich, they would be, for the most part, poor; ruined merchants, perhaps, or younger sons without patrimony; and it is all but certain, that the point of honour amongst them would be to make the most of their situation, and that he would be best esteemed who amassed the largest fortune.

'We believe this to be a fair representation of what would really happen, were the change now under discussion carried into effect. At all events, however, no one can deny that the statements we have made are all possible, and may easily be realized. Why then should we, in a matter of such vital importance, abandon a system of banking with which we are well acquainted for one that is wholly untried, and which may, and most probably would, lead to the most mischievous results? A very competent authority with respect to such matters, Mr John Smith, speaking of the Bank directors, in the debate in the House of Commons, on the 20th of February, 1826, expressed himself as follows:—

“ He would defy any man to show, in the history of the commercial world, a more strict personal integrity than was to be found in the conduct of the directors, in the whole of their money transactions with the public. He would take, for instance, the period of 1816, when the Bank was deriving enormous profits, and when they divided the immense sum of 25 per cent upon their capital stock; a circumstance the previous knowledge of which would have made the fortune of any individual; and yet, on examining the books, not a single director was found to have possessed one shilling more of stock than was necessary to his being constituted a director according to the charter. The whole of the gentlemen who composed the directory of that establishment were men of the highest character and soundest principle; and were every way worthy of the respect and confidence of the country.”

‘ It is objected to the Bank of England, that she has not on some occasions turned a sufficiently deaf ear to the solicitations of the minister. But whatever may have been her failings in this respect, the cajolings and flirtations of the Treasury have had but little influence over her, compared to what they would have over the easy virtue of the managers of a National Bank. Not one in ten of the Bank directors owes any thing to ministers, or is seeking or expecting to gain any thing by their favour. If they consent to their proposals, it is because they believe them to be advantageous to the Bank and the public, or because they are naturally disinclined to oppose any serious obstacles to the government service. But the managers of a National Bank, owing as they must, directly or indirectly, their appointments to the Treasury, and being accountable to it only for their proceedings, what possible motive could they have to refuse any thing that ministers asked? Had a National Bank existed in 1796 and 1797, does any one suppose that its managers would have opposed so determined a resistance as was made by the Bank directors to Mr Pitt’s demands for money? or that they would have been so urgent for a diminution of the balances due to the Bank? The public may be assured that the moment a National Bank is established, that moment has the Treasury acquired an unlimited control over the currency of the country. And how honestly soever ministers may be inclined, it would be too much to suppose that, in periods of difficulty, they should be slow to avail themselves of so ready a means of obtaining momentary assistance, without very carefully weighing the ultimate consequences of their conduct.

‘ The very question we are now considering as to the policy of establishing a National Bank, was lately submitted to the consideration of a Committee of Congress of the United States. The report of the committee is an able and an instructive document; it shows clearly that the institution of a National Bank would be most mischievous; that the ministry would have, in fact, the entire management of the bank; that it would eventually degenerate into a mere financial and political engine; that it would be abused in order to promote party purposes; and would necessarily become a focus for every sort of cor-

ruption and intrigue. Let us not be so blind to our own defects as to imagine, that, though a National-Bank might be thus noxious in the United States, it would here be productive only of advantage. Jonathan and John Bull are, we take it, very much upon a par as to purity in money matters.' (Historical Sketch, &c. pp. 61-64.)

The public has about the best security that can be obtained, for the proper management of the Bank of England—the *plain and obvious interest of the directors*. It is for the interest of the public, that the value of bank-notes should always be kept on a level with that of the gold they profess to represent, or, in other words, that the exchange should be as near par as possible. Now, this is at the same time the most advantageous state of things for the Bank. If she issue too much paper, the exchange becomes depressed, and the surplus notes are immediately returned upon her for gold; while, if she issue too little, the deficiency is supplied by the issue of an additional quantity of coins, which are now obtained immediately from the Mint, or by the increased issues of the country banks, or both. In the former case, the bank runs the risk of being drained of bullion; and in the latter, she is deprived of a portion of profit she had it in her power to realize. It is obvious, therefore, that the interests of the Bank, and of the public, in the issue of notes, are identified. It is not in the power of the directors, do what they will, to act, in regulating the supply of currency, so as to secure the advantage of the Bank, without, at the same time, securing that of the public, and conversely. No doubt, it is quite true, that the directors have not always clearly perceived their own advantage; and that their proceedings have, in consequence, been on several occasions mischievous alike to themselves and the public. But, notwithstanding these aberrations, it is abundantly certain, that this identity of their own with the public interest, will be more likely to keep them in the right path, than any system of regulation. '*Nul sentiment dans l'homme ne tient son intelligence éveillé autant que l'intérêt personnel. Il donne de l'esprit aux plus simples.*' The experience the Bank has had during the last twenty years—the system on which her issues are now conducted, and the provisions that will doubtless be made in any new arrangement for ensuring complete publicity,—are additional guarantees that her conduct will always be governed by sound principles; that is, with a view to what is really for the public interest, because it is for her own.

But, in the case of a National Bank, there would be no such security for good management. The directors would not have the superintendence of their own affairs, but of those of others; and they would have nothing better than a sense of their duty

to the public to induce them to resist the solicitations of government, and of those who would be endeavouring, partly by sophistical reasonings, and partly, perhaps, by more solid arguments, to make them subservient to their views. It would be useless to say more to demonstrate the absurdity of the entire scheme.

Hence, in whatever point of view we consider this matter—whether we suppose a National Bank wholly restricted to the exchange of notes and bullion—or suppose that it also discounts and carries on ordinary banking business, its institution would be in the last degree objectionable. It would be least injurious, if confined to the mere issue of paper; but even in that case, it would be more costly than the Bank of England; and it would be quite unable to render that assistance to the commercial world, or to government, at any period, but more especially in periods of emergency, that is rendered by the latter. The objections to all attempts to turn a National Bank into an engine for making pecuniary advances, and for conducting ordinary banking business, are still more conclusive. The abuses that would inevitably grow out of any such combination, would be so flagrant and intolerable, that we have little doubt the suppression of the Bank would follow hard upon its institution.

III. Having thus, as we think, sufficiently established that the public interests will be best promoted by renewing the charter of the Bank of England, we have next to enquire into the conditions under which such renewal should take place. We shall, however, take leave, in the first place, to submit a few remarks on the revulsions in 1792-93, 1814 and 1815, and in 1825-26.

The opponents of the Bank of England contend that the bankruptcy and distress occasioned by the failure of the country banks at the above-mentioned periods, were wholly owing to the mismanagement of the Bank of England. The directors are accused of having first improperly enlarged their issues,—stimulating, by so doing, the country bankers to follow their example; and that having misled the latter, and tempted them to adventure beyond their depth, they suddenly contracted the issues of the Bank, leaving her dupes to struggle single-handed with the difficulties in which she had involved them! But notwithstanding the confidence with which they have been put forward, we are bold to affirm that there is not a single particle of truth in these statements. The Bank issues were not improperly increased in 1792, nor were they improperly narrowed—or, indeed, *narrowed at all*, previously to the destruction of the country banks in spring 1793: the same is true of 1814-15; and the

only fault with which the Bank was chargeable in 1824-25, was not that she improperly enlarged her issues, but that she deferred their contraction till too late a period. The real cause of the evil at all these different epochs, was the worthless and unsubstantial foundation on which the country banks rested, and their efforts to push, at all hazards, their notes into circulation.

1. The following is a statement of the issues of the Bank in 1791, 1792, and 1793 :—

	1791.	1792.	1793.
February 26,	L.11,489,670	L.11,148,500	L.11,530,310
March 30,	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	13,085,370
August 25,	11,698,230	11,005,660	10,838,640

Now, it will be observed, that there is no increase of the Bank notes in circulation in 1792 over those in 1791, but rather a trifling reduction. It is of importance, too, to bear in mind, that the *first* considerable bankruptcy occurred in February 1793; but instead of being reduced, the Bank issues were rather increased during that month; and, in March, when the failures were most numerous, they were increased about a million and a half. And yet it is said, that the variations of the Bank issues, their sudden rise and sudden fall, were the cause of this crisis! Those who put forth such statements, must have an equal contempt for truth, and for the understandings of their readers.

The cause of the crisis in 1793 is easily discovered. It arose partly and principally from the previous excessive increase in the number and issues of the country banks, and their want of capital; and partly from the agitated state of commerce and credit, occasioned by the apprehensions of the war in which we were soon after engaged. ‘Amid the general calamity,’ says Mr Macpherson, ‘the country banks, which had *multiplied greatly beyond the demand of the country, for circulating paper currency, and whose eagerness to push their notes into circulation had laid the foundations of their own misfortunes, were among the greatest sufferers, and consequently among the greatest spreaders of distress and ruin among those connected with them; and they were also the chief cause of the drain of cash from the Bank of England, exceeding any demand of the kind for about ten years back. Of these banks, above an hundred failed—whereof there were twelve in Yorkshire, seven in Northumberland, seven in Lincolnshire, six in Sussex, five in Lancashire, four in Northamptonshire, four in Somersetshire,*’ &c.—(*Annals of Commerce*, vol. iv. p. 266.)

2. The Bank of England had quite as little to do with the fall of prices in 1814 and 1815, and the bankruptcies of those years, as with those of 1793.

The following is a statement of the issues of the Bank in 1813 and 1814, at an average of each of the quarters ending with

	31st March.	30th June.	30th September.	31st December.
1813	L.23,933,140	L.23,946,190	L.23,956,330	L.24,258,530
1814	25,157,710	25,864,270	28,639,870	27,968,600

It is, therefore, as clear as official statements can make any thing, that instead of being reduced in 1814, the Bank issues were about *three* millions greater in that year than in 1813; and yet, in the teeth of this large increase, wheat, which had sold in July 1813, for 140s. a-quarter, sunk, in July 1814, to 67s. This extraordinary fall was occasioned, partly by the abundant harvest of 1813, and partly by importations from the Dutch ports, which, after being long shut, were opened in the autumn of that year. But these circumstances, by exciting well-founded alarms amongst the agriculturists, of whom they ruined a great number, occasioned an equal alarm and ruin amongst the country bankers. Most of these were principally dependent on the agriculturists, on whom they had *literally forced their paper*. Mr Wakefield stated in evidence before the Agricultural Committee of 1821, that, 'down to 1814, there were banks in almost all parts of England, forcing their paper into circulation at an enormous expense to themselves, and in most instances to their own ruin. There were bankers who gave commission, and who sent persons to the markets to take up the notes of other banks; these people were called money-changers, and commission was paid them.'—(*Report*, p. 213.) And among the various answers to the queries sent by the Board of Agriculture, in 1816, to the most intelligent persons in different districts of the country, there is hardly one in which the excessive issue of country bank paper is not particularly mentioned, as one of the principal causes of the enormous rise of rents and prices previously to 1814.

There cannot, therefore, be two opinions as to the causes of the revulsion of 1814. It was unquestionably owing to the blowing up of the baseless fabric of country bank paper, to abundant harvests, and the renewed intercourse with the continent; but principally to the first of these causes. The Bank of England had no more to do with it than the man in the moon. Instead of bringing it on, she did all in her power, by *adding three millions to her issues*, to alleviate its pressure. So much for the veracious assertion of those who tell us that all the mischief arising from the recoil of 1814, originated in the 'misconduct or imprudence of the Bank.'

The proceedings of the Bank of England in 1825-26 were

less free from blame. The following is an account of her issues in 1824 and 1825, at an average of the quarters ending—

	31st March.	30th June.	30th Sept.	31st Dec.
1824,	L.19,665,200	19,906,790	20,624,210	20,344,970
1825,	21,084,470	19,837,770	19,776,360	19,748,840

It appears from this statement that the issues of the Bank were about the same in 1825 as in 1824; but they ought to have been diminished in the last quarter of 1824 and the first quarter of 1825. The fault of the Bank did not, however, consist nearly so much in over-issuing, for with that she is hardly chargeable, as in not contracting soon enough. The exchanges began to set against us in November 1824, and the Bank issues ought, of course, to have been immediately reduced. That this was not done, appears to have been principally owing to an engagement which the Bank had contracted to government. Early in 1824, when the Bank had the enormous amount of above fourteen millions of coin and bullion in her coffers, the directors agreed, on the proposal of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Goderich), to pay off such holders of 4 per cent stock as might dissent from its conversion into a 3½ per cent stock. This was a sort of indefinite undertaking; but considering the favourable state of the exchange in the beginning of 1824, the high price of stock, and the vast amount of treasure by which the Bank was encumbered, it was an undertaking which government was fully justified in proposing; and which the Bank could not have declined without laying themselves open to the imputation of opposing a measure advantageous to the country. There were a good number of dissentients from the conversion; and in October 1824 the Bank had to advance a considerable sum to pay them off. In November the exchange became unfavourable; but the Bank had then, and during the next two months, to make still further advances, amounting in all to about *four* millions, for the same object; she being only repaid by quarterly instalments. This seems to have been the main cause of the Bank's issues not being reduced, as they ought to have been, in the first quarter of 1825. In despite, however, of their contract to pay off the dissentients, the directors might, had they sold government securities, and availed themselves of the other means at their command, have materially lessened their issues in the beginning of 1825. Various circumstances conspired to hinder them from doing this. They had no means of knowing the vast additions that the country banks were making to their issues; nor were they as sensible then, as at present, of the powerful influence of these issues on the exchange. There was very little, indeed,—looking merely to the situation of the

Bank of England,—to alarm the directors when the fall began in November 1824. The issues amounted, at that time, to L.20,850,260, while there were in the coffers of the Bank L.11,323,760 of coin and bullion. (*Report, Append.* p. 27). This large amount of treasure, the flourishing state of the revenue, which made it certain that the quarterly instalments to be received from government on discount of the advance to pay off the dissentients, would be punctually paid; and probably also a difference of opinion among the directors as to whether the drain was occasioned by a redundancy of currency, or by the peculiar state of commerce at the time, led them to think that they ran no danger in continuing their usual advances for some time longer. We believe, too, that some of the directors who thought that the currency was redundant, and that the drain would not cease till it was reduced, hesitated about the prudence of acting on their opinion while the Bank had so large a reserve stock. Owing to the extraordinary excitement* of the period, and to the enormously increased issues of the country banks, a sort of apparent prosperity was everywhere prevalent, which most persons, and ministers among the rest, thought was based upon a solid foundation, and would be permanent. Even after the drain on the Bank had continued for a considerable period, it was stated in his Majesty's speech from the Throne on the 3d of February 1825, that 'there never was a period in the history of 'this country, when all the great interests of this nation were, 'at the same time, in so thriving a condition, or when a feeling 'of content and satisfaction was more widely diffused through 'all classes of the British people.' In the debate or rather conversation on the address, Lord Liverpool said, 'England had 'reached a state of prosperity greater than any other country 'enjoyed—nay, greater than she herself at any antecedent period 'had ever attained.' On the 28th of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Goderich) stated that 'there may be 'those in other countries and in this, who, jealous of the eminence of our station, or ignorant of the causes which have 'placed us there, may represent our present prosperity as the 'forerunner of ruin; but he was of opinion that upon a fair 'review of our situation, there would appear to be *nothing hollow in its foundation, artificial in its superstructure, or flimsy in its general result.*' Even Mr Huskisson could slumber on the edge of a precipice: 'With respect,' said he on the 2d of May 1825, 'to any depression that might have been produced on the

* For the best explanation of the causes of this excitement that has ever been given, see the evidence of Mr H. Palmer, *Report*, p. 47.

‘ foreign exchanges, he thought it was a subject that ought not
 ‘ to excite alarm in the minds of any; or that any opinion un-
 ‘ favourable to our general prosperity could be drawn from it.
 ‘ *It was quite ridiculous to entertain such an apprehension.* The
 ‘ recent slight turn against us had arisen from circumstances of
 ‘ a temporary nature, and which would in a brief period work
 ‘ its own remedy.’

The country participated in the delusion; and the few who foresaw and foretold the coming tempest were represented as ‘ visionary theorists,’ fitter for bedlam than for the business of real life. At the time the Chancellor of the Exchequer was delivering the speech just quoted, amid ‘ loud cheers from all ‘ sides of the House,’ the Bank had rather more than *eight* millions of coin and bullion in her coffers, her issues being rather under *twenty* millions. The directors saw that if they pulled firmly up, as they should have done, the prosperity dream would be of very transient duration; and they seem to have quailed at the idea of facing the storm which such conduct would have occasioned. It would have been said that their narrowing their issues could not have been dictated by a wish to provide for their own security, for that with a reserve of eight millions of bullion they were more than secure; and that they were guilty of having, without any necessity, aimed a deadly blow at the interests of the country. We admit at once that the directors ought to have despised a vulgar clamour of this sort, however loud, and by whomsoever it might have been abetted; and that it was their clear duty, with a view to the public interests as well as to their own, to have stopped issuing notes to supply the place of those sent in for payment; for, in whatever circumstances it may originate, *the fact of a drain for bullion being in operation is of itself a clear and undeniable proof that the currency is redundant.* But, influenced by the considerations already stated, the directors hesitated, and did not sufficiently reduce their issues till August and September 1825, when the bullion in their coffers was reduced to about *three* millions. The consequences of this reduction, which, it will be observed, was forced upon the Bank, are well known. The country banks, many of which seem to have been established for no other purpose but to get indebted to the public, were swept off by scores; seventy of them having stopt payment in the course of six weeks!

Those, therefore, who affirm that the conduct of the Bank of England occasioned the crash of 1825-26, have not even the shadow of a foundation for their statement. The Bank issues were *decidedly larger in January 1824, when the exchanges were in our favour, than in December following, when they were decidedly*

against us.* The redundancy of the currency was plainly a consequence of the enormous additions made, in 1824, to the issues of the country banks, and to the vastly increased quantity of bills and other negotiable paper that had been engrossed into the circulation. The Bank error consisted, as already stated, *in her not pulling up in time.* This is the head and front of her offending. Had she sold securities, or ceased reissuing the notes sent in for payment in November 1824, the speeches already referred to would not have been made; but the crisis that would then have taken place, would have been a good deal less severe than that which afterwards ensued. It is evident, however, that the proceedings of the directors were influenced from first to last by a desire to promote the public interests. In attempting to avert a crisis which had long been impending, they paid away *ten millions* of bullion, and brought their own establishment into a situation of great jeopardy.

But, admitting all that has been said against the conduct of the Bank, will any one pretend to say, that had she been superintended, in 1824 and 1825, by government commissioners, they would have managed better than the directors? Would they have declined negotiating with Lord Goderich to pay off the dissentients? or would they have ventured to embarrass the government, and to distress and enrage the whole country, by effectually narrowing their issues, in November 1824, when they had upwards of *eleven millions* of treasure in their coffers? Had they attempted this, they would most assuredly have been removed from their situation by a vote of the House of Commons. No one, indeed, who reflects for a moment on the subject, can doubt that whatever inconvenience we sustained from the hesitation of the Bank directors, would have been aggravated in a tenfold degree had government commissioners occupied their place. Supposing, on the other hand, that there had been different banks of issue in London; is there any thing to lead us to believe that the same sort of competition would not have existed amongst them, that did exist amongst the rival banks in the provinces? And had such been the case, the year 1825 would have been as famous, or rather as infamous, in England, as the Mississippi year in France. We do not affect to underrate the evils we have endured; but we believe our readers will agree with us in thinking, that they are but trifling compared to those that

* On the 31st January, 1824, the issues were L.20,280,820; on the 24th December, 1824, they were L.19,447,390. (*Report, Append. p. 27.*)

would have been inflicted upon us, had any of those plans been in existence which so many are *now* recommending.

We believe we run no risk in affirming, that the error of the Bank, in 1825, will not be repeated a second time. Her issues are now wholly governed by what Mr Horsley Palmer expressively calls the 'action of the public;'—that is, they are increased when bullion is carried to the Bank for notes, and diminished when notes are sent in to be paid. The average proportion, as already observed, of coin and bullion which the Bank thinks it prudent to keep on hand, is at the rate of a third of the total amount of all her liabilities, including deposits as well as issues. If the exchange were so favourable that a considerably larger quantity than this average proportion was in course of being brought to the Bank, the directors would probably buy an increased amount of government securities, or discount more largely; and, conversely, if the exchange were so unfavourable as to depress the supply of bullion considerably below the average. But, except in anomalous cases, the rule of the Bank now is, to *allow the public to regulate the currency for itself through the action of the exchange.*

It is worth while to observe, that Mr Ward states, in his evidence, a very gratifying and important fact, as evincing the dissemination and ultimate triumph of sound principles, in despite of all the ridicule, obloquy, and abuse, with which they may originally have to contend. Such of our readers as are familiar with the evidence taken before the Bullion Committee, in 1810, will remember the disdain with which most of the Bank directors and merchants, examined by the Committee, spoke of the principle of regulating the issue of paper by the state of the exchange. Indeed, as Mr Ward has truly remarked, '*the most unpopular tenet that ever was, was the being a bullionist twenty years ago!*' And so rooted was the opinion among the best informed practical men, that the Bank issues had nothing to do with the exchange, that in 1819, the directors entered on the Bank books a formal resolution to that effect! But a correct theory, however it may be received at first, is sure to make its way in the end. The 'absurd dogma,' as it was termed, of 'the philosophers and economists' of 1810, has been for the last five years adopted by the Bank directors, as the rule by which they regulate their proceedings. The resolution of 1819 was rescinded in 1827; and the Bank issues are now exclusively governed by the state of the exchange, or, in other words, by the demand of the public for gold.

It is impossible, indeed, that any institution could have been better managed than the Bank of England during the last seven

years. The disturbances in Belgium, and the unsettled state of the Continent, by embarrassing credit, and occasioning an increased demand for coin in France, as well as in the Netherlands, brought a heavy drain for bullion on the Bank. But, notwithstanding the diminution of the issues in consequence of this drain, the directors contrived, by exchanging the securities in their possession, to extend their accommodations to mercantile men, at the very moment they were lessening the amount of their paper afloat; and by this skilful and considerate management saved the commercial world from what would otherwise have been a very severe crisis. Thus in July 1830, the Bank issues rather exceeded twenty-two millions, the bills and notes discounted being L.1,308,000; whereas in July 1831, when the issues were only about nineteen and a half millions, the bills and notes discounted amounted to L.4,103,000, or to about *three times* their amount at the former period. (*Report, App.* p. 52 and p. 84.) It is, indeed, quite certain, that had there been, during the last three years, either a number of banks of issue in London, or a government bank, the country would have been involved in the most serious difficulties.

In so far, therefore, as respects the practical management of the Bank, we are not aware that it is possible, at this moment, to suggest any improvement. But, in renewing the charter, provision ought to be made, *first*, for the publication of periodical statements of the affairs of the Bank, and of the country banks; *second*, for rendering Bank of England notes legal tender for country notes; and, *third*, for exempting the Bank from the operation of the usury laws.

1. We do not imagine that there are any grounds for suspecting that the Bank directors will abandon the sound principles on which the establishment is at present conducted; or that the rescinded resolution of 1819 will ever be revived. Still, however, the able and intelligent men now at the head of the Bank must give way to others; and the public has no security, other than the real interest of the Bank, which it is possible may sometimes be lost sight of, against a change of system and improper management. But in a matter of such extreme importance, as little as possible ought to be left to the discretion of any individual, or set of individuals. It is, indeed, no easy matter to devise any species of control which shall give adequate security in this respect. But a complete system of publicity would probably be the most efficient, and, at the same time, the easiest of adoption, while it would have several important collateral advantages. Were periodical statements regularly published of the affairs of the Bank, the veil that has hitherto covered the

proceedings of the directors would be removed; and it would be impossible for them to take a single false step without its being immediately noticed by the government and the public. The knowledge that such exposure would take place would add materially to the responsibility felt by the directors towards the public; and would make them cautiously weigh and consider their proceedings. To suppose, indeed, that with the check of perfect publicity they would continue an improper line of conduct for any length of time, would be absurd. In banking, as in every thing else, it is no doubt impossible, do what you will, wholly to avoid errors. The only thing that can be done is to lessen, as much as practicable, the chances of their occurring. And if to that identity which subsists between the real interest of the Bank and the public in the issue of notes, were added the check of publicity to ensure its being kept at all times steadily in view, the system would, perhaps, attain to all the perfection of which it seems capable.

Mr Tooke, Mr Grote, and most of the witnesses examined by the committee, strongly urge the propriety of the Bank issuing such a periodical publication as we have recommended. Mr Loyd, too, whose opinion, from his great intelligence and knowledge of business, is of the highest value, conceives that '*the regular publication of the Bank accounts is absolutely essential.*' (Report, p. 241.) And he has ably and successfully refuted the objections to such a measure. 'I think,' he said, 'that a great deal of unnecessary alarm often exists about the Bank from the want of that information, which, if the public possessed it, would give them confidence with respect to the Bank; and I also think the knowledge that they must, at frequently recurring periods, set forth to the public the state of their affairs, would make the directors more watchful in keeping their affairs in a proper condition, and more cautious as to entering into any transactions of a questionable nature.' (Report, *ubi sup.*)

The regular publication of a periodical statement, in which the amount of the issues of the Bank, of her liabilities, and of the coin and bullion, in her coffers, should be disclosed, would be of material service, not merely as a check on the conduct of the directors, but to individuals, in all parts of the empire, in the conduct of their affairs. If, on the one hand, it were seen, by a periodical publication, that the amount of bullion in the Bank continued stationary, it might be fairly presumed that no very immediate change, either one way or another, would take place in the facilities for obtaining pecuniary accommodations in London; and if, on the other hand, it were seen by such publication, that bullion was either coming to or going from the Bank, it might, in the former case, be fairly presumed, that money

would become more plentiful in London, and in the latter that it would become scarcer. Bankers and commercial men in all parts of the country being possessed of this authentic information as to the circumstances which regulate the conduct of the Bank and the currency of the metropolis, would, no doubt, take their measures accordingly; and would, in this way, be able to conduct their business with a good deal less hazard than at present. It is, therefore, of much importance to the public, that such information should be supplied; and the Bank has no interest whatever, but the reverse, in withholding it.

It is said that at present the value of money, and, consequently, that the price of all sorts of property, is dependent on the fiat of the Bank, by whom it is capriciously elevated at one time and depressed at another. Mr Horsley Palmer, by fully explaining the principle by which the Bank issues are governed, has demonstrated that this statement has not so much as even the appearance of truth; and independently of this, every one who knows that the Bank must pay her notes in coin when presented, and that coin may be at all times obtained from the mint, without any charge, in exchange for bullion, must know that the very supposition of its being true involves a contradiction. But the regular publication of the issues of the Bank, and of the amount of gold in her possession, would negative the possibility of such ludicrously absurd misrepresentations obtaining any currency. In this respect, therefore, the Bank would gain a great deal by communicating the fullest details as to the issues and the state of the exchange; and we are not aware that such a disclosure would be in any way injurious to her. We attach little weight to the fears of those who seem to apprehend that the public, on seeing the exchange becoming unfavourable and the supply of bullion reduced, might be alarmed, and press for payment of the notes in their possession. Were periodical statements regularly issued, every one would, at no distant period, become familiar with such subjects; and would learn that the reduction of the stock of bullion was in consequence of a fall of the exchange, which (as the Bank is now managed) it is an effectual means of correcting; and that as soon as the demand for bullion had sufficiently narrowed the currency, and raised it to its proper level, it would cease, and there would be a reflux of bullion to the Bank.

We are, however, clearly of opinion, that it will not do to restrict the check of publicity to the Bank of England, but that it must be extended to *all banks of issue in all parts of the empire*. At present, the government, the public, and the directors of the Bank of England, are wholly ignorant of the proceedings of the country banks. And yet it is undeniably certain, that the over-

issue of these establishments has repeatedly produced a heavy fall of the exchange, a drain for gold, and great mercantile distress; and that the same thing may again happen at any time. This is a state of matters that ought immediately to be put an end to. If it be necessary to subject an establishment, like the Bank of England,—of vast wealth, managed by men of great experience and knowledge of business, and situated under the very eye of government,—to the check of publicity, it is surely still more necessary that it should be made to apply to the country banks. We would wish to speak with all possible respect of these institutions, several of which are conducted by men of high character and of ample fortune; but there are not a few to which this description will not apply; and though it were applicable to all, it is not the less essential that the public should know what they are about. How is it possible that the directors of the Bank of England should be at all times able properly to conduct their affairs, when they have no means of knowing any thing of the proceedings of those who supply most part of the empire with paper? If the currency of the provinces had no reaction upon that of London, something might be found to say in favour of the present system; but the nature of the thing, and the experience of 1792-3, of 1814-15, and of 1825-26, show that its reaction on the Bank of England is most powerful. It generally, too, takes place when it is least expected by the public. The Bank of England, as has been already seen, governs her issues exclusively by the exchange; but to it the country bankers frankly tell us *they pay no attention*. (Report, p. 316.) The issues of the Bank of England are increased during a favourable exchange; but when it comes to par, that is, when bullion ceases to be brought to the Bank to be exchanged for paper, they receive no farther augmentation. Such, however, is not the case with the issues of the country banks. A favourable exchange, by enlarging the issues of the Bank of England, necessarily, in some degree, affects prices; and having impressed on them a tendency to rise, the country bankers, *whose issues are governed wholly by the rise and fall of prices*, continue to increase the amount of their notes afloat, after the influx of bullion has ceased, and the Bank of England currency is stationary. Now, it is of the essence of this question to observe, that *all* that is, under such circumstances, issued by them, *is in excess*; and when, as is frequently the case, this excess becomes considerable, the exchange is depressed, and there is a drain for bullion on the Bank, accompanied with more or less mercantile suffering. But though the approach of a crisis of this sort may at present be guessed at by the Bank directors, they have no data by which

to estimate the probable over-issue, or to regulate their own conduct in the view of meeting it. All that they know is, that they are liable to be overtaken by a tempest; but they can neither foresee when it may be expected to break forth, nor conjecture the degree of its violence.

We say firmly, that the continuance of such a state of things ought not to be endured. Hence the absolute necessity, in order to provide for that uniformity of action in the banking system that is so essential, that means should be taken for acquiring periodically full information as to the affairs of the country banks. A difficulty has been started as to this, which may, however, be easily got rid of. It is said that the periodical publication, either in the Gazette, or in different newspapers, of the accounts of some 700 different establishments, though it might be useful to those who dealt with each, would be of little or no use to the public, as the general results would be buried under a mass of details. This is quite true; and the best way, at it appears to us, of dealing with these accounts, would be to cause them, and also the Bank of England returns, to be sent to a Board of Commissioners appointed by government, of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President and Vice-President of the Board of Trade, should be *ex-officio* members. It should be made the duty of these commissioners to publish in the Gazette general averages of the whole issues, liabilities, coin and bullion, and assets of all descriptions belonging to and at the disposal of the country banks; to direct the publication of the accounts of each bank in some of the newspapers in its vicinity; and to direct a special investigation to be made into the affairs of all banks they had occasion to suspect were not making fair returns. The adoption of some plan of this sort would be productive of infinite advantage. Taken in connexion with the publication of the Bank of England accounts, it would afford important information as to the state of every part of the currency; at the same time that it would be a salutary check on the proceedings of a description of country banks that cannot be too carefully looked after.

A composition is paid by the Bank of England and the country banks for stamp duties, according to their weekly issue taken every Saturday. And such returns, with a further return of the liabilities, coin and bullion, and total available assets of every different bank, ought to be weekly transmitted to the commissioners. The frequency of publication by the latter would be matter for subsequent consideration and arrangement; and might be either monthly or quarterly. But the commissioners should be bound, first, to furnish weekly abstracts of the state of the affairs of the Bank of England, and of those of the country banks,

to the Treasury; second, to furnish a weekly abstract of the affairs of the country banks, to the Bank of England; and third, to furnish to any country banker who required it, an abstract of the affairs of the Bank of England, and of the country banks, for the preceding week. By this means all parties concerned in the supply of money would be made exactly aware of each other's proceedings. Government would have full information as to a most important branch of national economy, of which they at present know next to nothing; the Bank of England would be informed of the proceedings of the country banks, and conversely; and the monthly or quarterly publications in the Gazette, and in the provincial papers, would give that degree of publicity to the whole system that would ensure regularity of action and the prevention of abuse.

But even the check of publicity, though quite indispensable, would not be enough to guarantee the public against injury from the misconduct or bad faith of the country banks. Government has taken from the Bank of England a security to the extent of $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions for payment of her notes. The same thing ought to be done by the country banks; and not one of them, whether having five, or five hundred partners, ought to be allowed to issue notes except upon security. We could point out certain joint-stock banks lately established in different parts of England, that have no sufficient capital with which to carry on their business; and whose proceedings will, most probably, be injurious alike to the public and to their proprietors. The latter may, indeed, take such risks as they fancy; but it is the imperative duty of government to provide for the undoubted solidity of all the issuers of paper-money; and this can only be effectually done by suppressing all notes not issued on security. This regulation, combined with the system of publicity we have already ventured to propose, would go far to perfect the system of country banking.

2. The second suggestion we have to offer is, that, in the ensuing arrangement, care should be taken to make Bank of England notes legal tender for the notes of country banks. At present, country bank-notes are payable in gold; so that when any circumstance occurs to occasion their discredit, they all fall back upon the coffers of the Bank of England, who may, at any moment, be drained of gold, not in consequence of her own misconduct, but of the proceedings of those over whom she has no control whatever. It was this circumstance—the demand for gold from the provinces—that reduced the stock in the Bank coffers so low in December 1825; and we have no guarantee that the same thing may not occur to-morrow. Mr Thornton, Mr Huskisson,

and Mr Ricardo, have all pointed out the impolicy, or rather absurdity, of placing the Bank of England in a situation of such extreme hazard; and it would be to no purpose to dwell on what is so very obvious. So long as Bank of England notes are exchangeable for gold at the pleasure of the holder, the over-issue of country bank paper will be as effectually restrained by their tender for country notes, as it is by the present system, the folly of which is as gratuitous as it is striking. It is asked, indeed, why should not the holder of a country bank-note get coin for it as well as the holder of a Bank of England note? But to this sagacious question it may be answered, that under the proposed plan, the holder of a country bank-note may, if he be dissatisfied with it, get a Bank of England note in its stead; for which he will obtain coin the moment he wants it. We do not know that the circulation of large quantities of coin in a country is of any importance. There is hardly a single sovereign in the pockets or the coffers of any individual in this part of the empire; and yet it would be rather difficult to show that this circumstance inflicts upon us any material injury. But, howsoever this may be, so long as L.1 notes are suppressed in England, there will always be a considerable amount of gold in the provinces. And while the proposed regulation would save the Bank from a useless expense, and contribute materially to her stability, and by consequence to the stability of our pecuniary system, it would not be productive of the slightest inconvenience. A change of such obvious utility will surely be adopted.

3. The third and only remaining suggestion we have to offer, is, that the Bank of England shall be exempted from the operation of the Usury Laws. It is to be hoped, indeed, that these laws, the injurious operation of which has been shown over and over again, will not be longer permitted to disgrace the Statute-book. But though we should resolve to support this offensive remnant of bygone ignorance, we may interfere so far with the universality of the system, as to grant an exemption in favour of the Bank. We incline to think that the Bank might on many occasions advantageously increase her discounts of mercantile paper; but if the exchange should happen to fall when she had discounted largely, it would be necessary for her to limit her discounts; and this ought, in all cases, to be done by raising the rate of interest. Now, it is easy to see, that, under particular circumstances, an advance to five per cent might not be sufficient to produce the desired effect; and that a rise to six, or, it may be, seven per cent, might be required. Hitherto, when the Bank has been obliged to narrow her discounts, she has been compelled to effect her object by throwing out the paper of

particular individuals, who, it may be fairly presumed, are not the best able to bear the loss of any accustomed accommodation. But were the Bank allowed to raise the rate of interest, the pressure, in such periods, would equally affect all who dealt with her; and the more opulent, or those who could most easily obtain loans elsewhere, would be the first to withdraw. It is plain, therefore, that the exemption of the Bank from the Usury Laws would be a material improvement; and we cannot imagine any objection to its adoption.

The most exaggerated reports have long been in circulation as to the profits made by the Bank of England from the issue of notes, and the conducting of the government business. During the war, while the Bank was exempted from the obligation to pay in gold, and while she was annually drawing a large sum for her trouble in receiving the instalments on account of loans, her profits were comparatively large; but since the peace they have been very moderate indeed. The following account was furnished by the Bank to the Committee:—

Profit derived by the Bank of England from the issue of notes, and the government business. (See *Report, App. p. 34.*)

1. *Profits on Circulation and Government Deposits.*

Circulation,	L.20,000,000
Government deposits,	4,000,000
	L.24,000,000

Of which 2-3ds are estimated to be invested in securities, and 1-3d in bullion.

Securities, L.16,000,000; viz.

9,000,000 Exchequer bills at $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent,	L.202,500
800,000 Stock 3 —	24,000
1,000,000 Advances for Circulation on discount 3 —	30,000
500,000 Country discount $3\frac{1}{2}$ —	17,500
4,700,000 $4\frac{1}{8}$ —	193,875
	467,875

16,000,000

Deduct,

Expense of circulation,	L.106,000
Expense of government deposits,	10,000
Stamp duty on circulation,	70,000
1 per cent on capital (held by government at 3 per cent,)	147,000
	333,000
	134,875

2. *Profits on Management of the Public Debt.*

Amount received from government for management of the public debt, for the year ending 5th April, 1832, including life annuities,	L.251,000
Management of life annuities proposed to be transferred,	3,000
	—————248,000
Deduct,	
Expenses for management of the National Debt,	164,000
Average of forgeries per annum, during the last ten years,	40,000
	—————204,000
	————— 44,000
Estimated profit,	L.178,875

According to this account, it would seem that the total clear profit derived by the Bank, in her capacities of money issuer and of government banker, do not together amount to L.179,000 a-year. The only item in this account as to which there is much room for discussion, is the deduction of L.147,000 made by the directors from their apparent profits, for an alleged loss of interest on capital. The Bank has lent government $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions at three per cent, as security for her issues; but the directors contend that this money is worth, at least, four per cent; and that, supposing they were deprived of the privilege of issuing notes, and their capital were refunded by government, it would produce so much to the proprietors. We do not pretend to decide as to the exact degree of credit that ought to be attached to this statement. That it is true to a certain extent, we have no doubt; but it may be questioned whether it be true to the extent alleged by the directors. But it is the duty of ministers in dealing with the Bank to provide for getting the public business conducted at the least possible expense, consistent with its proper discharge, and with perfect security; for it would be wretched policy to seek to effect a paltry saving of a few thousand pounds, by trenching on either of these principles. The adoption of the proposal for making Bank of England notes legal tender for country bank-notes, would, by diminishing the risk and liabilities of the Bank, go to increase her profits; and might, therefore, be reasonably urged by government as a ground for obtaining a reduction of the charge on account of the management of the public debt. Government, we are sure, will propose none but fair and honourable terms; and to such, we believe,

the Bank will make no scruple to accede. We do not imagine that there can be any material difficulty in the way of a satisfactory arrangement as to this point.

On the whole, therefore, we are decidedly of opinion that the charter of the Bank of England should be renewed, with and under the conditions we have specified. And, considering the injury done to the most important interests of the country by keeping this question in suspense, as little time as possible should be lost in settling it. We do not see any the least use for farther enquiry. All is now known that can be known as to the affairs of the Bank; and the points to be arranged can be advantageously discussed by none except government and the directors.

We think we have sufficiently demonstrated the mischievous nature of the proposals for giving to every one the power of issuing notes in London, and for establishing a National Bank. But though the objections to these schemes could be shown to be far less conclusive than they appear to be, our opinions would not be materially varied. The money system of a country in the situation of Great Britain, is assuredly the very last thing with which a wise statesman would choose to tamper. All interference with it, however cautiously gone about, is in the last degree perilous—*periculosæ plenum opus aleæ*. Nothing but the moral certainty of effecting a great ultimate good could warrant the risk of change, and the many inconveniencies of which it could not fail to be productive. The introduction of publicity in the way already suggested, and the other alterations we have recommended, which are all easy of adoption, will obviate whatever is defective in the present system. If we go farther, and take away the exclusive privileges of the Bank of England, or intrust Government with the power of issuing paper, we shall not be making changes for the sake of improvements: we shall be guilty of the folly of subverting an establishment with which we have been long acquainted,—which enjoys the entire confidence of the public, and which, if it does not fully answer, may easily be made to answer, every legitimate purpose that a great public Bank ought to serve, in order to introduce machinery of which it is impossible accurately to foresee the results; but which, in as far as they can be determined beforehand, may be expected to prove expensive and disastrous.

ART. VI.—1. *La Belgique et la Hollande. Lettre à Lord Aberdeen.* Par VICTOR DE LA MARRE. Bruxelles. Fevrier: 1832.

2. *Protocols of Conferences held at London relative to the Affairs of Belgium.* 1832.

BELGIUM, during many generations, has been the fruitful source of negotiation and of war. Frequent, too, almost beyond example, have been its changes of political position. Originally a cluster of independent provinces, it became at length entirely subject to the mild dominion of the house of Burgundy. Devolving on an heiress of that house, it merged in the vast empire of her powerful grandson, Charles V. It was goaded into revolt by the tyranny of Philip II., who, by the last great public act of his life, transferred it to his eldest daughter, Isabella, married to the Archduke Albert of Austria; for, as was stated, ‘the Netherlands lay so remote from the seat of government, and the laws of that country, and the language, character, and manners of the people were so extremely different from those of Spain, that it would be for ever found impracticable to preserve them in obedience.’* Louis XIV. lavished the resources of his kingdom in fruitless efforts to obtain those provinces; and the armed confederacies of the reigns of our William III. and Anne were formed for the purpose of preserving them to the house of Austria, and of preventing them from falling under the dominion of France. The Emperor Joseph II., after exciting disaffection by vexatious interference, endeavoured to exchange them for an equivalent in Germany; and at length, when revolutionized France commenced its career of conquest, these provinces were its earliest prey. On the first downfall of Napoleon in 1814, Belgium would, upon the principle of restitution, have reverted to Austria; but Austria wisely declined the acceptance of a detached and discontented country, which might be regarded more truly as a burden than as a boon. Nevertheless, it was placed under the temporary command of an Austrian general, as military governor, till the Allied Powers should have fixed its destination.

* Watson’s Life of Philip II.

To have partitioned Belgium would have been a manifest injustice. This project then being set aside, two courses remained open—to render Belgium independent, or to annex it to some other state. The Allied Powers chose the latter. But to have given it to any of the greater European states—to Prussia, for instance, as in 1805 was projected by Mr Pitt—would have excited the jealousy of the rest, and disturbed the balance of power. The question then lay between the independence of Belgium, and its union with the small adjoining state of Holland. The principal objects of the Allied Powers in their disposal of Belgium were, to preserve the balance of power, and to secure the peace of Europe;—to place Belgium in such a position as was most likely to be permanent, and, above all, to prevent its incorporation with France. This latter object might be secured either by the obligation of treaties, to which France should be a party; by the arms of the Allied Powers; or by rendering Belgium satisfied with its allotted condition, and unwilling to exchange it for any other. Now, of these means, the first was as applicable to the independence of Belgium, as to its union with Holland. The permanence of one condition might have been guaranteed as easily as the other. The same might almost be said with respect to protection by the arms of the Allies. Under either circumstance, whether of independence or of annexation, the new state would equally require their assistance; for the kingdom of the Netherlands would, if invaded by France, have been no more able, unaided, to preserve the integrity of its territory, than Belgium to maintain its independence. Thus, with a view to the prevention of Belgium from becoming a province of France, its union with Holland was preferable to its independence, only in the event of the former arrangement being most agreeable to the Belgian people, and most calculated to ensure their contentment. It is to be feared that the wishes of Holland or of Belgium did not enter deeply into the consideration of the Allied Powers. Indeed, we have the authority of a noble lord, who may be regarded as a favourable interpreter of these intentions, for saying, that this important measure was dictated by other motives. ‘The union of Holland and Belgium,’ said Lord Aberdeen, in his place in Parliament, on the 26th of January, 1832, ‘was a gratuitous act on the part of the Allies. ‘Holland, no doubt, would willingly have returned to her ancient state, and have enjoyed her *republican* form of government; but it suited not the European powers to allow to her that position; and on that account these provinces were united to ‘Holland.’ It was to prevent the re-establishment of a republic

in Holland, that the Allied Powers (to use the expression of the same noble lord) ‘*imposed*’ the treaty of union on the king of the Netherlands. ‘It was,’ says Lord Aberdeen, ‘an arrangement made for an European object.’ We do not blame the Congress of Vienna for having had an *European* object principally in view—for having sought the attainment of that peace and stability, in which were involved the welfare of Holland and of Belgium, no less than of the greater states. But we do blame them for having neglected to make this desirable object more consonant with the wishes of the Dutch and the Belgians, and for having failed to secure to each people that independent political existence, which we are again told by Lord Aberdeen ‘might *just as well* have been effected in 1814 by the Allied Powers, as that *perfect amalgamation* of the two countries, ‘which was *in fact, and really*, then effected.’ A perfect amalgamation, in fact and really! We repeat with surprise expressions which the events of the last two years (even if we looked no farther back) are so strikingly calculated to disprove. But was there ‘a perfect amalgamation’ at *any* time? and were the Allied Powers justified in expecting it? This is a question of some importance; for on this must stand or fall the wisdom of the Congress of Vienna in their union of Holland and Belgium.

The annexation of Belgium to Holland was once proposed to our William III., who, with his usual sagacity, declined the experiment. His principal reason was said to have been the difference of religious opinions in the two countries. The majority of the Belgians are Roman Catholics, while Protestantism predominates in Holland. Their wishes, with regard to ecclesiastical government, were thus certain to be opposite. There are other important differences. Holland is principally a commercial state—Belgium, manufacturing and agricultural. The former naturally wish to lessen the duties on commerce; the latter, to lighten those taxes which press upon the land. Their wishes would thus be opposite on the subject of taxation. Their languages were different. There was dissimilarity in habits, in feelings, in associations—in all the most prominent constituents of the national character; and there was also an antipathy of each to the other, which, unreasonable as it might be, was not undeserving the consideration of those who seemed to expect a cordial union of the two people.

An union, compounded even of such repulsive materials, might perhaps still have afforded some faint promise of stability, if one of the two states had been much larger and more powerful than

the other ; if it had been entitled to claim superiority as the price of protection, and could have compelled submission to an indisputable ascendancy. But the circumstances of Holland and Belgium were such as necessarily must preclude either from submitting willingly to the sway of the other, and which must sow the seeds of perpetual jealousy. The extent of Holland was estimated at 2,860,888 *hectares*, of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres each ; that of Belgium at 3,337,249. The population of Holland in 1815 was 2,046,885 ; that of Belgium, 3,377,617. Belgium had therefore a decided superiority in population and extent. In wealth, the two countries were probably equal. Holland, on the other hand, had extensive colonies, a better appointed land force, and a more considerable navy. Was it likely that, under circumstances approaching so nearly to equality, either state should not have felt jealous of the slightest appearance of preponderating influence on the part of the other ? And yet the Belgians were expected to be satisfied when subjected to a Dutch king ! An union so commenced would not have afforded fair promise of permanence, even if it had originally been accomplished with the cordial consent of each country. But in neither country was there cordial consent. The Dutch were bribed into reluctant approbation by the prospect of an ascendancy to which neither was entitled : The Belgians rejected the proposed arrangement. An assembly of Belgian notables, nominated by the minister of the King of the Netherlands, was convoked, for the purpose of giving their assent to the *loi fondamentale*, by which the union was to be sanctioned, and the two states thenceforward governed : 1603 notables were summoned ; only 1323 appeared ; of these, 796 voted against the law, and 527 for it ; and it was thus rejected, by a majority of 269 votes. This would have been fatal to the union, if the King of the Netherlands had not devised a scheme unprecedented in the annals of legislative chicanery. The 280 absent notables were, upon the stale and childish plea that silence gives consent, considered to have voted *for* the law ; and 126 of the majority who had given a motive for their vote, and assigned the ground of difference of religion, were on that account struck off the list. The addition of the absent members procured a majority of 11 votes ; and upon the strength of this miserable juggle the King of the Netherlands ventured to proclaim to the world that Belgium had *accepted* the union.

An union, commenced under circumstances so inauspicious, could be firmly cemented only by liberality, by mildness, by the most impartial distribution of advantages, and a careful adapta-

tion of all measures to the wishes and exigencies of the two states. Impartiality was more requisite than if they had been governed by a king who was neither Dutch nor Belgian; for Belgium, being subjected to a Dutch king, might naturally be expected to watch with suspicion for every symptom of a disposition to favour the interests of Holland. In the very outset, advantages were distributed unequally. By the fundamental law, the large debt of Holland, and the comparatively small debt of Belgium, were both to be charged to the general treasury, and borne equally by the two states. The 3,337,000 Belgians, and the 2,046,000 Dutch, were to be represented in the common parliament by an equal number of members—55 from each country. Thus, in two most important particulars, a pretended equality was established only in such a manner as to be onerous to Belgium, and favourable to Holland. If the Belgians looked into their new constitution—the ‘*loi fondamentale*’—for securities against future abuses, and that partial exercise of authority which they had reason to apprehend, they found that they were to have judges removable at pleasure; ministers not declared responsible; and the freedom of the press proclaimed in articles so ambiguous and indefinite, as to afford little hope that this palladium of their liberties would not ultimately be deprived of all its peculiar powers.

One of the earliest acts of the new sovereign was arbitrary and unpopular, and extremely offensive to the Belgian people. They are attached to trial by jury. The Dutch criminal procedure dispenses with that institution. Uniformity was thought desirable; so the Belgians were sacrificed; and, without their consent, the trial by jury was in criminal cases summarily abolished.

The Belgians were next exposed to a vexatious imposition of the Dutch language. French is spoken exclusively by a considerable portion of the Belgians. The rest speak Flemish, but hardly ever write it; and throughout Belgium all business was carried on in French. An order is issued that no writing shall receive a stamp which is not in Dutch or Flemish—stamps being requisite to give legality to written transactions. In an instant thousands of legal *employés* in Belgium found themselves deprived of the means of subsistence, by their inability to comply with this arbitrary decree. Without a crime save that of being Belgians, and conversant only with their native tongue, they were driven into beggary, and their places occupied by the more fortunate Dutch.

Though these acts seem partial and unjust, it might have been hoped, that in the distribution of patronage, the King of the

Netherlands would make his Belgian subjects some amends. What was the case? In 1816, of eight ministers of state, only one was a Belgian; of 28 diplomatic agents, one; of 244 ministerial officers in various civil departments, 65; of 85 generals, 16. The officers of the King's guard were all Dutch, and so were three-fourths of the artillery. Against a Dutch king, a Dutch court, a Dutch ministry, an army commanded by a large majority of Dutch officers, what had Belgium to oppose?—representatives equal in number with those of a less extensive, less populous, and more favoured state. But what did even this avail? Whenever the government wished to pass a measure which favoured Holland at the expense of Belgium, they were sure of the unanimous concurrence of the 55 Dutch members; and a single Belgian gained over to the ministerial side, gave them a majority, and placed that country at their disposal. Even had the representative system been more equally adjusted, the Belgians might with reason have been disgusted with a parliament, 'where,' as is well expressed in Lord John Russell's able 'Letter to Lord Holland on Foreign Politics,' 'the members rail at one another in different languages; where a Belgian deputy, who proposes a financial question, is completely foiled by the unintelligible reply of a Dutch chancellor of the exchequer; where one half of the house do not understand the other half, till they see their speeches translated in the newspapers of the following day.'

Taxation is, in every country, a fruitful source of discontent. Many circumstances combined to render it peculiarly such in Belgium. The object, the kind, and the manner of taxation, were alike obnoxious to the Belgians. *First*, they were taxed for Dutch objects—for the payment of the Dutch debt—for the repair of the Dutch dikes; *next*, the taxes imposed were of a kind which tended to relieve Dutch commerce at the expense of Belgian agriculture; and, *lastly*, they were levied in a manner vexatious and oppressive. Municipal taxes, levied at the entrances of towns, were much increased. No article of food could enter them from the country without paying its tax at the gate. Taxes resembling that least popular part of our fiscal system, the assessed taxes—taxes acting like sumptuary laws upon almost every article that constitutes the '*superflu si necessaire*' of civilized existence, and tending to retard the manufacturing activity of Belgium—were multiplied with merciless severity. But there were two taxes more especially oppressive than the rest, and which fell very heavily on the agricultural peasantry;—taxes of that worst kind which affect the staple food of the people, without even the shallow plea of protection to a particular inte-

rest; these were the *mouture* and the *abattage*. The first was a tax on meal, which, besides raising the price of the first necessary of life, was encumbered with regulations which forbade corn to be ground at home—bade the mixture of different kinds of grain, except in proportions fixed by law—bade its being sent to the mill except at certain hours, and accompanied with a *passavent* or ‘permit,’ for which the bearer had been obliged to pay. The *abattage* was, if possible, more vexatious. It was a tax on the slaughter of cattle. What should we think in this country of a law which deprived the cottager of the right of killing his own pig?—which obliged him to leave his work to go perhaps ten miles to a receiver of taxes, to declare the description and the estimated weight and value of the animal (naming a sum at which the receiver, by right of *preemption*, might, if he chose, *compel* him to sell it), to crave permission to have it killed at a fixed hour by a licensed butcher!—Such was the *abattage*, one of the boons which Belgium obtained from the ‘paternal government’ of the King of the Netherlands.

Such an accumulation of undeniable grievances naturally produced much discontent; and the press of Belgium would have been a very unfaithful interpreter of the public mind, if no expression of such discontent had ever appeared in its columns. It did appear; the degree of liberty which the press enjoyed was slight indeed, and of doubtful tenure, but it was sufficient to allow some indication of the sentiments of Belgium to escape. This offence was not tolerated. The councils of the King of the Netherlands were unfortunately then directed by M. Van Maanen, a man of great ability, but arbitrary disposition—one of those consistent admirers of a vigorous policy, who, ever in extremes, had passed from the hated republicanism of early life, to a dogged maintenance of the most absolute principles of monarchical power. By him it seems to have been decided, that restrictive measures must be enforced, and the voice of the press must be stifled. We will briefly mention the circumstances which ensued. In July 1828, two Frenchmen, Jador and Bellet, were condemned to a year’s imprisonment, and subsequent banishment, for certain political squibs, neither dangerously clever, nor scandalously offensive, in a newspaper called the *Argus*. In October and November 1828, appeared two articles in the ‘*Courier du Pays Bas*,’ the former by M. Ducpetiaux, entitled, ‘*Expulsion de MM. Bellet et Jador en violation de l’Article 4 de la Loi Fondamentale*,’ showing the banishment to be unconstitutional; the other to the same effect, by M. de Potter, author of the ‘*Life of Scipio de Ricci*.’ For this MM. Ducpetiaux and De Potter were arrested; and, under the provisions of

a temporary enactment of April 1815, *constructively* applicable to the press, were in December 1828 condemned, the former to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of 500 florins; the latter to imprisonment for a year and a half, and a fine of 1000 florins. The public became indignant; the Chambers murmured more loudly than they were wont; and the government were obliged to present a project for the repeal of this law. On the 16th of May, 1829, a new law was substituted, which placed the press on a more liberal footing than it had enjoyed before. But the victims of the former law received no benefit from this change. Ducpetiaux and De Potter remained in prison; and petitions were fruitlessly presented in the Chambers for a reversal of the sentence. Meanwhile, the public had not remonstrated in vain. Something was gained for Belgium. The decree enforcing the general use of the Dutch and Flemish languages was modified; a Belgian Catholic was appointed minister for ecclesiastical affairs; and the government abstained from their proposed interference at the College of Louvain with the education of the Catholic clergy. But severities were mixed with these concessions: obedience to the government was more rigidly enforced; and among many cases there occurred one of peculiar hardship. A M. de Stasart, having voted against the budget, was deprived of a pension long since granted for past services. He and others excited the commiseration of the Belgian public, and it was proposed to indemnify them by a general subscription, limited to a florin from each contributor.

In the meantime, to the surprise of the public, who had hoped to find the liberties of the press established by the law of May 16, 1829, a royal message came forth on the 11th of December, recommending the project of another law, by which that of May was to be annulled; and which proposed to inflict imprisonment of from one to three years (and a double punishment for a repeated offence) on all who 'shall be guilty of attacks upon the 'obligatory force of existing laws, or who shall excite disobedience to those laws; all those who shall be guilty of disturbing or endangering public safety, in *sowing dissension*, fomenting alarm or *suspicion*; as also those who shall commit the 'offence of *attack* and insult against the government or one of 'its branches, or who shall outrage its acts, or *calumniate its intentions*, or who shall *endeavour to sap its authority*.' It is evident, that under such a law there could be no opposition press. No disapprobation however slight could be expressed against the measures or policy of the existing government, which might not be construed into an attempt to sap its authority, to calumniate its intentions, to sow disunion, or to foment suspicion;

and which would not render the publishers amenable to a severe punishment, at the hands of judges *removable* at pleasure. The actual severities inflicted by the government were in unison with its professions. The subscription set on foot for Stasart and others was considered particularly offensive; and for having published the project of this subscription, De Potter, Tielmans, Bartels, Coche-Momens, Vanderstraeten, and De Neve, editors and contributors to sundry journals, were severally apprehended and prosecuted. Of these, Potter, Tielmans, and Bartels, were the most obnoxious. It was thought, that the mere publication of the project would not furnish a plea for sufficient severity; so they were accused of high treason, and their papers seized, and letters intercepted, with the hope of finding evidence to substantiate this charge. But the government were disappointed; and notwithstanding their arbitrary proceeding, they were obliged to abandon the capital charge of treason, and content themselves with that of sedition. Nevertheless, ministerial vengeance was not allowed to lose its prey. De Potter, Tielmans, and Bartels, were condemned to banishment; the former for eight years, the two latter for seven. A more gross violation of justice has not been committed in modern times. The primary offence of these men was their proposal of a measure, distasteful indeed to the government, but which no law rendered illegal; and the dependent judges who condemned them were obliged to have recourse to *constructive* sedition, and to banish them as ‘disturbers of the public tranquillity.’ These, though first in importance, were not the only prosecutions that took place. Thirty prosecutions against the press were instituted in the course of one month; and under the auspices of Van Maanen, the government commenced a vigorous crusade against the free expression of thought. The cup of bitterness was now full. The Belgians were goaded almost beyond endurance. That safety-valve for disaffection, a free press, had been denied them. They were tried by dependent judges—they were governed by irresponsible ministers—Shall we wonder if they murmured? Should we not despise them if they had been silent?

In this inflammable state of the public feeling, when a single spark might produce convulsion, and it was evident to observant minds that some great crisis was at hand in Belgium, the revolution of July 1830 broke out in France. There are those who speak as if the revolution in France had been the sole cause of the revolution in Belgium—as if there had been no grievances in the latter country—as if there had been no discontent among the Belgians till the French put it into their heads. ‘I will

‘not,’ said Lord Aberdeen, in the House of Lords, on the 9th of August, 1831, ‘enter into the history and progress of the Belgian revolution; I will not proceed to enquire whether that revolution owes its origin to fifteen years of peace—to the increasing wealth, happiness, and prosperity which that kingdom has enjoyed under the *beneficent* sway of the House of Orange; or how far it is owing to those *free institutions* which have grown up under that *liberal* and enlightened government. Without going into such an enquiry, I will say, that it cannot be denied that the revolution in Belgium was the first-born of the French revolution.’ We have in the foregoing pages given a brief outline of that history which Lord Aberdeen so discreetly declined; and we would add, with all due deference, that we are led by it to conclusions very different from those which are implied in his observations. We agree with the noble lord, that ‘*without* going into such an enquiry,’ it may be possible to assert, with exemplary hardihood, that the Belgian revolution was the child of the French. But we also say, that if we *do go* into such an enquiry, we shall not be borne out in attributing events in Belgium in so large a measure to the instrumentality of France. The revolution in France did not produce the revolution in Belgium; it merely accelerated what must eventually have occurred. There were grounds for disaffection in each country, and it was natural that successful resistance in one should encourage an attempt at resistance in the other.

The expected crisis soon arrived. On the evening of the 25th of August the mine exploded. The ostensible origin was trivial. A cry was raised against a local tax affecting the price of bread, and a mob, inconsiderable in the outset, was assembled. The first act of violence was an attack upon the house of Libry Bagnano, a refugee Piedmontese, once convicted of forgery in France, and at that time the editor of the *National*—a journal anti-Belgic in its tone, and devoted to the interests of the court party. The house of this man was sacked by the populace. The next object of their vengeance was Van Maanen, the Minister of Justice, whose house the infuriated people not only sacked, but burned. The tide of tumult then rolled on rapidly; wine and spirit shops were broken open; arms procured by force from the gunsmiths; and the city throughout the night was at the mercy of an intoxicated and desperate rabble. Outrages occurred, such as the march of revolution too often exhibits; and the struggle for liberty wore that loathsome aspect, under which the advocates of despotism love to exhibit it, like a drunken Helot, as a warning to the world. It is indeed a sight which the rational lover

of freedom views with far more disgust and pain than does the admirer of despotic government. Such a crisis reverses the just position of the parties; it places the oppressors in the favourable light of maintainers of order; while the oppressed become violators of the dearest principles that bind together the welfare of a community. But let it be borne in mind that the atrocities of a revolution are available in argument only against the *manner* of the change effected, and not against its necessity. On the contrary, they are frequently among the proofs of that necessity. They show the deep sense of wrong under which the insurgents have been writhing; and they also show the depth of their degradation. A revolution which would enable Negro slaves to set their feet upon the necks of planters, would probably exceed in horror all other revolutions; but surely that would be no good argument for seeking to perpetuate the government of the lash. Let violence lie at the door of those who have degraded a people,—who have resisted legal, timely, moderate change, and left open no other avenue to redress but force.

But Brussels was not at this time fated to suffer long the worst extremities of mob rule. Much encouragement was, indeed, given to the insurgents by the ineffectual opposition of the troops; who, in number about 2000, after several hours of skirmish in the streets, withdrew to the Place Royale in the afternoon of the 26th, and there remained passive spectators, while the houses of the commandant of the city, the Procureur du Roi, Director of Police, and others connected with the administration of the law, were demolished by the mob. Furniture was piled up and burnt in the street, and an extensive pillage and destruction of private property took place in almost every quarter of the town. It was in this terrible emergency that the municipality directed the reorganization of the Burgher Guard, and desired the inefficient troops to retire to their barracks. In the course of that evening and the following day, nearly 5000 of the Burgher Guard were organized. Under the command of Hoogvorst, their colonel, they attacked and repelled the mob, and order was re-established and maintained. The respectable citizens of Brussels had thus suppressed a riot, which the King's troops either would not or could not quell. The position they had assumed, and its successful issue, had given them power; and they determined to employ it for the purpose of obtaining a removal of grievances. They sent, by deputation, an address to the King, in which they demanded the full and impartial execution of the Fundamental Law, the removal of Van Maanen, the suspension of the *abattage*, a new electoral system, trial by jury, responsibility of ministers, relaxation of severity towards the press,

and, moreover, recommended an immediate convocation of the States-General. The King complied with the latter request, and accepted the resignation of Van Maanen. Meanwhile, troops were marching upon Brussels, and the Prince of Orange and Prince Frederick repaired also to that city. The former was met on the 31st of August by a deputation, which informed him, that with only a few attendants he might enter Brussels safely; but that the entrance of troops would not be permitted, and that the Burgher Guard would be answerable for the peace of the city. To these terms the Prince of Orange assented; and, attended only by a single aide-de-camp, entered Brussels on the following day. He appointed a committee to deliberate upon grievances; and issued a proclamation, thanking the inhabitants, in the name of the King, for the re-establishment of order. The committee, on the 3d of September, promulgated, for the first time, a demand that the union of Holland and Belgium should be dissolved. This demand was at variance with the propositions sent to the King from Brussels, which claimed, in the first article, the entire execution of the Fundamental Law, of which that union was a primary feature. It was not, however, at this time intended that the two countries, though with separate administrations, should cease to be governed by the same monarch. The Prince of Orange was assured of the present favourable disposition of the Belgians towards the dynasty of Nassau; and, with this assurance, he returned to the Hague to support the new demands of the committee.

The States-General met at the Hague on the 13th of September, and the King informed them in his speech that the principal object of deliberation was to be a revision of the Fundamental Law, with a view to the separation of Holland and Belgium; and he proposed to them these questions,—‘ 1. Whether experience ‘ points out the necessity of altering the national institutions? ‘ 2. If it should, whether the relations established between the ‘ two great divisions of the kingdom ought, for the fartherance ‘ of the common interest, to be changed either in form or substance?’ During the discussion of these subjects, events occurred at Brussels which too effectually removed that favourable disposition towards the dynasty of Nassau, of which the Prince of Orange had been recently assured. On the 19th of September, the mob of Brussels, swelled by the influx of unemployed artisans from many neighbouring towns, and irritated by the continued pressure of distresses from which they ignorantly expected an immediate relief, rose, and, after extorting arms from the Committee of Public Safety, on the following day overpowered and disarmed the Burgher Guard. On hearing this,

Prince Frederick, unfortunately conceiving himself justified by this circumstance in disregarding the King's solemn promise not to resort to force during the deliberation of the States-General, marched with his troops against Brussels, and on the 21st demanded, by proclamation, that the posts lately occupied by the Burgher Guard should be given up to his troops. But the Burgher Guard and the Committee of Public Safety had no longer the power of resolving whether this demand should or should not be complied with. The town was in the hands of an insurgent populace, who determined to defend it against the troops. On the 23d, the Dutch troops, in six divisions, simultaneously attacked six of the city gates, each of which they soon forced. But these first successes were not followed by prosperous results. There were strong barricades across the streets; numerous obstacles opposed the progress of the military; and they were exposed to a destructive fire from the houses. Nevertheless, the troops established themselves within the walls, and took up a strong position in the Park. Four days more did the struggle continue—a struggle accompanied with aggravated horrors, and unattended with any decisive success on either side. The troops were not defeated; but to retain the city seemed hopeless, and Prince Frederick prudently withdrew them. Meanwhile, unhappily for the House of Orange, a forged proclamation, in the name of Prince Frederick, had been circulated through Brussels, in which he was made to promise to his troops two hours' unrestrained plunder of the city, if they would make him master of it the following day. This falsehood was, in a moment of excitement, greedily accepted by an exasperated people, already disposed to think ill of the Dutch; and, unfortunately, appeared to receive a certain degree of practical confirmation in the rapine and violence committed by some of the troops who had taken possession of the street of Louvain. This, added to all the other exasperating circumstances of these dreadful days, sufficed to extinguish among the majority of the Belgians whatever of favourable sentiment towards the House of Orange they might have previously entertained, and rendered hopeless the possibility of establishing on the throne of Belgium any member of that family.

Let us now turn our eyes towards the proceedings of other nations during this eventful period.

Soon after the first rising at Brussels, the French government, anxious to disclaim the imputation of being accessory to these disturbances, sought the co-operation of England in urging the King of the Netherlands to accede to any reasonable demands of his Belgian subjects. This co-operation at that period

the English government properly withheld. No appeal had yet been made which demanded our interference in the affairs of the Netherlands; our information respecting these affairs was insufficient to enable us to offer advice; and, moreover, it was advisable to await the issue of the approaching assembly of the States-General.

On the 7th of September, the King of the Netherlands (or, as we shall henceforth call him, the King of Holland) first solicited foreign intervention; calling the attention of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, (parties to the Treaty of May 1814,) to such a modification of the 'Loi Fondamentale,' as might be proposed by the States-General, under the plan of an administrative separation of Holland and Belgium, and inviting their plenipotentiaries to meet for that purpose at the Hague. It was proper that the Powers who had been parties to the union of Holland and Belgium, should be called upon to sanction their contemplated separation. It was, at the same time, not improbable that their presence was sought for the purpose of reducing that separation to the smallest possible extent; for it was known that, among other points, separate military establishments, and separate chambers, would be strongly objected to by Russia and Prussia. We have already mentioned the meeting of the States-General, and the subsequent frightful scenes at Brussels, which recommenced on the 19th of September, and gave a new aspect to the state of affairs. The continuance of the two states under the same monarch had become impossible. The King could not re-establish his authority—the conditions of the union could not be fulfilled—and France, which (as party to the Treaty of Paris of November 1815, which specially confirms the Treaty of May 1814, and the prior act of the Congress of Vienna) was a party to the Union of Holland and Belgium, was invited by our government (Lord Aberdeen being then Foreign Secretary) to concert with England and the three other powers such modifications of the Fundamental Law regulating that union as might be found requisite. On the 5th of October, two days after this invitation to France, application was made by the King of Holland to this kingdom, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and, though somewhat later, to France also, declaring his inability to re-establish his authority without foreign aid, and soliciting their armed intervention. The request was refused by all the Powers. Russia alone is supposed to have exhibited a desire to grant it. But the army of 60,000 men, probably destined for this purpose, was required for other service; and unhappy Poland more urgently attracting the attention of Russia, has perhaps been a hostage for the peace of Eu-

rope, and diverted a measure which would have involved the continent in the horrors of a general war. Armed intervention was thus declined. The Dutch King then proposed to avail himself of a conference of the five Powers, to effect a peaceable settlement of the affairs of Belgium; and desired them to take first into consideration the establishment of an armistice between the contending parties.

Belgium was at this time virtually separated from Holland. That separation had been decreed at the Hague, on the 28th and 30th of September, by the votes of the First and Second Chambers of the States-General; and it was a measure which seemed in consonance with the wishes almost as much of the Dutch as of the Belgic people. The King, who professed inability to re-establish his authority, resolved to try the experiment of sending the Prince of Orange into the southern provinces; and about the same time, when he required the armed interference of the foreign Powers, he intrusted to his son the temporary administration of Belgium,—authorizing him to form a distinct government, composed entirely of Belgians. The Prince of Orange, after issuing at Antwerp, on the 5th of October, a proclamation couched in popular language, and appointing a Committee of Consultation, addressed a communication to the Provisional Government of Brussels, (which had been established in lieu of the Committee of Safety, immediately after the recent conflict,) desiring to treat with them respecting the present state of affairs, and the means of reconciling the interests of all. It came too late. The Provisional Government had already proclaimed the independence of Belgium. They refused to treat with him, and referred him to a National Congress, the convocation of which they on the 10th of October decreed, and which was to meet on the 8th of November. Meanwhile, military control over Belgium had almost utterly passed out of the hands of the King; and by the end of October every fortress except Antwerp, Termonde, Maestricht, and Luxemburg, had acknowledged the sway of the Provisional Government; who, in the consciousness of power, had required all public functionaries to send in their adherence under pain of immediate dismissal; and had, moreover, with a rash disregard of the authority of the Germanic Confederation, to which Luxemburg belonged, declared it an integral part of Belgium, dismissed its governor, appointed a successor, and removed the seat of government from Luxemburg to Arlon.

In this desperate posture of affairs the Prince of Orange attempted to secure to his house some remnants of fleeting authority, by declaring Belgium independent; offering at the same

time to place himself at its head, and even to negotiate for surrendering into the hands of the Provisional Government those Belgian fortresses which were still in the possession of Dutch troops. But the Provisional Government refused to receive from him even such a boon, when coupled with the assertion of an authority which he did not then possess. The Prince next proposed an armistice; but this was rejected until he should have given orders for evacuating Antwerp, Termonde, and Maestricht, and withdrawing the Dutch army beyond the Moordyk. By these acts the Prince of Orange had exceeded his powers, and the King recalled the commission by which he had appointed him head of the administration of Belgium. Orders were at the same time given that Antwerp, Maestricht, and Venlo should be strenuously maintained against the attempts of the Provisional Government. These attempts were directed chiefly to the reduction of Antwerp, which the Belgic army invested on the 28th of October. All Belgians had been previously drafted from the ranks of the garrison by General Chassé, the Dutch governor, provisions laid in, and the city declared in a state of siege. On the 26th, there was a rising of the populace, who seized some of the Dutch posts, and on the following day, succeeded in throwing open one of the gates, and admitting the besieging troops. General Chassé then retired with his garrison to the citadel, the guns of which commanded the town. His position was so formidable, that the Belgians deemed it advisable to negotiate, and a convention was signed, by which each party bound themselves to abstain from farther aggression. This convention was, unfortunately, soon broken by the Belgians. They attacked the arsenal, and the consequence was a cannonade from the citadel, which soon laid half Antwerp in ruins. To stop these horrors, an armistice was sued and granted, and it was agreed that the Dutch commander should confine himself to the citadel and arsenal, and that the Belgic force should quit the town.

It was highly expedient, before any just hope could be entertained of reconciling the interests of Belgium and Holland, that the five Powers should first endeavour to arrest this course of unavailing hostility. Accordingly, at the conference of the plenipotentiaries of the five Powers, which was opened on the 4th of November, in London, a protocol was signed, recommending an armistice, and the withdrawal of the respective troops in the space of ten days within the line which, before the treaty of May 1814, separated the United Provinces from those which had been since added to form the kingdom of the Netherlands. It was to be understood that this line was selected without reference to any eventual decision on the question of boundary. The King

acceded to the protocol, under the conditions that the armistice should be fixed at three months—that the line should be drawn on a principle of mutual compensation for any portion of territory which might be thereby detached—that Antwerp should be evacuated ten days after the line of separation should have been fixed—and the Dutch taken prisoners by the Belgians should be liberated. The Provisional Government acceded likewise, but attached to the proposed line of separation an interpretation which was clearly inadmissible; inasmuch as they wished to include territory given to them by an article of the Fundamental Law, passed *subsequent* to the above-named treaty. It was, however, declared by the Powers that, as each had agreed to an armistice, that point might now be considered established; and it remained only to fix the line of demarcation, and settle the details; the arrangement of which was intrusted to Messrs Cartwright and Bresson, in concert with commissioners, whom the Belgian Provisional Government were requested to appoint for that purpose. It was to be impressed upon the Belgians that of these arrangements Luxemburg could form no part.

Meanwhile, two important questions had been decided by the National Congress at Brussels, on the 22d and 24th of November, by large majorities—that the future government of Belgium should be a constitutional monarchy—and that the family of Orange Nassau should be for ever excluded from the throne.

Both the Provisional Government and the King of Holland remained long untractable on the subject of the armistice. The former still remonstrated against the assertion of the second and third protocol, that they had bound themselves to observe the armistice by a positive engagement towards the five Powers—a remonstrance to which it became requisite to reply in the fourth protocol (the first signed by Lord Palmerston); declaring that the Powers had considered the armistice, when agreed upon, as an engagement contracted towards themselves, and over the execution of which it behoved them to watch; that the party breaking it would thereby openly oppose their intentions; and that they could not have proposed that the Dutch King should give up Antwerp, if they had not regarded the armistice as an effectual security. The King of Holland also embarrassed the course of these negotiations, (and at a time when they were on the point of being satisfactorily arranged,) by an evasion of his solemn engagement to suspend hostilities by land and *sea*. The Scheldt was still closed, and its blockade was defended upon the weak ground of a quibbling distinction between a coast blockade and restrictions on the navigation of a river. Such an evasion would never have been attempted by one who had cordially desired to

concur with the Allied Powers in bringing affairs to an amicable conclusion;—it was rather the act of one who wished to cast difficulties in the way of adjustment. This ill-advised conduct on the part of the King of Holland had unhappily checked a conciliatory spirit which was beginning to show itself on the part of the Belgians. Nevertheless, a formal acceptance of the armistice from both parties was at length received by the plenipotentiaries of the five Powers, on the 18th of December, and announced in the sixth protocol.

The first great point insisted on by the conference was thus gained. It next became necessary to devise some ulterior measures, in order to regulate and establish the position which, in relation to other states, Belgium was henceforth to hold. The union of Holland and Belgium had been formed with a view to establish the true balance of power, and to secure the peace of Europe; or, in other words, to prevent the annexation of Belgium to France. That union was now *de facto* dissolved; and the object for which it was intended could now be attained only by the substitution of other arrangements. The best—indeed, we may say, the only plan which, consistently with a due regard to the principles of national justice, could prevent the objectionable connexion with France, was to make immediate arrangements for the existence of Belgium as an independent state; and, moreover, to combine its future independence with the execution of those treaties, by which, though separated from Holland, it was still bound to the rest of Europe. These ends could not be accomplished without the admission of Belgium to participate in the negotiations; and the five Powers therefore now called upon the Provisional Government to send commissioners to the conference.

Such an arrangement the King of Holland should have been anxious to promote, since the annexation of Belgium to France was to be deprecated by him more strongly perhaps than by any other power; but, unfortunately, his conduct was such as was most calculated to lead to that result. He formally protested against the invitation to commissioners from Belgium; and he continued to blockade the Scheldt, and refused to repeal the decree of the 20th of October, by which that blockade had been ordained. In addition to this, the sluices in Dutch Flanders had been closed, if not by the direct orders, at least by the connivance of the Dutch government; causing thereby extensive inundations, inflicting great distress among the Belgians, and widening the existing breach. Frequent acts of hostility occurred between the Dutch and Belgian troops, affording each party a plea to complain of infractions of the armistice; and the Belgians erro-

neously considered themselves justified by the Dutch King's blockade of the Scheldt, in the equally indefensible measure of investing the fortress of Maestricht. It was not till after repeated remonstrances to the opposing parties that these offensive acts were discontinued. On the 20th of January, 1831, the King of Holland informed the States-General that he had consented to open the navigation of the Scheldt; and on the 25th, communicated that consent to the Conference in London. The compliance of the Provisional Government with the demand of the Powers respecting Maestricht, was longer delayed; and it was not till recourse had been had to threats, that, in March, the five Powers were satisfied that the Belgians had fulfilled the conditions of the armistice.

About the middle of January, when it was believed that each party was on the eve of signifying its compliance, the five Powers, in pursuance of the object expressed in the seventh protocol (of the 20th of December), proceeded to consider the requisite arrangements for the separation of Holland and Belgium; and, after weighing the propositions submitted by both parties, to lay down the basis on which to found the future limits of the two countries. The result of these deliberations were the eight articles of the eleventh protocol of the 20th of January. By these it was decided—that the limits of Holland should comprise all that belonged, in 1790, to the republic of the United Provinces. Belgium also comprised all the remaining territories which, in 1815, received the name of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, except the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which belongs to the House of Nassau under a different title, and forms part of the Germanic Confederation. Detached portions of land, lying within the respective territories, were to be exchanged, through the mediation of the five Powers, so as to ensure to each of the two countries contiguity of possession, and a free communication between the towns and rivers included in their frontiers. The five Powers guarantee the perpetual neutrality of Belgium, and the integrity and inviolability of its territory; stipulating in return that it shall be bound to observe the same neutrality towards all the other states. The five Powers promise to lay down general principles for the future commercial and financial arrangements, which the separation may render requisite; and they join to these articles a solemn declaration, that in the arrangements relative to Belgium, they will not seek for themselves any augmentation of territory, exclusive influence, or isolated advantage, but give to that, and to all the neighbouring states, the best guarantee of tranquillity and peace.

- In furtherance of these views, the five Powers then pro-

ceeded to lay down principles for the financial arrangements. It appeared, that looking only at the stipulations of treaties, it was just that, in the event of a separation, each state should take upon itself a fair proportion of the debt contracted subsequent to the union; that Holland should be charged only with the debts which it had contracted prior to the union; and that Belgium alone should bear the following:—1st, the Austro-Belgian debt; 2d, the ancient debts of the Belgic provinces; 3d, the debts charged upon the territories which are to form part of Belgium; 4th, the debts contracted by Holland, and sacrifices made by that state in consequence of and for the purposes of the union. With respect to a division of the debt contracted since the union, it was considered that as a participation in the commerce of the Dutch colonies was highly important to the prosperity of Belgium, it should purchase that right from Holland by accepting arrangements somewhat favourable to that state;—that the debt should therefore be distributed according to the mean contributions of 1827-8-9, by which, upon a division of the interest of the common national debt into thirty-one parts, Holland would be charged with only fifteen parts, and Belgium with the remainder. These, and other minor conditions, were comprised in eleven other articles, which were added to the preceding eight; and the whole were annexed to the twelfth protocol, under the denomination of bases upon which was to be founded the independent political existence of Belgium. They were then offered to Holland and Belgium for their respective adoption.

The time had now arrived when the Belgian Congress intended to proceed to the election of a sovereign. On the 7th of January, 1831, the central section had reported, 1st, that it was necessary to elect a chief; 2d, that the choice of that chief should be free; and, 3d, that the preference should be given to a foreign Prince. On the 11th, the question whether commissioners should be sent to London and Paris, to ascertain the views of the five Powers, was negatived by 107 to 62, but afterwards carried as far as regarded Paris. Among those who had been mentioned as eligible to the throne of Belgium were, Prince Otho of Bavaria, William Duke of Baden, Prince Charles of Naples, the Duc de Leuchtenberg, the Duc de Nemours, and Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg. A jealousy of England, which was afterwards removed, caused the pretensions of the latter to be at first regarded with an unfavourable eye. The first and third of these candidates were successively supported by France, in opposition to the Duc de Leuchtenberg, whose name appears to have been thrown into the list by the enemies of order, in the hope of kindling a general war. He was sup-

ported alike by the despairing Orangists, the republican party, and the friends of incorporation with France; each of whom felt that their chance of success might be favoured by confusion. France early declared its determination not to recognise the election of the Duc de Leuchtenberg, in which declaration it was supported by this country and the other Powers. In 1814, Napoleon renounced by treaty, for himself and his family, all right to sovereignty in Europe. It is contended by some that this treaty is to be construed, not prospectively, but as applying only to rights already assumed; but, at all events, the *spirit* of that transaction seems to constitute an objection to the election of the Duc de Leuchtenberg. There were, however, other and stronger grounds of objection. The election of the Duc de Leuchtenberg would have tended utterly to defeat those objects which, in their arrangements respecting Belgium, the Allied Powers had in view. He would have been a rallying point for the Bonaparte faction, who would have rendered Belgium a centre of intrigue against the internal tranquillity of France, and the stability of the existing dynasty, and would have thereby menaced the peace of Europe. The reign of Napoleon was yet too recent to admit the establishment of his adopted grandson on the throne of Belgium without evident danger to the repose of the world; and such danger could have been prevented only by a perpetual interference in the internal affairs of Belgium, incompatible with that independence which the five Powers intended to confirm. On these grounds it appears to us that the five Powers were completely justified in objecting to the election of the Duc de Leuchtenberg.

France, however, seems to have had an additional motive, not shared by the other Powers. It cannot be doubted that a strong wish was entertained by the French King that his second son, the Duc de Nemours, should sit on the throne of Belgium. Under no other supposition can we understand the difficulties raised by the French government, with respect to the ratification of the protocols of January 20th and 27th, which guaranteed the neutrality and independence of Belgium, and disclaimed on behalf of the five Powers the wish to seek exclusive advantages for themselves. The conduct of the French government rendered it advisable that this disclaimer should be strengthened by a fresh declaration; and it was proposed by Lord Palmerston, that (as was done before by the three Powers in the case of Greece) the five Powers should formally declare, that in the event of the sovereignty of Belgium being offered to any member of the reigning families of either of their courts, the offer should invariably be declined. Russia, Austria, and Prussia agreed to the proposal—

the French plenipotentiary took it ‘*ad referendum* afin de recevoir les ordres de sa cour.’ There was at this time a strong and clamorous party in France, anxious that advantage should be taken of the present circumstances of Belgium to relieve France from what they called ‘the humiliating terms,’ imposed in 1815. However desirous the French government might really be both to maintain peace, and to abstain from projects of aggrandizement, it must be owned that they were placed in an embarrassing position by the prevalence of this party; and it might have been dangerous to have openly disavowed principles which were warmly espoused by so large a portion of the nation. This may be urged as their excuse for having hesitated to sanction the declaration proposed by Lord Palmerston, on the 1st of February.

The expected event ensued. The Duc de Nemours was chosen King of Belgium, and the election was announced at Paris on the 4th of February. Three days afterwards a deputation arrived there with the offer of the Belgian crown. The acceptance was delayed, and no reason given; but on the same day the French plenipotentiary in London declared to the conference, that the French King refused the crown of Belgium for the Duc de Nemours, as a necessary consequence of the stipulations of the protocol of the 20th of January. The unwillingness of the French government to give that answer in Paris, which had been previously transmitted to their minister in London, must be attributed partly to their fear lest the election of the Duc de Leuchtenberg might be the consequence of an immediate refusal, and their desire to gain time for the substitution of another candidate—partly to the embarrassment created by those who would be satisfied with nothing less than making Belgium the prey of France. The delay, however, was not long, and on the 14th of February, the offer of the crown to the Duc de Nemours was publicly declined. Two favourite candidates were now declared inadmissible; no other immediately appeared,—and in this emergency the Belgian Congress pursued that which was probably the wisest course. They tried to obviate the necessity of haste in the formation of arrangements which were meant to be final. They adopted a temporary measure, and proceeded to elect a Regent, who might administer the government till they should have time to elect a sovereign. They chose their late President, Surlet de Chokier, who assumed the authority, having sworn to maintain the constitution and the integrity of the Belgian territory.

Let us now see how the eleventh and twelfth protocols, containing the bases upon which was to be founded the independence

and political existence of Belgium, were received by the parties concerned. In this stage of the proceedings, the conduct of the Dutch government was more satisfactory than that of the Belgians. The King of Holland expressed himself satisfied with the arrangements proposed in these protocols, and his acceptance of them was recorded in the protocol of the 18th of February, 1831. Not so the Belgians. They protested against those documents; chiefly because they prescribed limits to Belgium without the consent of the National Congress, and assumed the right of the Germanic Confederation over the Duchy of Luxemburg. They received encouragement, too, in their opposition, from a quarter where it ought not to have been expected. Count Sebastiani addressed to M. Bresson a letter, desiring him to prevent, if possible, the communication of the twelfth protocol to the Belgian government, and to announce to them that France did not accede to its stipulations. This letter was not (as M. Sebastiani had directed) communicated by M. Bresson to Lord Ponsonby and the conference, for which reason M. Bresson was henceforward no longer employed as the commissioner of the conference; and their instructions were from this time addressed to Lord Ponsonby alone. The ill effects of this letter were soon felt. The Belgians were encouraged, not only to deny the rights of the conference to decide upon matters so intimately affecting the interests of Belgium,—not only to deny the assertion of the protocols that Holland and Belgium would not come to an understanding without the assistance of the Powers,—but to affirm that one among these Powers already concurred with them, and that they trusted the others would follow its example. The ruling party in Belgium appear to have believed that France had interests separate from those of Europe, which, in the failure of negotiations, she would support by arms. It is true the French government professed peaceful intentions, and as far as regards their *wish* for peace they were probably sincere; but they were a weak government, too much influenced by a violent party, avowing sentiments of a very different description. The vacillating conduct of this administration,—their disavowal before the Chambers of the language of their plenipotentiary, the difference between declarations made at Paris or London, and those which were promulgated by their agent at Brussels,—all this necessarily tended to identify them too much in the eyes of the Belgians with that party who would seek the selfish aggrandizement of France at the price of universal war; and who, there is much reason to believe, encouraged a turbulent and uncompromising disposition in Belgium, with the secret hope that the impossibility of arranging the affairs of that country,

on the footing of an independent existence, might eventually lead to its partition. Happily for Europe, about the end of March a change took place in the councils of France; and Casimir Perrier, a man of vigorous understanding, was called to the helm of government. The beneficial consequences of this change were soon experienced. It was immediately intimated to Belgium that the French government entirely agreed to the limits fixed by the protocols, and admitted the right of the House of Nassau and the Germanic Confederation to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, reserving the unsettled question of the Duchy of Bouillon. The assertion of Lebeau in the Belgian Congress, that France would support Belgium in her extravagant pretensions, was also met with an indignant denial. The Belgians were thus undeceived with respect to that supposed want of unanimity among the Powers, which encouraged their presumptuous defiance of Europe. Communications, in accordance with the intimations given to Belgium, were made officially by France, and embodied in the twenty-first protocol of the 17th of April.

The unanimity of the Powers being thus established, they again proposed to the Belgians the articles of the twelfth protocol; reminding them that those which related to territorial arrangements must be considered irrevocable, while those relating to the division of the debt were simply a series of propositions—that they must testify their compliance by the withdrawal of their troops from Luxemburg, and cessation of all interference with that Duchy, by sending commissioners to Maestricht to arrange the limits, and to the Hague to settle the debt—that under no other conditions should their independence be recognised—that the five Powers acknowledged in all states the right of resistance to such pretensions of Belgium as endangered their possessions, and that an attack upon Holland, in violation of the armistice, would be considered an act of hostility against the five Powers. It was, however, resolved to withhold this proposed communication to the Belgian government till the result was seen of those remonstrances which Lord Ponsonby and General Belliard were instructed to make. Meanwhile, the Belgians sent a deputation to London, with overtures to Prince Leopold, respecting the future sovereignty of Belgium. It is believed, that it was stated, in reply to these overtures, that the territorial arrangements must be previously concluded; and especially the question of Luxemburg, which presented the chief impediment; and which the Belgians now proposed to purchase from the King of Holland, at the sum which in 1818 he settled upon Prince Frederic of Orange in exchange for his reversion to the duchy. Negotiations were opened by

the Conference with the King of Holland upon this subject ; but he declined explanation till the Belgians should have acceded to the bases of separation laid down in the twelfth protocol.

The Belgians, meanwhile, had on the 4th of June formally elected Prince Leopold, but with the conditions already sworn to by Surlet de Chokier, of preserving the integrity of the territory, or in other words, of prejudging the question of Luxemburg. Deputies were sent to London to offer the crown on these conditions, and to treat with the conference for the *pecuniary* arrangement of territorial differences with Holland. They had not yet accepted the twelfth protocol ; still the use of those coercive measures which were called for by the King of Holland, would, at this moment, have destroyed all prospect of an amicable and satisfactory adjustment. They would have led, more probably, to the incorporation of Belgium with France, than to the establishment of peace between Belgium and Holland upon the proposed basis of separation. They would have involved the imminent hazard of a general war ;—a war which, while deeply detrimental to the interests of Europe, would have been in no other respect conducive to the advantage of Holland than by ultimately leading to a partition of Belgium, of which Holland might receive a share. But it is evident that even an arrangement like this would tend less to the security and welfare of Holland, than that which the five Powers were anxious to effect. Instead of being protected by the interposition of a small neutral state, Holland would then have its frontier exposed to the menacing contiguity of a formidable neighbour, and would gain only the barren compensation of a rebellious province. The course recommended by the King of Holland was, in a word, harsh towards the Belgians, and not at all conducive to the real interests of the Dutch. The five Powers declined it, and adopted a milder course. New propositions were framed by them with the intent to reconcile conflicting opinions as much as was possible consistently with an adherence to existing engagements ; and eighteen articles were proposed to the two parties as the basis of a definitive treaty of peace.

In many respects these articles corresponded entirely with the articles annexed to the twelfth protocol, which had been already accepted by Holland. They differed from them chiefly in the following stipulations : The *status quo* was to be maintained in Luxemburg during negotiations respecting that duchy between Belgium, on the one hand, and the King of Holland and the Confederation, on the other. Maestricht, over which Holland did not exercise exclusive sovereignty in 1790,

was to be reserved for mutual arrangement. The use of the canals from Ghent to Terneuse, and of Zuid-Willemswaardt, constructed during the existence of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, was to be common to both countries. Each was to bear a *fair proportion* of the debt contracted since the union; but the precise ratio of division was not specified as before. These eighteen articles were accepted by the Belgian Congress; and it might have been hoped that, in consideration of them, any slight deviation from those of the twelfth protocol, and the evident desirableness of terminating these protracted negotiations, they would also be accepted by the King of Holland. But his approbation was not vouchsafed. Nevertheless, in the confident expectation of such a result, and with a view to allay the excitement which a state of uncertainty had fomented in Belgium, Prince Leopold, in July 1831, accepted the crown of Belgium, and left London on the 16th of that month to occupy his new dominions. In the choice of a sovereign the Belgians had at length been wise. They had selected a Prince who, in this country, where the fever of party is ever raging, had, with great good sense, pursued, during many years, the even tenor of his way;—unstained by even the imputation of political intrigue, quietly securing, by unostentatious propriety, the respect alike of either side;—one in whose character moderation and discretion were prominently displayed, and who seemed peculiarly well calculated to fulfil the best objects of his allotted task,—to compose the troubles of a distracted country, to be the peaceful monarch of a neutral state.

That the throne of Belgium should be filled by a Prince of this character was desirable, not only for Belgium, but for Europe; and it was to be hoped that he would infuse moderation and firmness into the administration of his newly adopted country—moderation towards other states, and firmness in the internal arrangement of his own. The late government had been too weak to enforce the obedience even of its own agents; and numerous infractions of the armistice, both by Belgians and Dutch, had taken place throughout the spring, especially on the Scheldt and at Antwerp. The Belgians had been erecting batteries in order to command the navigation of the river, and had even commenced masked works directed against the citadel of Antwerp, which at length compelled General Chassé to issue a declaration, that if within six hours these works were not suspended, he would bombard the town—a salutary menace which produced the desired effect. Meanwhile the King of Holland had protested vehemently against the eighteen articles, and had, more-

over, declared that any prince who accepted the crown of Belgium, without having subscribed the articles of separation annexed to the twelfth protocol, would be considered as an enemy. In reply to this, the five Powers declared, that this non-acceptance of the eighteen articles did not absolve them from their obligations to prevent the resumption of hostilities; and they requested the governments of Holland and Belgium to send instructions and full powers to their plenipotentiaries in London to conclude, under the mediation of the five Powers, a definitive treaty of peace. To this proposal the Belgian government did not accede; alleging that they had accepted the eighteen articles as preliminaries of peace, and that there could be no question of a treaty until Holland had done the same. The conduct of the King of Holland was not characterised by the same openness. Professing anxiety to *ensure peace* to his people and to Europe, he consented to negotiate the treaty in question, adding, that he meant to support these negotiations '*par des moyens militaires.*' This expression, so little consonant with the profession of pacific intentions, naturally excited some suspicions; but these were immediately allayed by the language of the Dutch ministers. They were not instructed to announce a recommencement of hostilities; they did not construe the expressions in an offensive sense; they regarded them as alluding, not to prospective aggression, but to measures that might be taken *within* the Dutch frontier; and moreover, they asserted that there was *no intention of attempting the re-conquest of Belgium*, or of any the smallest part which had been assigned to that state by the twelfth protocol. Notwithstanding these assurances, to doubt the sincerity of which would have been insulting to Holland—notwithstanding plenipotentiaries from that state had been sent to conclude a treaty of *peace*—yet at this very time, incredible as it may seem, the King of Holland had *re-commenced the war*. While opening negotiations with the five Powers, he had already adopted measures which must render negotiation impossible—and to crown this course of inconsistency and deceit, he had not communicated these measures to the Five Powers, but left them to be conveyed, as chance might direct, through the ordinary channel of a public newspaper. Leopold, the newly inaugurated sovereign, was at Liege when the news of invasion burst upon him. He immediately sought the protection of the Powers, and addressed himself particularly to England and France. Aid was promptly afforded by each; England collected a fleet in the Sound, destined for the coast of Holland; and France 40,000 men, to be ready to march into Belgium, under the command of Marshal Gerard.

On the 4th of August, the day on which was dated the letter to the Conference from M. Verstolk de Soelen, in which he expresses, on the part of the King of Holland, ‘son désir sincère de co-operer à un arrangement, et d’assurer ainsi autant qu’il dépend d’elle le bienfait *de la paix* à ses peuples et à l’Europe’—on that day the Prince of Orange took the command of the Dutch army, and immediately crossed the Belgian frontiers. The first important post of which he took possession was the Capitalen Dam, the key of the sluices, by closing which Flanders can be inundated. The raw Belgian levies were unable to cope with the disciplined courage of the Dutch troops, and gave way without offering much resistance. Meanwhile, in consequence of remonstrances on the part of England and France, the Dutch King declared that orders should be given to the Prince of Orange to withdraw his troops whenever a French force should enter Belgium. Hostilities were at this time prosecuted with the utmost vigour. The Belgian general, Daine, had been defeated, and the Dutch army were advancing rapidly upon Louvain. Leopold, in this emergency, required the instant advance of the French army, which immediately entered Belgium in four divisions, by Mons, Tournay, Charleroi, and Namur. Upon this the English minister, Sir Robert Adair, sent Lord William Russell to the Prince of Orange with a flag of truce, to require the fulfilment of the King of Holland’s promise. The Prince of Orange acknowledged the obligation to desist from hostilities, but demanded the surrender of Louvain, which he was then investing, before he would consent to treat. However, he agreed to defer the assault till pacific means had been tried to effect the evacuation of that place. He at the same time refused to acknowledge the fact of the entrance of a French force into Belgium, till he had communicated with French officers. The required assurance was afforded; and the Dutch army was at length withdrawn.

It was expected that this proceeding would, as a necessary consequence, have been followed by the immediate removal of the French troops. But this was not the case; and the non-performance of this act on the part of France appears to have excited uneasiness in the other Allied Powers, and to have been the subject of much anxious negotiation. The causes of the continuance of the French troops in Belgium were various. It was the wish of Leopold that they should remain till he had obtained satisfactory security against re-invasion by the Dutch. The citadel of Antwerp was occupied by General Chassé; Leopold’s troops were ill disciplined and disorganized; and the retreat of the French would leave him comparatively defenceless. An-

other reason was the declaration of a journal (the organ of the Dutch government), that the Dutch army would again invade Belgium, if the French retired before the conclusion of a definitive treaty. There was at the same time a violent war party in France, anxious for the military occupation of Belgium—anxious to make the continuance of troops in that country contingent upon the question of the demolition of the frontier fortresses,—and able for a while to embarrass the government. Nevertheless, the French ministry ventured, on the 14th of September, to publish their intention of withdrawing the whole of their troops from Belgium before the 30th of that month. For this they were violently attacked by the war party, which had been reputed more strong than was shown by the result; for after a keen debate of four days in the Chamber of Deputies, the ministers were supported by a large majority. France had shown an inclination to make the demolition of the fortresses the subject of a separate negotiation with Belgium, and to select the fortresses which were to be so dealt with; but with this the Powers could not comply, inasmuch as those fortresses had been erected partly at their expense, and not for Belgium only, but for European objects, and as a defence against invasion by France. A protocol, long since agreed to by the Powers, relative to the demolition of the fortresses, and hitherto withheld, was now communicated to the Belgian government, with a view to prevent Belgium from opening any separate negotiation on that subject with France. The demolition of the fortresses was a measure which the separation of Holland and Belgium rendered necessary. The resources of the latter state were inadequate to the support of such defences; and in lieu of these insufficient bulwarks, which, in the event of a war, would have been soon snatched from Belgium, and turned against it, the Allied Powers proposed to substitute the more effectual barrier of a guaranteed neutrality.

Upon the retirement of the Dutch army from Belgium, the Powers proposed a cessation of hostilities for six weeks, with the understanding that this armistice might be subsequently extended. This was accepted both by Holland and Belgium, with a proviso on the part of the latter state, that neither party should be permitted to resume hostilities at its expiration, if the time was found inadequate for the completion of the objects proposed. While the two parties were thus bound to abstain from hostilities, a vexatious system of petty aggression was incessantly carried on by each. The Dutch continued the blockade of the Scheldt, which had again taken place on the resumption of hostilities, and also committed a far more aggravated and

wanton injury, by cutting the sea-dikes in the neighbourhood of Antwerp; thereby causing the inundation of a large tract of country, and inflicting extreme and wide-spread misery upon an unoffending rural population. The Belgians, on the other hand, continued to erect batteries commanding the Scheldt, and menacing the citadel of Antwerp. Urgent remonstrances were made by our government, which were attended with some effect. They obtained the partial removal of the grievances complained of, and promises to a much greater extent—promises which each party was most discreditably ready to elude. The dikes were insufficiently repaired, and the batteries partially demolished. Mutual aggressions, calculated only to annoy, and incapable of procuring any real advantage, took place continually throughout the autumn; and Dutch and Belgians seemed to vie with each other only in the display of unmitigated animosity, and the most shameless violations of solemn engagements.

During these disgraceful aggressions, the five Powers were endeavouring to arrange a treaty of separation and of peace. Plenipotentiaries had been appointed by Holland and Belgium to conclude such a treaty; and their opinions were required by the five Powers upon the principal points which the treaty must include. Of these three were foremost in difficulty and importance—the settlement of the frontiers—arrangements respecting Luxemburg—and the division of the debt. Utterly and most discouragingly irreconcilable in these points were the views and demands of the two states. As a compensation for Luxemburg, the Belgians proposed a *pecuniary* indemnity. The Dutch would hear of nothing but a *territorial* equivalent. The proposed lines of frontier differed greatly. Belgium required such a line as would give them the control of the sluices and dikes from Ecluse to Sas de Gand, Maestricht, and the territory between that place and Venlo; offering in exchange the northern part of Limburg, and nine towns in North Brabant and Geldres, which did not belong to the United Provinces in 1790. Its frontier was to run from an arm of the sea called the Het Zwyn, by Sas de Gand; thence along the ancient frontiers of the Flandre des Etats and North Brabant to Meyel; and thence north of Venlo to the Prussian states. Holland concurred with Belgium in assigning as a frontier line a considerable part of the ancient boundary of the Flandre des Etats and North Brabant; but from a point below Valkensward the line was to run south to Visé on the Maes, including the *arrondissemens* of Maestricht and Ruremonde (with the exception of Tongeren), and thence to follow the boundary of Liege and Limburg to the Prussian states. A glance at a map will show how materially these lines differed.

With respect to the debt, Holland demanded the stipulation of the twelfth protocol, that Belgium should pay a million florins a-month from the 30th of November, 1830, as her share of the interest of the debt. Belgium agreeing to the principle of each bearing the debts owed previous to the union, and a fair proportion of that incurred subsequently, demurred as to the proposed criterion by which the latter should be divided. Instead of $\frac{1}{3}$ they proposed equality. It was also stated that, at the period of the consolidation of the debts of the two countries in 1816, the interest of the Belgian debt was only 675,000 florins, while that of Holland amounted to 14,400,000 florins; and Belgium having, by the acknowledgment of the Dutch, borne half of this burthen since that time, had in fact contributed to the support of Holland no less than 105,000,000 florins. This they thought ought to be considered in the arrangement; and they further stated, that the proposed commercial intercourse with the Dutch colonies (an intercourse which the Dutch would be able to regulate so as to neutralize its advantages) would be a very illusory and inadequate compensation for bearing so large a share of the burthens of Holland.

Such were the conflicting claims, which, while the armistice was on the point of expiring, and all aggression short of actual warfare was waged on each side with unscrupulous pertinacity, and disregard of good faith, the five Powers were required to reconcile. To prolong the hopeless course of recriminating and irritating discussion was to prolong hostility and to endanger the peace of Europe. It was better that the five Powers, furnished by the opposing parties with the materials requisite for arbitration, should lay down conditions for a definitive arrangement. Such was the course adopted; and the twenty-four articles annexed to protocol forty-nine, of the 14th October, 1831, were the result.

The territorial arrangements proposed in these articles were as follow: Belgium was to consist of the provinces of South Brabant, Liege, Namur, Hainault, East and West Flanders, Antwerp, and parts of Limburg and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. The two latter were to be divided, and Holland was to receive the northern part of Limburg as a territorial indemnity for that part of Luxemburg which its sovereign, as Grand Duke, was required to give up. The portion of Limburg to be exchanged consisted in part of that which Belgium had proposed to cede; and the indemnity being territorial, was of that description which had been required by Holland. The division of Limburg gave to Holland all on the right bank of the Meuse

between that river and the Prussian frontier—on the left bank the town of Maestricht, with a radius of territory extending 1200 toises from the outer glacis of the fortress,—and all above a line drawn from the most southern point of North Brabant to the Meuse at a point between Wessem and Stephensward, where the *arrondissemens* of Ruremonde and Maestricht meet. Luxemburg was to be divided by a line commencing at the southern boundary between Redange and Athus, running north-eastward so far as to leave Arlon on the left; thence north-westward to Martelange, from whence the line follows the course of the Suse till opposite Tintange; whence a nearly straight direction is preserved to the boundary of the *arrondissement* of Diekirch, which it follows to the Prussian frontier. Of this line, the western part was to belong to Belgium; the eastern to the King of the Netherlands as Grand Duke of Luxemburg.

With respect to the debt, the adjustment proposed was that which had been decided in a conference of the 1st of October, convened for that special purpose, and furnished by the Dutch and Belgian governments with the requisite information. To Belgium was assigned, not as the Dutch had proposed, $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole debt contracted since the union, but (in consideration of Holland obtaining territories which did not belong to it in 1790) an equal share, amounting to 5,050,000 florins. It was also charged with the interest of the Austro-Belgian debt, 750,000 florins—the debt formerly inscribed in the Grand Livre de l'Empire François, 2,000,000 florins—and a yearly payment of 600,000 florins, in consideration of advantages in commerce and navigation to be afforded by Holland. The whole amounted to 8,400,000 florins yearly, or about L.800,000.

The other most important provisions related to communications by land and water. They declared the application to navigable rivers common to Dutch and Belgian territories, of the principles laid down in Articles 108 to 117 inclusive, of the General Act of the Congress of Vienna. These articles gave to all nations the free use of such rivers as in their navigable part bounded or passed through any part of the territory of more than one state. The navigation of the intermediate channels, between the Rhine and the Scheldt, was to be reciprocally free to the two countries, subject to moderate tolls, imposed equally on each. The pilotage and buoying of the Scheldt were to be subject to the joint superintendence of commissioners appointed by each party, and moderate equal duties were to be fixed by mutual agreement. The use of canals traversing both countries was to be freely and on equal conditions enjoyed by the inhabitants of both. Roads, leading through Maestricht

and Sittard to the German frontier, were to be free for all purposes of commerce, and subject only to tolls for their repair; and it should be allowable for the Belgian government to carry a road or canal, at the expense of Belgium, through the ceded canton of Sittard. Other articles provided, that the port of Antwerp should, in conformity with the Treaty of Paris of May 1814, be solely a port of commerce; that Belgium should be a perpetually neutral state; that, in regulating the drainage, Holland and Belgium should follow the stipulations of the definitive treaty between Germany and Holland in 1785; that sequestrations, imposed on Belgium during the late troubles for political causes, shall be taken off, and no persons molested for recent acts of a political nature. Pensions and allowances, that had commenced before the end of October 1830, to be duly paid by each state to claimants born within the territories of which each state is henceforth to consist. The evacuation, by the troops of the respective states, of all territories which are to change domination, is to be effected in fifteen days after the exchange of the ratifications between Holland and Belgium.

Such were the principal provisions of the treaty, by which the five Powers endeavoured finally to reconcile the jarring interests of Holland and Belgium, and which they offered to those states; declaring, at the same time, that the articles were irrevocable, and, as a whole, to be accepted or rejected; that they constituted the final decision of the five Powers, who would guarantee their execution; and that, should either Holland or Belgium reject the treaty, the Powers would oppose by every possible means the recommencement of hostilities between those two countries.

The Belgian government, on the first receipt of the proposed treaty, objected to several parts of it, and especially to that which assigned to Belgium the annual payment of 8,400,000 florins; but these were not deemed by Leopold and his government sufficient to counterbalance the expediency of accepting the treaty. The treaty was accordingly accepted; and it was at the same time demanded that a more formal character might be given to the transaction, by placing the twenty-four articles under the sanction of a definitive treaty between the five Powers and the King of the Belgians. To this the five Powers acceded. Three more articles were added, by which the five Powers guarantee to Belgium the execution of the preceding articles; proclaim peace and friendship between them on the one part, and the King of the Belgians on the other; and specify that the treaty should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at London in the space of two months, if possible.

On the 15th of November, the treaty between the five Powers and Belgium was signed. But the propositions were stubbornly resisted on the part of Holland. So little pacific was the spirit of that government, that it even refused to give any assurance that, on the expiration of the armistice, which was to terminate on the 25th of October, hostilities should not be immediately recommenced; and so evidently did it meditate a renewal of warfare, that it was considered advisable to station a British naval force near the mouth of the Scheldt, with orders to act, in the event of an unprovoked aggression on the part of the Dutch. This measure had some effect; and on the 7th of November the five Powers were informed that the King of Holland had no intentions of recommencing hostilities *for the present*. This reluctant profession of peace he coupled with a complaint, in which he incorrectly assumed that it was intended by the Powers to restrict his general right of peace and war. He complained also of a departure from that provision of the protocol of Aix la Chapelle, of November 1818, by which it was stipulated, that conferences of plenipotentiaries of states signing it, on subjects relating to other states, should take place only at the invitation of such other states, and with the participation of their plenipotentiaries. Such stipulations were actually complied with. The intervention of the five Powers had been sought, and not imposed; and the plenipotentiaries of the King of Holland had been invited to communicate in writing with the other plenipotentiaries, and to join their signature to theirs. But communication *in writing* was deemed insufficient by the King of Holland. He claimed their *personal presence* at the conferences; forgetting, apparently, that the protocol of Aix la Chapelle, on which he founded his claim, required only that there should be participation, and did not specify the mode. Next came the singular assertion, that in consequence of the union of Holland with Belgium having been effected by the Dutch King's acceptance of the eight articles of July 1814, the separation *now* required an express negotiation with him—*now*, when, by no less than six acts of himself and his legislature, the separation of the two countries had been proclaimed, and he had declared that without foreign help he could not fulfil the provisions which those articles contained!

The next great complaint against the treaty of the 15th of October, was its alleged non-accordance with the articles annexed to the twelfth protocol. The first of these articles gave to Holland all the United Provinces possessed in 1790; the second gave to Belgium all the rest, excepting Luxemburg. But within the territories of each of the two states thus broadly defined, were

detached portions of land belonging to the other; and these, by the fourth article, were to be exchanged, through the mediation of the five Powers, so as to insure to the two countries reciprocally the advantages of contiguity of possession, and free communication between the towns and rivers included in their frontiers. This reciprocal contiguity was effected by the exchange of part of Limburg for part of Luxemburg—an exchange not proposed without the requisite previous consent of the King, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, and the Germanic Confederation—an exchange which gave to Holland the German ‘*enclaves*,’ and the town of Maestricht, which it did not possess in 1790—an exchange essentially conducted in the spirit of the twelfth protocol, and deviating from it only in the instance of Lommel, which belonged to Holland in 1790, but which was given to Belgium in conformity with a line traced by the plenipotentiaries of the King of Holland, in their memorial of the 5th of September, 1831, attached to the forty-third protocol.

The points objected to by the King of Holland may be classed under three heads,—the territorial arrangements—communications by land and water—and the division of the debt. Among the first, the partition of Luxemburg was maintained to be a serious grievance; the rich contiguous portion of Limburg was denied to be an equivalent; the improbable event of a future separation between the Grand Duchy and the crown of Holland, was seriously insisted upon as of immediate moment; and a parallel was gravely attempted to be drawn between the relative position of Great Britain and Hanover, which have a wide expanse of sea and land between them, and that of Holland and Luxemburg, separated only by an intervening territory, scarcely equal to a moderate-sized English county. In fact, in the territorial arrangements, not only had the Powers conformed to stipulations which Holland had already accepted—not only had they effected the exchanges under the requisite authority from the Grand Duke and the Germanic Confederation,—but they had even favoured Holland, by bestowing an extended frontier, bounded by the possessions of an ancient ally, and a compactness and contiguity of territory, which placed that state in a better situation than at any former period of its history. Another alleged grievance was the proposed equal distribution of advantages between Holland and Belgium, with respect to the navigation of the Rhine and the Scheldt; and the proposition that Holland should be required to regulate, in common with Belgium, and on equal terms, the pilotage and buoying of the latter river, and not be enabled, at its sole will and plea-

sure, to render illusory those advantages which it professed to offer to the Belgians! It was complained that, by admission of the Belgians to regulate with Holland the navigation of the Scheldt, they were treated more favourably than were the states adjoining the Rhine by the convention of Mayence, which regulated the navigation of that river; and it was craftily demanded that the regulations of the Rhine, in which Holland had an equal interest with the other states, should be applied to the Scheldt, on which, though it flows partly through the Dutch territory, the commerce would be almost exclusively Belgian. The injustice of the latter proposition is more striking, if we remember that the Dutch had threatened to close the Scheldt; and that, far from being equally interested with the Belgians, in keeping open a passage to Antwerp, they were interested in obstructing it, and regarded that port with evil eyes as the commercial rival of Amsterdam.

Another instance of the vexatious and hostile spirit which actuated the councils of Holland, was the remonstrance against conferring on the Belgians the right of fishing in the Scheldt—a right, the withdrawal of which would have deprived many thousands of the poor of Antwerp of their only means of subsistence. Equally unreasonable were the objections urged against affording to Belgium the means of commercial transit through Maestricht and Sittard, in the formation of a road through the latter canton to the frontiers of Germany. This was a proposition which would entail upon Holland no expense—would menace it with no danger—would leave untouched the sovereign right—could in short inflict no injury; except in the opinion of those by whom every thing was considered injurious to Holland, that could contribute in any sort to the prosperity of Belgium. The freedom of route that was claimed through Maestricht was no more than existed in Lille, Metz, Mayence, Coblenz, Juliers, Strasburg, Magdeburg, Erfurt, and many other frontier fortresses. The ground over which Holland would deny the Belgians passage, was no part of the old Dutch territory; it had never been Dutch; it was a part of Belgium, proposed to be now for the first time assigned to Holland. The obnoxious route was not of long extent, or through the centre of the kingdom; it was short, and traversed only a remote angle. It was not a wanton claim, unsupported by justice: it was a measure, without which the territorial arrangements of the treaty of October would be fraught with the deepest injustice to Belgium. By that treaty, it was proposed to assign to Holland districts previously belonging to Belgium, and in contact with the German

frontier. To deprive Belgium of these means of communication with Germany, and not to give to it the compensation of even a *modified* right of transit, would have been the unjust infliction of a considerable injury—nay, more, it would be a violation of principles which Holland had adopted;—a violation of that protocol of January 1831, accepted by the Dutch government, which declares, that it is requisite, ‘à la conservation de l’équilibre Européen, et à l’accomplissement des vues qui dirigent les cinq Puissances, que la Belgique florissante et prospère trouve dans son nouveau mode d’existence politique les ressources dont elle a besoin pour la soutenir.’ To hold out with one hand declarations like these, and with the other to cripple the commercial prosperity of Belgium, and deprive it of ‘the resources which it requires for its support,’ could not have been characterised otherwise than as a gross violation of the plainest principles of justice. On the subject of the debt, Holland assented to the proposed division, but required that it should be capitalized under the guarantee of the five Powers,—a stipulation not contained in the twelfth protocol. Holland also claimed the right of objecting to the demolition of the Belgian frontier fortresses; quoting in support of its right the Barrier Treaty, which, not being renewed at the peace, had ceased to be obligatory; and the eight articles of July 21, 1814, which had been abrogated by the acts and declarations of the King of Holland himself. Utterly unreasonable, moreover, was an objection from Holland to the demolition of these fortresses. Belgium, with a neutrality guaranteed by the five great Powers of Europe, was a bulwark much more than equivalent to such defences—a bulwark which, unlike the fortresses, it would cost Holland nothing to maintain, but which would, on the other hand, tend to relieve it from the pressure of an extensive military establishment. Akin to the vexatious and unconciliatory spirit manifested on other points, was the decree to maintain a system, which, without benefit to Holland, would expose Belgium to a heavy and needless expense. Such were the principal objections urged by Holland in December 1831. They failed in their main purpose, that of proving, that the twenty-four articles did not accord in spirit with those of the twelfth protocol. The reply of the Conference satisfactorily established the accordance, and showed the inconsistency of the King of Holland. He had officially declared, that he took up arms against Belgium solely to obtain equitable terms of separation, and would lay them down on the King of Belgium’s acceptance of the conditions relative to territory contained in the twelfth protocol. The King of Belgium had now

signed a treaty in conformity with that protocol; and in so doing had accepted, not merely the required stipulations relative to territory, but those also which related to finance.

On the 30th of January, 1832, the King of Holland presented to the five Powers the project of a treaty, with the profession that it was drawn up 'dans la vue de concilier autant que possible les vœux et les intérêts de tous;' and under the hope, 'que l'adoption des différens articles qu'elle contient puisse bientôt terminer les difficultés et contribuer au raffermissement de la paix générale.' After such expressions, it is not a little surprising to find in this *conciliatory* project of a treaty, a recapitulation of all the principal points insisted on by the King of Holland in his remonstrance of the 14th of December, and which the five Powers, in their reply, had declared inadmissible. It is also curious to observe how sedulously is avoided all allusion to the present or prospective existence of a sovereign of Belgium. That such a project of a treaty could have been offered with the *sincere* belief that it might be accepted, and substituted for that which was made the basis of a solemn treaty already signed with the King of the Belgians—that it could have been offered with the sincere expectation of effecting the objects it professed to desire,—is a position which the most unbounded credulity would be scarcely capable of admitting. That the King of Holland, who readily accepted the twelfth protocol, should now stubbornly resist the acceptance of a treaty so closely resembling it, may to some appear singular; and may, *primâ facie*, induce a belief that a material difference must exist between them. It has been shown, we trust, that there is nothing which *ought* to be so considered; but we must add, that there is one circumstance which, to the King of Holland, does constitute a material difference between the twenty-four articles and the twelfth protocol. The twenty-four articles are not so *vague* as those of the twelfth protocol. They are more explicit, and afford fewer opportunities for cavil and evasion. Let those who think it was very meritorious in the King of Holland to have acceded so promptly to the articles of the twelfth protocol, see how those articles are worded, and the wonder and the merit will be greatly diminished. It is to be feared, that they would have offered little impediment to the creation of measureless delays, but might have afforded welcome employment to the litigating spirit of that ingenious prince, who has already displayed his obstructing powers as a party to the Central Commission at Mayence. In this commission of plenipotentiaries from eight *riverain* states interested in the navigation of the Rhine, convened for the purpose of applying to that river the apparently

plain stipulations of the treaty of Vienna, negotiations have, by the vexatious opposition of the King of Holland, been prolonged many years, and been productive (incredible as it may seem) of no less than 512 protocols!

It had been stated in the last article of the treaty between the five Powers and Belgium, signed on the 15th of November, 1831, that it should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within two months. On the 11th of January, this term was extended to the 31st of that month, at which time the treaty was ratified by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and Belgium; but no orders were received for a similar proceeding from the courts of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Other two months passed, and no order for ratification had been announced from these three courts; and it became incumbent on France and England to require the cause of this hitherto unexplained delay. It then appeared, that 'the motive of the three Powers in deferring the exchange of these ratifications had been to employ meanwhile all their influence at the Hague to engage the government of Holland to accede to the twenty-four articles of the 15th of last October;' and that 'the results of these measures were still too recent to have enabled the three Powers to send definitive orders to their plenipotentiaries in London.' On the 18th of April, the ratifications of Austria and Prussia were announced and exchanged. They were accompanied by a joint declaration of an express reserve of the rights of the Germanic Confederation, relative to the cession and exchange of part of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, and two other separate declarations. That of Austria was in these words: 'En ratifiant le Traité du 15 Novembre, 1831, et prenant en considération la nécessité d'une négociation ultérieure entre le gouvernement de sa Majesté le Roi des Pays Bas, et celui du Royaume de la Belgique pour la conclusion d'un traité comprenant les 24 articles arrêtés le 15 Octobre, avec les modifications que les cinq Puissances auront jugées admissibles, sa Majesté Impériale propose de déclarer et déclare pour sa part — que les arrangements stipulés de gré à gré entre les deux Hautes Parties inédites, sous les auspices de la Conférence, auront la même force et valeur que les articles du traité du 15 Novembre, et seront également confirmés et ratifiés par les Cours signataires de ce traité.' That of Prussia expresses a wish that the Powers should take into consideration such modifications in favour of Holland as might be effected 'sans porter atteinte à la substance des 24 articles;' and which, if the Conference agreed upon them, and the King of Belgium consented to accept them, might take the form of articles explanatory and

supplementary, and have the same force and validity as the others. On the 10th of May, the treaty was at length ratified by Russia, with a declaration embodied in the fifty-eighth protocol, that the definitive arrangements between Holland and Belgium should be 'un arrangement de gré à gré.'

The ratifications being thus completed, the five Powers declared in concert, that, adhering to the principles which had hitherto directed them, and regarding the treaty of the 15th of October as the invariable basis of the separation, independence, neutrality, and territorial extent of Belgium, they would endeavour to bring about a definitive agreement between the Kings of Holland and Belgium; and, by arrangements of mutual accommodation between the two parties, to soften any difficulties which might arise relative to the execution of the above-mentioned treaty. They also repeated their determination to oppose, by every means in their power, the renewal of a hostile struggle.

Propositions were again submitted by the King of Holland to the Conference, in reply to their invitation of the 4th of May; but these propositions exhibited only a fresh proof of intractable obstinacy. They were identical with those of the 30th of January, which had already been declared inadmissible. Nevertheless the patience of the Conference was not exhausted; and, in June, anxious not to omit any opportunity of effecting an agreement, they demanded from the Dutch government, whether, in the event of the consent of the Belgians, they would accept a treaty, adopting twenty-one out of the twenty-four articles of October 1831; and leaving three,—namely, the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth, which relate to the navigation of the Scheldt, the roads through Maestricht and Sittard, and the debt,—for future negotiation. The Dutch refused. The Belgians, on their part, claimed the execution of the treaty of November; and required, that before they were called upon to negotiate respecting modifications, they should be put in possession of the citadel of Antwerp.

The period at length arrived when, to rescue the proceedings of the Conference from the charge of futility, it became necessary to adopt those coercive measures, which our Ultra Tories have denominated 'the Dutch war.' War! We know not whether this terrible word has, on this occasion, been used most in ignorance or unfairness; but it has been frequently used, and has created some misconception and needless alarm in many well-meaning, half-informed persons. We tell them the word is wholly inapplicable. We are *not at war* with Holland. Formal war must be preceded by a declaration. Where is the declaration in the present instance? Is it to be found in the Conven-

tion of October 22d, between this kingdom and France? or in that Order in Council of November 7th, which, laying an embargo on Dutch merchant-vessels, and authorizing their detention, enjoins, 'that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships or vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement what-ever be sustained?' This is not like war. War knows no such cares. The coercive measures employed by France had a specific object, accompanied with restriction of means. The object was, not to war against Holland—not to invade the Dutch territory, but to eject certain Dutch troops from a fortress, situated within the Belgian frontier, which had been awarded to Belgium by a solemn treaty of the five Powers; which the King of Holland himself conceded to Belgium, in his acceptance of the articles of the twelfth protocol; and which, in no subsequent demand for modification, has he claimed as of right belonging to him. We are no more at war with Holland now, than when we employed demonstrations of force above twelve months ago. The object of the coercive means employed, as before, was peace. Truly was it said by the King of the Belgians, in his speech from the throne, on the 13th of November, 'That the Powers had ascertained that, by forbearing any longer from having recourse to coercive measures, they would place Belgium in a condition of immediate necessity to seek for justice by herself, and that they did not wish to incur the chance of a general war.' 'A French army,' he added, 'will come, without infringing on the tranquillity of Europe, to prove that the guarantees which have been given are not vain words.'

The blood that has been shed at Antwerp is greatly to be deplored; but at whose door does the bloodshed lie? Least of all at that of England and France, the parties to the Convention of last October. England has ever been foremost in the work of conciliation. On September 24th, the draft of a treaty was presented by Lord Palmerston, to effect a farther approximation to the wishes of the Dutch government,—removing almost all the objections which, in their memorandum of December 14th, 1831, they had made to that article which related to the navigation of the Scheldt;—omitting the joint superintendence of the pilotage and buoys; the necessity of a common agreement for fixing the dues; and those expressions which alarmed Dutch jealousy, as *seeming* to make the right of Dutch subjects to navigate their own waters dependent upon the treaty;—adopting the Dutch wording of the article relative to drainage; and abandoning for the Belgians the proposed right of making a canal or railway through Sittard. Such were the concessions to the

King of Holland which, *for the sake of peace*, the British plenipotentiary in last September proposed to make. The conciliatory project failed. A declaration was in consequence proposed, on the 1st of October, by the British and French plenipotentiaries, that 'if, by the 15th of that month, the citadel of Antwerp, and all other places within the Belgian territory, were not evacuated by the Dutch troops, they would recognise in Belgium the right to deduct, for every week that such evacuation should be delayed, one million of florins from the arrears of debt due to the 1st of January, 1832, and afterwards from that portion of the debt which had been assigned to Belgium.' To this proposition the three other Powers did not accede. We understand that Austria and Prussia were willing to have acceded; but that Russia resisted, and obtained their concurrence. To temporize longer was evidently useless. The convention above mentioned was entered into between England and France, and soon afterwards the meetings of the Conference were suspended. The subsequent events are known to all the world.

We shall close these lengthened details with a few additional observations as to the navigation of the Scheldt, and the character of the policy which Britain has pursued with reference to Belgium.

With respect to a communication between the Scheldt and the Rhine, Belgium requires merely this—the right of navigating (subject to toll) a strait of about eight miles in length, running between Duiveland and Tholen, (islands belonging to the province of Zealand,) from the East Scheldt to the lower *embouchure* of the Waal, opposite to the island of Over Flackee. The Belgians have an unquestioned right to pass from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Waal or Rhine, round the western side of the island of Schouwen; but this would oblige them to go out to sea, and would necessitate the employment of vessels of a different description from those which would answer all the purposes of an exclusively *inland* navigation. To deprive the Belgians of this passage, and oblige them to go round the island of Schouwen, would thus expose them to much greater inconvenience than could result from the mere addition to the length of the voyage. Yet this right of transit, subject to toll, thus limited to one short branch of the intermediate waters of Holland—a right to grant which can be no detriment to Holland, while it will be a considerable benefit to the commerce of Belgium, has, by the Dutch, been stubbornly resisted; nay, more, they have even arrogated to themselves credit for having resisted it.

The determination of Holland to oppose all foreign intrusion into the intermediate waters between the Rhine and the Scheldt, has been loudly vaunted by the Dutch government, and clamorously applauded by their supporters in England. But, in the midst of all this foolish boasting, out came a protocol of the Central Commission on the navigation of the Rhine, assembled at Mayence, consisting of plenipotentiaries from the *riverain* states; by which it appeared that the Dutch had been all the while *under an engagement* to admit to the intermediate waters all the States bordering on the Rhine. These States express their unqualified surprise that the Dutch plenipotentiary should have ventured to complain to the Conference, that conditions respecting the navigation of the intermediate waters were stipulated for Belgium which the *riverain* states had never claimed on their own account. This was not true. The *riverain* states had claimed them—had obtained them—had inserted them in a treaty—and had, with an ill-requited indulgence, consented, at the earnest request of the Dutch government, to suspend them till after the settlement of the Belgian question. They declare, in the protocol of July 30, 1832, that they never thought of renouncing the use of an intermediate communication between the waters of the Rhine and those of the Scheldt, ‘which is indispensable for the trade of the states bordering on the Rhine, and the chief object of the treaty:’ and the same is expressed in still stronger terms in the appended adherence of the Prussian plenipotentiary, who declares, that this free intermediate communication is ‘a right, of which it would be incompatible with the dearest interests of the inhabitants of the countries bordering the Rhine to allow the least alteration.’

These declarations rendered the point of absolute *exclusion* no longer tenable by the Dutch government. They therefore shifted their ground, and tried to load the navigation of the Scheldt with exorbitant duties, in order to *protect* Rotterdam from the competition of Antwerp; or, in other words, to ruin the commerce of the latter town. Not only would this be scandalously unjust towards Belgium, but unnecessary as regards the interests of Holland. The thriving condition of Rotterdam, and the increase of the tonnage of its port, which was more rapid than that of Antwerp, during the time when each was placed on an equal footing with respect to duties, prove that it requires no such protection. The negotiations relative to the navigation of the Scheldt may be said to turn upon this question, Whether that navigation is to be practically free, by being subjected only to a fixed and moderate tonnage duty, without any right of search or examination of cargo,

and consequent detention of the ship; or whether it is to be impeded by oppressive duties and vexatious inspections and delays. This is a question not merely between Holland and Belgium, but between Holland and *all commercial nations*. The pretensions of Holland are inadmissible, and in direct opposition to the spirit and letter of the treaty of Vienna, relative to the navigation of the rivers of Europe. That treaty declares, that all the rivers therein mentioned, shall be free for the commercial transit of all nations, upon duties as favourable as possible to commerce. It is doubtful whether, according to the letter of Article 111 of that treaty, the navigation of the Scheldt ought not to be free of *all duties*. This article says, that the duties shall in no case exceed those actually existing at the time when the treaty was signed; and it so happened that at that period there were no duties on the Scheldt at all. This was probably an oversight, and will not be insisted upon; but such is the singular fact.

In the course of our narrative, we have attempted to point out the leading characteristics of the policy of England, in respect to the matters in discussion. We shall now briefly notice the objections with which it has been assailed.

There are some, who, approving of our mediation, complain that it assumed too decidedly the tone of arbitration, and that we have shown too frequent a disposition to support our decisions by force. Now, how, we ask, could *mediation* in such a case be effectual, without assuming the character of *arbitration*? If the question had been simply one of peace or war, without reference to any concomitant arrangement, we might easily have maintained a plain course of mere mediation. But here it was clearly impossible to effect any lasting peace, without laying the ground for it by previous arbitration;—without the patient consideration of complicated questions involving the interests of the two countries; and (after receiving the communications of each) an exposition of those terms which the Allied Powers should think most conducive to the pacific and satisfactory adjustment of the dispute. In a question which necessarily involved the arrangement of so many details, the Powers must have been arbiters, or nothing. But still they will be found to have avoided arbitration on all such points as the Dutch and Belgians might, with any probability of success, arrange between themselves; and they scrupulously abstained from all interference with the internal government of either country. But in what respect could they have been arbiters, if no power had been allowed them to enforce their decisions—if they had been

limited to a mere offer of advice, which the Dutch and Belgians might reject at pleasure? It is plain that their intervention would have been perfectly ineffectual; the five plenipotentiaries could have done no more than any five well-informed and judicious individuals; and it would have been better that the Allies should never have attempted to mediate, than that they should be at length obliged to leave the question in the same condition in which they found it.

There are some, again, who advance the opinion, that the ends of honour and justice would best have been attained by abstaining from all interference, and leaving the Dutch and Belgians 'to fight it out' themselves. On the 'humanity' of a course which would have permitted the worst horrors of devastating warfare, it is perhaps needless to enlarge. Its 'justice' would have been no less conspicuously displayed by the sanction of the principle that 'might makes right;' and by leaving a final arrangement to the will of the strongest! We do not know how such a course could have been characterised as either honourable to those Powers who with immovable apathy should survey the conflict, or as favourable to the interests of the Dutch and Belgian people. The war could hardly be expected to be either mild in its character, or short in its duration; and during its continuance, how flourishing would be the state of trade! How enviable the condition of the national creditors in Holland and in Belgium,—each state refusing to pay its quota of a still undivided debt! The outcry against interference became loudest after the successes of Holland over Belgium in battle—after the time when the superiority of the disciplined troops of the King of Holland over the raw levies of Leopold, and the more warlike character of the former nation, induced a foolish belief, that, because they could gain a few pitched battles, the two millions and a half of Dutch could utterly conquer and retain in subjection nearly four millions of Belgians. There were some who seemed to desire nothing so much as that Belgium should be conquered—and for no stronger reason that we can discover, than that it had already been oppressed. Their undisguised antipathy to the Belgians, and partiality for the Dutch, cannot be explained on the ground of aversion to republican institutions—for the Dutch are a more republican people than the Belgians, and were, in 1814, anxious to have regained that form of government, while the Belgians have rejected it by a large majority. No, we must trace it to another source—to their sympathy with the oppressor—to their hatred of the oppressed—to the pure and generous

emotions which led them to exult in the miseries of Poland, and to eulogize the virtues of Miguel.

There are some, on the other hand, who, approving in the main of the policy of the Conference—approving of our intervention, of our arbitration, and of our demonstrations of coercion—complained of the protracted length to which the negotiations were suffered to run. Doubtless an arrangement, which shall be really final, is to be ardently desired; but the tone in which this has been sometimes clamoured for, reflects little credit on the cavillers. There were those who murmured with the ludicrous impatience of lookers-on at a game of chess, because the players did not move fast enough—who spoke as if the negotiations were a drama enacted for their amusement, which they were privileged to hiss, if they did not entertain them—as if that policy must be faulty which failed to administer the expected dram of exciting novelty to the ever-craving appetites of coffee-house politicians. Some called the policy of the Allied Powers ‘timid,’ ‘feeble,’ ‘temporizing;’ because they did not, like impatient children, demolish at a blow the delicate structure of pacification which they had been slowly and carefully erecting. They appear to have deemed it pusillanimous in England not to have, in conjunction with the other Powers, employed the utmost rigour of coercion towards the weaker states for whom they had been arbitrating. To us, on the contrary, it has appeared, that the long forbearance of England and her allies was more praiseworthy because they are strong, and Holland and Belgium comparatively weak. Instead of condemning, we applaud this merciful and considerate demeanour of the great Powers, and hail it as a symptom of that improved tone, of that humane and conciliatory spirit, which we trust will be more conspicuous than heretofore in the foreign policy of nations.

In the debate which took place in the House of Lords, on the 26th of January, 1832, respecting the policy of the present government, with reference to the affairs of Belgium, some singular assertions were advanced. Among these was Lord Aberdeen’s denial that the separation of Belgium from Holland had been already effected when he and his colleagues quitted office. He eagerly repudiated the calumnious imputation of having been accessory to such a measure; and in bitter reprobation of the policy of Lord Grey, asserted, that ‘the independence of Belgium was the act of the noble Earl alone.’ The friends of Lord Grey, the supporters of his administration, the approvers of the foreign policy of this country, and many who are most zealous for the national honour,

will, we doubt not, concur in regretting that this *accusation* is not true. We cannot justly claim more for this country, than the honour of having sanctioned an independence which the Belgians had already effected for themselves. But was Belgium not separated from Holland, when, on the 17th of November, Lord Aberdeen affixed his name for the last time to the third protocol? What did it then want that constitutes separation? In what respect was its independence not effected? The separation was virtually acknowledged by many acts of the King of the Netherlands himself;—by his convocation of the States-General to consider such a measure; by his invitation of the Powers who had been parties to the union to preside over its dissolution; by his declaration of inability to re-establish his authority, and to fulfil the conditions on which the Union had been accomplished. The separation was declared not only by the Provisional Government of Belgium, but by the votes of the States-General, whom the King of the Netherlands had convened. Was that independence not effected, which the King had declared himself unable to control—which his son had offered to the Belgians, and which they refused at his hands, because it was already obtained? We know not what idea can be attached to the words ‘separation’ and ‘independence,’ if they are not allowed to be applicable to Belgium at that period. We believe we see what was wanting in the opinion of the noble lord;—the direct acknowledgment of the Dutch King was wanting;—that acknowledgment, which, though virtually, was never likely to be formally expressed, till long after the faintest gleam of hope should utterly disappear. The Dutch King had at this period no more substantial power in Belgium, than the Kings of England had in France, when in a spirit of idle boastfulness they maintained their title to the French crown. Would Lord Aberdeen affirm, that as long as our sovereigns chose to assume this empty symbol of authority, there was no separation of France from England?

Among the objects of Lord Aberdeen’s most pointed attack, was the ‘guarantee,’ which, together with the other Powers, this country had undertaken. He observed, that an additional article of the treaty of November 1831, goes to guarantee the execution of all the articles comprised in it. ‘Now, I ask the noble Earl (Grey),’ he continued, ‘whether he really is aware of the obligation which he undertakes by signing this treaty? The engagement we take upon ourselves is such as, I will venture to say, no Ministry of this country ever before contemplated. We guarantee the execution of articles, the least objection against which is, that it will be impossible

‘ to execute them. We guarantee the payment, by Belgium, of no less a sum than L.700,000 a year. How is it possible that such a state as Belgium can raise so large a sum of money? And if Belgium fails to do so, I ask, is the noble Lord aware, that the honour of this country is pledged for the payment of every shilling of the guaranteed amount? This, then, is a most impolitic part of the treaty.’ Impolitic, no doubt, if the assertions of the noble Lord were well founded. With respect to the alleged impossibility to raise so large a sum as L.700,000 a year, we would beg just to remind our readers, that Belgium is more populous, and considerably more fertile than Scotland; and that it possesses extensive manufactories, and one of the first commercial ports in Europe. But a most important question remains—Are *we*, if Belgium *should* fail, pledged to the payment of the guaranteed sum? Lord Grey replied to this question, that ‘ we are not in any degree responsible.’ Lord Aberdeen, in his rejoinder, expressed the most contemptuous astonishment at this statement. ‘ I am no longer surprised,’ he said, ‘ at the noble lord’s entering into engagements of an extraordinary description, nor shall I hereafter wonder at any engagement he may make, now that I have heard his interpretation of the word “guarantee.”’ Now, strange to say, the interpretation which so moved the especial wonder of this experienced ex-minister, is neither more nor less than the interpretation given by Vattel; an author of the highest authority, and in the hands of every one who has occasion to consider questions of international law. The following observations of that writer bear most conclusively upon the point in question: ‘ When there is a question of things which another may do or give as well as he who promises, as, for instance, *the payment of a sum of money*, it is safer to demand a *security* than a *guaranty*; for the *surety* is bound to make good the promise in default of the principal; whereas *the guarantee is only obliged to use his best endeavours* to obtain a performance of the promise from him who has made it.’—(Book ii. ch. 16.) It thus appears, that we are not bound to make good the promised payment in default of Belgium: we are only obliged to use our best endeavours to obtain a performance of the promise.

We regard the spirit in which these complicated negotiations have been conducted, as eminently creditable to this country. Without a hope of advantage to ourselves, except that best and most honourable advantage which results from the welfare of other states, we have undeviatingly pursued one comprehensive and beneficent end;—we have endeavoured to combine with the

attainment of European objects, the prosperity of those two nations which have been the immediate subjects of our attention. England has throughout stood proudly exempt from the imputation of sinister and interested motives: She has acted from first to last in the strictest uniformity with that declaration which accompanied the first offer of the basis of separation, and was afterwards renewed in stronger terms, and we rejoice to say, at the instance of the British Minister—that declaration whereby the five Powers disclaimed all exclusive advantages to themselves,—all views of personal aggrandisement for any member of their reigning families.

During a period of unusual excitement,—in spite of confident denunciations of impending war, almost two years ago, from the supporters of the Wellington Administration; in spite of the vehemence of a party in France, which the government of that country could scarcely curb; in spite of the intemperance of the Belgians, and the pertinacious aggressions of the Dutch; in spite of the many who desired a war, if, peradventure, it might lead to a partition,—the peace of Europe has been preserved: it has been preserved through no base compliance, no unworthy compromise on the part of this country, but with unswerving rectitude of purpose, in rigid maintenance of good faith, and undeviating prosecution of an honourable object. Peace has been preserved; and so preserved, that it cannot be broken by circumstances arising out of the question of Belgium, except they be such as to place England in the right, and to leave to other states the obloquy of infringing a solemn engagement,—of violating the faith of treaties.

ART. VII.—*Three Years in North America.* By JAMES STUART, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1833.

WE have long wished to see such a book, was the gratulatory notice with which the appearance of Mrs Trollope's work was hailed by those who seem to imagine, that to speak favourably of America is to speak disparagingly and factiously of Britain. The publication of the volumes before us, affords us the opportunity of saying in our turn, that we long have wished to see such a book—a book of Travels in Federal America, written by an honest, dispassionate, and competent observer, but one who, though educated and accomplished, should not be of the class, or practised in the artifices of travelling authors—one less anxious to amuse or surprise, or to make himself be talked of as clever, or deep, or patriotic, than to exhibit an un-

varnished view of facts as they arose, and to portray, in plain and simple language, the results of an attentive and discriminating course of observation on men and things,—‘nothing ex-tenuating, nor aught setting down in malice:’—Such, so framed, and so written, is the work before us; and we, therefore, strongly recommend it to all who wish to obtain sound and correct information as to the actual condition of the vast and interesting countries of which it treats.

Its author, though accustomed to mix in better society than nine out of ten of the foreigners who have visited the United States, does not affect to be disgusted with a great, a growing, and a happy people, because hotels, and the houses of opulent individuals, are not crowded with obsequious waiters and lacqueys—because it is customary for strangers to live in boarding-houses—because gentlemen prefer business to wine after dinner—or because the waiters must be civilly spoken to, and would refuse, instead of demanding, attendance-money. He seems to have thought that the well-being of the great mass of the people,—the comfort and intelligence of those engaged in manual occupations,—and the respect everywhere paid to talent and eminent public services—might in some measure atone for the want of dukes and duchesses, and all that beautiful gradation of ranks, which, passing through bishops with L.15,000 a-year, and rectors with L.5000, ends in paupers and mendicants. Mr Stuart had neither Captain Hall’s patrician horror of democracy, nor Mrs Trollope’s affectation of gentility, nor Miss Wright’s love of scepticism and spit-boxes. His object was to give a fair account of the country, without either exaggerating or concealing the good or bad qualities of its inhabitants; and we think he has been eminently successful. Having, with his wife, passed three years in America, and having leisurely travelled over the country, and mixed with all ranks and orders, from the President to the “Helps” in boarding-houses, he had peculiar opportunities for forming an accurate estimate of the character and manners of the people; and of the working of their government and municipal institutions. Of these opportunities he did not fail to avail himself; and we venture to say, that such readers as can relish an honest account of an extremely interesting country, written in an unpretending style, will not easily find a more acceptable book than the one we have just recommended to them.

Mr Stuart arrived at New York on the 23d of August 1828. It might be supposed that the inns and other public establishments in this great city, which, next to London, has the most extensive trade of any place in the world, and which is con-

stantly frequented by multitudes of foreigners from this side the Atlantic, would approach pretty nearly to the best European models. But the fact is not so; and it is singular that New York does not seem to be more advanced than any other considerable town in the States, in those accommodations in which America is most deficient, and which have been the subject of some well-founded, but of more ill-founded and unjust animadversions. Here, as in every part of the Union, the sleeping and dressing conveniences are very indifferent; water is not supplied to the bed-chambers in sufficient quantities; the practice, imitated by our dandies, of smoking cigars, is universal; and the detestable custom, which, however, obtains in Paris, of spitting on the floors or in boxes, is far from being abandoned, though it is on the wane. These, with bar-maids who prefer sitting to standing, and waiters who believe that 'they too are gentlemen,' seem to form the great drawbacks, in the estimation of the superior class of British visitors, on American society.

Having remained for a short time in New York, Mr Stuart proceeded up the Hudson, in a splendid steam-packet, at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, stoppages included. He gives an animated description of the magnificent scenery of this noble river, on the banks of which he subsequently resided for a considerable period; adding some interesting details with respect to the immense canal navigation by which it is connected with the great lakes on the one hand, and the St Lawrence on the other. The length of the Erie or Western canal, is 383 miles; and that of the Champlain or Eastern canal, is 63 miles. They were completed in 1825; and reflect great credit on the State of New York, and on the sagacity, enterprise, and perseverance of De Witt Clinton, to whom their construction is principally to be ascribed. They have been of incalculable service to the Union, but particularly to New York. When the plan is completed, by the opening of the Great canal, now far advanced, from Lake Erie to the Ohio, there will be an internal water communication between New York and New Orleans; and the whole country to the east of the Mississippi and the south of the Hudson will form a vast island!

The progress of population and civilisation in America is truly surprising. The Erie canal, by which Mr Stuart travelled on his way to Niagara, passes by many rich and thriving towns, where, half a century ago, there was nothing but woods. Among his fellow-passengers was a gentleman of large fortune at Rochester, whose son, a lad of eighteen years of age, was the first child born in the town, though it then contained 13,000 inha-

bitants. It had cotton works, power-looms, woollen factories, eleven flour-mills, and six or seven churches. Such wonders everywhere meet the eye of the traveller in America. And such is the country which our small wits and would-be fine gentlemen sneer at and ridicule, because the people want some of the comforts and refinements to be found in London and Brighton.

Mr Stuart has given a very instructive account of the New York state prison at Auburn, and of the system of discipline adopted in it. The proper economy of a prison is one of the most difficult problems in practical legislation. So many conflicting principles must be reconciled, that it is almost impossible to adopt a plan which shall answer some necessary conditions without being opposed to others. If a prison be made tolerably comfortable—particularly in a country where no crimes are punishable by death except murder and arson, and where transportation is unknown—it ceases to inspire dread, and punishment is stripped of half its terrors. On the other hand, the feelings and sympathies of society will not allow of prisoners being subjected to any thing like cruel treatment, and their health must be taken care of. Besides this, a prison should be a sort of penitentiary, where offenders are not only to be punished for their offences, but to be instructed and amended. This, however, is no easy matter. In a prison there must be offenders of all descriptions, from the hardened ruffian to those confined for some comparatively trivial offence; and a system of classification and of appropriate treatment is, consequently, indispensable. In addition to all this, the expense of the system must be attended to. Prisons ought, in as far as possible, to be made to defray the outlay upon them. The public revenue is never so ill expended as when it is laid out on the maintenance of thieves and robbers. The practice of the Americans has done a great deal to throw light on these important, but difficult problems. Penitentiary punishment, without solitary confinement, was tried in New York, and some of the other states, and was found so signally unsuccessful, that it was proposed by many to re-enact the old penal code. In 1821, the legislature of the state of New York directed that the worst criminals should be subjected to solitary confinement; but this was found to make bad worse. The health of the convicts was seriously impaired; several of them became insane; and the mental faculties of most of them were weakened. In this extremity, the legislature adopted a middle system, corresponding in some important respects with the Dutch plan. The prisoners are classified, and work together in silence; and a severe system

of discipline is enforced,—every infraction of the regulations being instantly punished by flogging. This plan seems hitherto to have answered extremely well. It is obvious, however, that it leaves a great deal to the discretion of the governor and assistant overseers. Every thing depends on their maintaining the regulations, and keeping up the strictest discipline. Any relaxation would be utterly subversive of the principles and foundations of the system. The importance of the following details supersedes any apology for the length of our extract:—

‘ When convicts arrive, they have their irons taken off, are thoroughly cleaned, and clad in the prison dress. The rules of the prison are explained to them, and they are instructed by the keeper in their duties,—to obey orders, and to labour diligently in silence,—to approach all the officers of the institution, when it is necessary for them to speak, with respectful language, and never to speak without necessity, even to the keepers; never to speak to each other under any pretence; nor to sing, dance, or do any thing having the least tendency to disturb the prison; never to leave the places assigned to them without permission; never to speak to any person who does not belong to the prison, nor to look off from their work to see any one; never to work carelessly, or be idle a single moment. They are also told, that they will not be allowed to receive letters, or intelligence from, or concerning, their friends, or any information on any subject out of the prison. Any correspondence of this kind, that may be necessary, must be carried on through the keeper, or assistant keepers. A Bible is, by order of the state, put into each cell. The bodies of all criminals, who die in the state prisons, are, by order of the legislature, delivered to the College of Physicians when they are not claimed by their relations within twenty-four hours after their death. The state prisons being in the country,—at a distance generally, it must be presumed, from the residence of the relations,—such a claim can, it is obvious, be but rarely made.

‘ For all infraction of the regulations, or of duty, the convicts are instantly punished by stripes inflicted by the keeper, or assistant keepers, with a raw hide whip; or in aggravated cases, under the direction of the keeper, or his deputy alone, by a cat made of six strands of small twine, applied to the bare back. Conviction follows offences so certainly, and instantaneously, that they rarely occur; sometimes not once in three months.

‘ At the end of fifteen minutes after the ringing of a bell in the morning, the assistant keepers unlock the convicts, who march out in military order in single files to their work-shops, where they wash their faces and hands in vessels prepared in the shops.

‘ New convicts are put to work at such trade as they may have previously learned, provided it be practicable; if not, or if they have no trade, the keeper selects such trade as appears, on enquiry, best suited to them. The hours of labour vary according to the season:

In long days, from half-past 5 A. M. to 6 P. M. In short days, the hours are so fixed as to embrace all the day-light.

‘ At the signal for breakfast, the convicts again form in line in the shops, and are marched by the assistant keepers to the mess-room, which they enter at two different doors, face around by their plates, standing till all have got their places, when a bell is rung, and all sit down to their meals; but, as some eat more, and some less, waiters, provided with large vessels, pass along constantly between the tables, taking food from those who raise their right hand in token that they have it to spare, and giving to those who raise their left hand to signify they want more. The tables are narrow; and the convicts, sitting on one side only, are placed face to back, and never face to face, so as to avoid exchanging looks or signs.

‘ When the steward perceives that the convicts have done eating, or have had sufficient time for it,—generally from twenty minutes to half an hour,—he rings the bell, when all rise and march to their work-shops, those going out first who came in last. Twelve o'clock is the hour of dinner. The proceedings the same as at breakfast. Before quitting labour, the convicts wash their faces and hands,—form line, according to the number of their cells,—and proceed, in reversed order from that of coming out in the morning, to the wash-room, where, without breaking their step, they stoop, and take up their supper vessels and water cans, and march to their galleries, enter their cells, and pull their doors to. Each gallery is occupied by one company, which is marched and locked up by one assistant-keeper.

‘ Assistant-keepers are constantly moving around the galleries, having socks on their feet, that they may walk without noise, so that each convict does not know but that one of the keepers may be at the very door of his cell, ready to discover and report next morning for punishment the slightest breach of silence or order. The house, containing between 500 and 600 convicts, is thus perfectly still. The convicts are required, by the ringing of a bell, to go to bed upon their framed flat canvass hammocks, with blankets, and are neither permitted to lie down nor to get up without a signal. After the convicts are rung down at night, all the locks are again tried by the assistant-keepers.

‘ On Sundays the arrangement is the same, with this difference, that, instead of working, the convicts are marched to the chapel, where divine service is performed by the chaplain. Such of them as are ignorant attend the Sunday school, which is admirably taught, and gratuitously, by students belonging to the theological seminary at Auburn. The keeper and assistant-keepers must be present at divine service, and at the teaching in the Sunday school.

‘ The rations for each man per day are, 10 oz. pork, or 16 oz. beef; 10 oz. wheat flour, the wheat to be ground fine, and not bolted; 12 oz. Indian meal; $\frac{1}{2}$ gill molasses,—a ration. And 2 qts. rye; 4 qts. salt; 4 qts vinegar; $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. pepper; $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels potatoes,—each 100 rations.’

‘ The gains of the convicts during the last year averaged 29 cents, or 1s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. sterling per day, some of them earning as much as 50 cents,

and others not more than 15 cents per day. The amount was sufficient to defray the annual expense, including the whole salaries of the keepers, the guard, and all the other officers. The inspectors and keepers have no doubt that the earnings will increase in subsequent years,—many of the workmen who are under sentences of long confinement having, from practice, become much more perfect in their trades and occupations. The convicts are never, on any pretext whatever, permitted to work on their own account, nor to receive any food, except the prison fare. Neither fermented liquor of any kind, nor tobacco, are allowed to be brought within the precincts of the prison. Nothing is bought or sold within the prison walls, so far as the prisoners are in any way concerned, except their labour.

‘The degree of health which has prevailed ever since the introduction of the present system, probably surpasses any thing ever known of an equal number of convicts,—between 500 and 600; the number of patients confined to the hospital being about one per cent, and the number of deaths one and a-half.

‘No convict has been discharged since the present system was commenced who has not, previous to his liberation, communicated details of his previous history,—how he was brought up,—what instructions he enjoyed,—his employment,—his residence,—his general habits, &c., and also information respecting his confinement, how he considers himself to have been treated, &c. A very curious body of facts will in this way be obtained, especially as means are taken to procure, as far as it can be done, a knowledge of particulars respecting the after lives of the convicts. Of 160 convicts discharged from Auburn, of whom accurate accounts have been obtained, 112 have turned out decidedly steady and industrious, and only twenty-six decidedly bad. It is generally admitted by the convicts, that being deprived of all intelligence of their friends—of the affairs of the world—and of all means of intercourse and conversation with each other,—occasions them more suffering, and tends more to humble them, than every thing else—that they are necessarily driven to reflection in their solitary cells, and through all the unvarying routine of their labour and rest. They allow, that the desire to converse is so great, and the temptation to it so strong, that they will risk the hazard of speaking to each other whenever there is any probable chance of escaping detection, but that the vigilance of the keepers is such, that they are never able to carry on a connected discourse. It is not an uncommon thing for a convict, when discharged, to state that he did not know the names of his fellow convicts, who had for months worked by his side, and who had lodged in adjoining cells.’

America is not a country for fine gentlemen or ladies to travel in. All who cannot at a pinch help themselves, should confine their excursions to the Macadamized roads of the ‘old country.’ At Geneva, a pretty little town further on the road to Niagara, says Mr Stuart,

‘The hotel is large, and well kept, and the people disposed to be

obliging; but it is rather difficult to get the waiter or chambermaid to come to the bed-chamber door for the shoes to clean, and to bring them back, and to bring hot water for shaving in the morning. The custom is in the evening to exchange your shoes, which are left in a corner of the bar room, for a pair of not very nice looking slippers, which again you exchange next morning in the bar room for your cleaned shoes. As to shaving, it is a very general practice for travellers to shave in public in the bar-rooms, where there is always a looking-glass. Male persons do frequently wash close to the pump-well, where there are basins placed on a wooden bench. This practice is not uncommon in France. The people in this house seem very attentive to every request; but you have no redress anywhere if the waiters forget or refuse to attend to requests which are considered unusual; and if they be Americans, and not of colour, they will seldom receive money from a passenger; and so generally consider it an insult to have it offered, that it is not advisable to make the proposal. On the other hand, whenever the waiters are people of colour, or Irish, or, generally speaking, European, they will not object to receive a *douceur*; but let the traveller, if he intends to give one, do it in private; and let him take an opportunity to let the waiter know his intention in due time, because he will not otherwise expect any thing, and may perhaps in that case turn out less attentive to your requests than the American, who will seldom refuse if your application be made as a matter of favour in civil terms. Civility, as Lady Mary Montague truly observes, costs nothing, and buys every thing.—Both here and at Saratoga Springs, doors are very generally left unlocked during the night. Shutters to the windows are not common. Clothes are left out to bleach during the night on the unenclosed greens in the villages. On my wife applying for a washerwoman two or three days ago to wash some clothes, our landlady said that they should be washed in the house, and that she would get in a *lady* to assist. The lady, when she appeared, turned out to be a *lady* of colour. It will not at all do here to talk of the lower classes; “Send for that fellow:—order such a woman to come here.” Language of that kind will not be tolerated by any part of the community. The feeling of self-respect exists almost universally.

Mr Stuart has given some very judicious advice to English travellers in America. The sum of it is, rather to ask as a favour, than to command as a duty, what you have a right to exact. So long as the meanest labourer can earn a dollar a-day, and buy land for two dollars an acre, that deference to wealth which is willingly paid in the Old World, will not be met with in the New. Some centuries hence, when New Orleans is as large as London, and Nootka Sound has as many ships and as much trade as the Mersey, American waiters and chamber-maids will probably be as courteous and obliging, and as much disposed to set a due value upon their civilities and services, as those of our capital and bathing quarters.

Mr Stuart's details respecting the state of education in New York, New England, and generally throughout the Union, are highly instructive. A good deal of information on this subject was, much to his surprise, communicated to him by a person who happened to drive the stage-coach from Caldwell to Saratoga Springs. He tells us further, that he found this person better acquainted with the system of teaching at present in use in the High School of Edinburgh, than he was himself, though educated there. This extraordinary driver turned out to be high sheriff of the county! He was a general merchant in the village; and having lent a neighbour his horses, he preferred driving them himself to intrusting them to a stranger. He had been selected by his fellow-citizens to fill the situation of justice of the peace, on account of his superior shrewdness and excellent character.

The truth is, that every man in America is instructed, reads the newspapers, and takes a part in the prevailing political discussions. The hotels and public-houses have all a pretty good assortment of books;—much better, at least, than the trash usually met with in such places in this country. The universal diffusion of education is, in fact, the grand, the distinguishing excellence of America. It is this that has rendered the terms, mob, or rabble, inapplicable even to the dregs of her citizens in the Northern States; and fits them for enjoying, without abusing, the freest institutions. Had the tenth part of the sum been expended in establishing schools in Ireland, that has been thrown away in supporting a priesthood detested by the mass of the people, that country would not have been in the disgraceful state in which it now is. And what but the want of education has drawn recruits to the standard of Swing? and made our labourers believe that the destruction of their employers' property was the best means of augmenting their wages?

The following remarks, written by one so eminently qualified as our author to give advice on such a subject, deserve the particular attention of those intending to settle in America as farmers:—

‘In originally dispossessing the forest, and clearing the ground, the American has great advantages over the European emigrant. He understands the use of the axe from his infancy, and much more rapidly brings the trees to the ground. His house and fences are far more economically erected. His employment in these operations is that to which he has been all his life accustomed. His health does not suffer, as a stranger's does, from the hardships to which he is in the meantime exposed, nor from the exhalations which always accompany the clearing of woodland, and which are so apt in this country

to produce fever and ague. My present impression is, that it is far more advisable for an emigrant to pay a little for land *lately* cleared, though at a price exceeding the sum actually expended, than to risk his own health and that of his family; but let him be well advised, and not acquire land, already impoverished by cropping, and which has become foul, and lost the vegetable mould,—the efficacy of which renders the use of manure for a time unnecessary. Let him, above all, be satisfied, before he fixes on a situation, that there is good wholesome water near the spot where his house is to be placed; and that the district of country is, generally speaking, healthy. Water is very frequently bad in this country; and often impregnated with lime to so great an extent that it cannot be used with safety. One of the first questions that a traveller, on arriving at a hotel, puts, is, whether the water is good? and it is extremely difficult to get information that can be depended on, either as to the quality of the water, or the comparative healthiness of the place. The inhabitants already settled and possessed of property have an obvious interest to make favourable representations. In many cases, where emigrants do not show due caution, they not only expose themselves and their families to disease, but to that sinking and depression of spirits, which frequently results from discouragements and difficulties, so likely to incapacitate for the necessary exertions, especially in a country, to many of the customs of which they are strangers.

‘ After a portion of the ground is cleared, and the necessary accommodation for the family of the new settler obtained on the spot, the maize of the first crop, which is generally abundant, in consequence of the effect of the vegetable mould, the accumulation of ages, gives a sure supply for the family, and the necessary horses and cattle;—and a regular arrangement, according to the settler's means, is fixed for proceeding in clearing and increasing the ploughable land, either by girdling the trees, or taking them out altogether. A tree is said to be girdled when the bark is cut round, so as completely to destroy the vessels by which the process of circulation is conducted. Part of the foliage generally remains for the first year.

‘ The general practice is to cut down and remove such trees as are best suited for the houses to be built, and for fencing, and to set fire to the remainder, and to the rubbish on the field;—the fire, of course, consumes a considerable part of the girdled trees; and until they decay, it has a melancholy desolate appearance, even though covered with luxuriant crops, which it at first bears. Many of the trees are black from top to bottom, and all going fast to decay, and tumbling with a crash, as you pass them. This method of bringing land into cultivation is not, however, by any means universal. In many cases, the whole wood is cut down, and the land at once cleared; and a fine crop of maize, perhaps forty or fifty bushels per acre, raised, with very little exertion on the part of the cultivator, from the rich virgin soil.

‘ It is not unusual for the neighbouring farmers to assist in conveying the wood, and in the other operations for putting up the first log-house for the settler's family, which is quickly completed. When

neighbours in this or other similar works lend their assistance for a day, they call it a frolic, and all work with alacrity. This house, though rudely constructed, is, so far as I have seen, far better in point of accommodation than cottages for farm-overseers in Britain; and it is only meant as a temporary dwelling-house, until other matters are so far arranged as to give leisure to the settler to erect a comfortable abode. The permanent dwelling-houses are fully equal in extent and appearance to the average farm-houses of Britain. There is no want of comfort. The house is always placed near a spring, from which the farmer has his supply of water; and over the spring he frequently places his milk-house, which also is constructed for keeping meat. An ice-house, too, is now very generally reckoned necessary for the accommodation of the family. About the house, there are usually a few weeping-willows and locust-trees, both fine trees in this country, the latter, too, most useful. The garden, though close to the house, is, as already mentioned, apparently in bad order, and frequently not enclosed; but the soil and climate are such, that, with very little labour, abundance of vegetables are raised.

‘ An apple orchard, with some peach and plum-trees, is almost always to be found within a few hundred yards of the house; and at about the same distance, if the farm is not near a village, is a small bit of ground enclosed as the burying-ground,—the grave-yard, as it is here called, of the family.

‘ The various crops raised in that part of the State of New York, which I have seen, are very much the same as in Britain, with the addition of maize, for which the climate of Britain is not well adapted. Wheat, however, is the most valuable crop. A considerable quantity of buck-wheat and rye is grown. The greater degree of heat is not favourable for oats and barley. Potatoes, turnips, and other green crops, are not at all generally cultivated in large fields. Rotations of crops are far too little attended to. I observe in the magazines and almanacks, that in the rotations, a crop of turnips, ruta-baga, or other green plants, is generally put down as one part of the course; but I have nowhere seen more than the margins or edges of the maize, or other grain, devoted to green crop, properly so called. The attention of the farmers seems chiefly directed to the raising enough of maize for home consumption, and of wheat for sale; and when you talk to them of the necessity of manuring, with a view to preserve the fertility of the soil, they almost uniformly tell you, that the expense of labour, about a dollar a day, for labourers during the summer, renders it far more expedient for them, as soon as their repeated cropping very much diminishes the quantity of the grain, to lay down their land in grass, and make a purchase of new land in the neighbourhood, or even to sell their cleared land, and proceed in quest of a new settlement, than to adopt a system of rotation of crops assisted by manure. There is great inconvenience, according to the notions of the British, in removing from one farm to another; but they make very light work of it here, and consider it to be merely a question of finance, whether they shall remain on their improved land, after they have considerably exhausted its fertilizing power. In a great part of

the northern district of the State of New York, there is still a great deal of land to be cleared; and a farmer may, in many cases, acquire additions to his farm so near his residence that his houses may suit the purpose of his new acquisition; but he is more frequently tempted to sell at a price from fifteen to thirty dollars an acre, supposing the land not to be contiguous to any village. If he obtains land near his first farm, after he has worn it out, he lays down the first farm in grass, allows it to be pastured for some years, and breaks it up again with oats.

‘Maize, or Indian corn, which *par excellence* is alone in this country called corn, is a most important addition to the crops which we are able to raise in Britain. It is said to have been first found in the island of St Domingo. It is used as food for man in a great variety of ways, as bread, as porridge, in which case it is called Mush, and in puddings. When unripe, and in the green pod, it is not unlike green pease, and is in that state sold as a vegetable. One species in particular, called green corn, is preferable for this purpose. Broom corn is another species, which is reckoned best for poultry,—and of its stalks a most excellent kind of clothes’ brush, in universal use at New York, is made. Horses, cattle, and poultry, are all fond of this grain, and thrive well on it. The straw is very nutritive, and considerable in quantity.’

All religions are tolerated in Great Britain; but in America they are all on the same footing; each enjoying the same favour and protection as the others. In this respect she may read an important lesson to other and older, and, as they are pleased to reckon themselves, more enlightened countries. Generally speaking, the greatest cordiality exists among the different sects. Individuals professing different creeds not unfrequently meet at the same communion-table; and clergymen of different persuasions assist each other in the ceremonial services at the founding and opening of churches. Mr Stuart had frequent occasion to admire the total absence of cant and hypocrisy in American society. But there is, notwithstanding, as much real religion in America, as in many countries well supplied with bishops, deans, tithes, and other such approved religious means and appliances. Indeed the present complaint is, not that there is any excess of scepticism in America, but that it is overrun with fanaticism! It hardly, however, becomes those familiar with pretenders to ‘the gift of tongues,’ and who have seen Mackintosh and Canning struggling for admittance to hear Irving’s orations, to affect such extreme surprise at the crowding of the Americans to camp-meetings, revivals, and such exhibitions. Mr Stuart seems inclined to regard those assemblages in a more favourable point of view than we think they deserve; and it is probably true, that under every mode of religious worship, whether States have established religions or not,

there will be occasional displays of credulity and fanaticism. They who have any wish to inform themselves regarding the *Shckers*, will find the means of gratifying their curiosity in the ample details concerning them collected by our author.

Mr Stuart's second volume is greatly more interesting and important than the first; and it is proper that his readers should be made aware of this. It is principally devoted to an account of the Southern and Western States,—countries comparatively little visited by European travellers, but which exhibit moral and physical features of the deepest interest. Our limits constrain us to restrict ourselves to the notice of only one or two topics.

In the Southern States, slavery exists in its worst form, and to a frightful extent. The Americans have successfully maintained 'that rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.' But it would seem from their practice that they meant this to be understood of whites only; and that one of the 'sacred rights' for which they braved the power of England, was the right to oppress and trample on such of their fellow men as happened to be born black. The abolition of the slave trade by the Americans is, we are sorry to say, rather nominal than real. There is a Guinea within the Union. It was recently estimated that every year from 10,000 to 16,000 slaves were sold by the more northerly slave-holding States, and exported to Louisiana, and those more to the south.* It is no uncommon thing, for husbands and wives, mothers and children, to be, on such occasions, separated from each other; and the cruelties thus inflicted have frequently provoked the most dreadful outrages. In point of fact, the condition of the slaves in the West Indies is, in all respects, save only the abundance of food, decidedly preferable to that of the same class in the United States. And yet the great majority of the white inhabitants, and the legislature, seem all but insensible of the existence of this tremendous evil. The increase of the black population in the Southern States, is more rapid than that of the white; so that, even if the present order of things could be maintained for a few years, it must sooner or later come to an end; and the blacks, if they be not restored to their rights as men, and voluntarily admitted to participate in the privileges now engrossed by the whites, will probably establish their freedom and equality by an appeal to the sword. Under these circumstances, it might be expected that efforts would be everywhere

* Some restrictions have, we believe, been recently laid on this traffic; but we are not aware of their exact nature.

in progress for the improvement of the slaves, and for preparing them for the enjoyment of rights which reasonable men cannot fail to see must ultimately be conceded to them. But the very opposite conduct is pursued: the slaves are treated as if they were wholly powerless, and as if nothing were to be apprehended from their deep-rooted desire of vengeance, or from the justice of Providence! The accounts which Mr Stuart gives of the behaviour of the whites towards the blacks in the Carolinas, Georgia, and other Southern States, are alike disgraceful to the Americans and afflicting to humanity. Every possible effort is made, not to instruct, but to exclude them from instruction. The blacks are prohibited from attending the schools kept by white persons; and in 1823, the Grand Jury of Charleston proclaimed, as a 'nuisance, the numbers of 'schools kept within the city, by *persons of colour*;' expressing their belief 'that a city ordinance, prohibiting, under severe penalties, such persons from being public instructors, would meet 'with general approbation.' Such an ordinance was, of course, soon after issued!

There are, no doubt, many instances to the contrary; but on the whole, those most favourable to the Southern Americans must admit, that, speaking generally, they treat their slaves with the most revolting inhumanity. The following details will harrow the feelings of our readers; but it is right that such barbarity should be held up to the execration of the world. After describing the degrading treatment to which *free* persons of colour are exposed in Charleston, Mr Stuart proceeds thus:—

'So far as respects the slaves, they are even still in a worse situation; for, though their evidence is in no case admissible against the whites, the affirmation of free persons of colour, or their fellow-slaves, is received against them. I was placed in a situation at Charleston which gave me too frequent opportunities to witness the effects of slavery in its most aggravated state. Mrs Street treated all the servants in the house in the most barbarous manner; and this, although she knew that Stewart, the hotel-keeper here, had lately nearly lost his life by maltreating a slave. He beat his cook, who was a stout fellow, until he could no longer support it. He rose upon his master, and in his turn gave him such a beating that it had nearly cost him his life; the cook immediately left the house, ran off, and was never afterwards heard of,—it was supposed that he had drowned himself. Not a day, however, passed without my hearing of Mrs Street whipping and ill using her unfortunate slaves. On one occasion, when one of the female slaves had disobliged her, she beat her until her own strength was exhausted, and then insisted on the bar-keeper, Mr Ferguson, proceeding to inflict the remainder of the punishment—Mrs Street in the meantime took his place in the bar-room. She instructed him to lay on the whip severely in an adjoining room. His nature was repugnant

to the execution of the duty which was imposed on him. He gave a wink to the girl, who understood it and bellowed lustily, while he made the whip crack on the walls of the room. Mrs Street expressed herself to be quite satisfied with the way in which Ferguson had executed her instructions; but, unfortunately for him, his lenity to the girl became known in the house, and the subject of merriment, and was one of the reasons for his dismissal before I left the house;—but I did not know of the most atrocious of all the proceedings of this cruel woman until the very day that I quitted the house. I had put up my clothes in my portmanteau, when I was about to set out, but finding it was rather too full, I had difficulty in getting it closed to allow me to lock it; I therefore told one of the boys to send me one of the stoutest of the men to assist me. A great robust fellow soon afterwards appeared, whom I found to be the cook, with tears in his eyes;—I asked him what was the matter? He told me that, just at the time when the boy called for him, he had got so sharp a blow on the cheek bone, from this devil in petticoats, as had unmanned him for the moment. Upon my expressing commiseration for him, he said he viewed this as nothing, but that he was leading a life of terrible suffering; that about two years had elapsed since he and his wife, with his two children, had been exposed in the public market at Charleston for sale,—that he had been purchased by Mrs Street,—that his wife and children had been purchased by a different person; and that, though he was living in the same town with them, he never was allowed to see them;—he would be beaten within an ace of his life if he ventured to go to the corner of the street. Wherever the least symptom of rebellion or insubordination appears at Charleston on the part of a slave, the master sends the slave to the gaol, where he is whipped or beaten as the master desires. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, in his travels, mentioned that he visited this gaol in December 1825; that the “black overseers go about everywhere armed with cow-hides; that in the basement story there is an apparatus upon which the negroes, by order of the police, or at the request of the masters, are flogged; that the machine consists of a sort of crane, on which a cord with two nooses runs over pulleys; the nooses are made fast to the hands of the slave and drawn up, while the feet are bound tight to a plank; that the body is stretched out as much as possible,—and thus the miserable creature receives the exact number of lashes as counted off. The public sale of slaves in the market-place at Charleston occurs frequently. I was present at two sales where, especially at one of them, the miserable creatures were in tears on account of their being separated from their relations and friends. At one of them, a young woman of sixteen or seventeen was separated from her father and mother, and all her relations, and every one she had formerly known. This not unfrequently happens, although I was told, and believe, that there is a general wish to keep relations together where it can be done.

‘The following extract of a letter from a gentleman at Charleston, to a friend of his at New York, published in the New York newspapers while I was there, contains even a more shocking account of the public sales of slaves here.—“Curiosity sometimes leads me to the

auction sales of the negroes. A few days since I attended one which exhibited the beauties of slavery in all their sickening deformity. The bodies of these wretched beings were placed upright on a table,—their physical proportions examined,—their defects and beauties noted.—‘A prime lot, here they go!’ There I saw the father looking sullen contempt upon the crowd, and expressing an indignation in his countenance that he durst not speak;—and the mother, pressing her infants closer to her bosom with an involuntary grasp, and exclaiming, in wild and simple earnestness, while the tears chased down her cheeks in quick succession, ‘I can’t leff my children! I won’t leff my children!’ But, on the hammer went, reckless alike whether it united or sundered for ever. On another stand, I saw a man apparently as white as myself exposed to sale. I turned away from the humiliating spectacle.”

Detestable as this is, Mr Stuart did not find the treatment of the slaves at all improved at New Orleans.

‘All the waiters in the hotel where I lodged,’ says he, ‘were slaves, but they were not positively ill treated, like the unfortunate creatures at Charleston. They had no beds, however, to sleep upon,—all lying, like dogs, in the passages of the house. Their punishment was committed by Mr Lavand to Mr Smith, the clerk of the house, who told me that never an evening passed on which he had not to give some of them stripes; and on many occasions to such an extent, that he was unable to perform the duty, and sent the unhappy creatures to the prison, that they might have their punishment inflicted there by the gaoler. Nothing is more common here, than for the masters and mistresses of slaves, when they wish them, either male or female, to be punished, to send them to the prison, with a note to the gaoler specifying the number of lashes to be inflicted. The slave must carry back a note to his master, telling him that the punishment has been inflicted. If the master so orders it, the slave receives his whipping laid flat upon his face upon the earth, with his hands and feet bound to posts. In passing the prison in the morning, the cries of the poor creatures are dreadful. I was anxious to get into the inside of this place, but though a friend applied for me I did not succeed. Mr Smith told me that he was very desirous to leave his situation, merely because he felt it so very disagreeable a duty to be obliged to whip the slaves.

‘There were about 1000 slaves for sale at New Orleans while I was there. Although I did not myself witness, as I had done at Charleston, the master or the mistress of the house treating the slaves with barbarity, yet I heard enough to convince me that at New Orleans there are many Mrs Streets. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, who was at New Orleans in 1826, and who lodged in the boarding-house of the well-known Madame Herries, one of the best boarding-houses at New Orleans, has given a detailed account of the savage conduct of this lady to one of her slaves, which I transcribe in his own words:—“One particular scene, which roused my indignation in the highest manner, on the 22d March, I cannot suffer to pass in silence. There

was a young Virginian female slave in our boarding-house, employed as a chamber-maid, a cleanly, attentive, quiet, and very regular individual. A Frenchman residing in the house called in the morning early for water to wash. As the water was not instantly brought to him, he went down the steps and encountered the poor girl, who just then had some other occupation in hand. He struck her immediately with his fist in the face, so that the blood ran from her forehead. The poor creature, roused by this unmerited abuse, put herself on her defence, and caught the Frenchman by the throat. He screamed for help, but no one would interfere. The fellow then ran to his room; gathered his things together; and was about to leave the house. But when our landlady, Madame Herries, was informed of this, in order to satisfy the wretch, she disgraced herself, by having twenty-six lashes inflicted upon the poor girl with a cow-hide, and refined upon her cruelty so much, that she forced the sweetheart of the girl, a young negro slave who waited in the house, to count off the lashes upon her. This Frenchman, a merchant's clerk from Montpelier, was not satisfied with this: He went to the police; lodged a complaint against the girl; had her arrested by two constables; and whipped again by them in his presence. I regret that I did not take a note of this miscreant's name, in order that I might give his disgraceful conduct its merited publicity."'

All Englishmen believe that there is in America an unbounded freedom of the press; and that no abuse of any kind can be perpetrated without its being immediately exposed; but this is true only of the Northern and Western States. In as far indeed as respects Louisiana, it is destitute, not only of the freedom of the press, but even of the *freedom of speech*. An individual who should libel the Czar in a Petersburg paper, or assail the 'beloved Ferdinand' in the Madrid Gazette, could not possibly fare worse than he who should presume to print or say any thing in favour of the slaves at New Orleans! The following is the substance of two acts passed by the legislature of Louisiana so late as 1830.

' 1st, That whosoever shall write, print, publish, or distribute any thing *having a tendency* to create discontent among the free coloured population of this state, or insubordination among the slaves therein, shall, at the discretion of the court, suffer death, or imprisonment at hard labour for life.

' 2d, That whosoever shall use language in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the stage, the pulpit, or in any place, or in private discourse or conversation, or shall make use of signs or actions *having a tendency to produce discontent* among the free coloured population in this state, or to excite insubordination among the slaves therein; or whosoever shall knowingly be instrumental in bringing into this state any paper, pamphlet, or book, having such tendency, as aforesaid, shall, at the discretion of the court, suffer at hard labour not less than three years, nor more than twenty years, or death.

‘ 3d, That all persons who shall teach, or permit, or cause to be taught, any slave in this state to read or write, shall be imprisoned not less than one, nor more than twelve months.

‘ The second act provides, 1st, For the expulsion from the state of all free people of colour, who came into it subsequently to the year 1807 ; and then confirms a former law, prohibiting all free persons of colour whatever from entering the state of Louisiana.

2d, It sentences to imprisonment, or hard labour for life, all free persons of colour, who, having come into the state, disobey an order for their departure.

3d, It enacts, that if any white person shall be convicted of being the author, printer, or publisher of any written or printed paper within the state, or shall use any language with the intent to disturb the peace, or security of the same, in relation to the slaves or the people of this state, or to diminish that respect which is commanded to free people of colour for the whites, such person shall be fined in a sum not less than 300 dollars, nor exceeding 1000 dollars, and imprisoned for a term not less than six months, nor exceeding three years ; and that, if any free person of colour shall be convicted of such offence, he shall be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding 1000 dollars, and imprisoned at hard labour for a time not less than three years, and not exceeding five years, and afterwards banished for life.

‘ And, 4th, It enacts, that in all cases it shall be the duty of the attorney-general and the several district attorneys, under the penalty of removal from office, to prosecute the said free persons of colour for violations of the act, or, whenever they shall be required to prosecute the said free persons of colour by any citizen of this state.’

Whether there be any thing in the archives of Madrid or Algiers to match this, we know not : but it is absurd, where such laws exist, to talk about liberty, and something worse than preposterous, for any country which tolerates them, to sing its own praises. Siberia contrasts, in this respect, most advantageously with Louisiana: in the former, the lieutenants of the Emperor occasionally imprison an obnoxious or troublesome individual ; but in the latter, more than half the population are slaves, who may be maltreated at the pleasure of their masters ;—it being a serious offence even to allude to the manner in which these petty despots abuse their authority. Mr Stuart tells us, that while he was at New Orleans, a slave was hung for some trifling offence ; and that not one of the newspapers took the slightest notice of the circumstance.

For the existence of slavery America is not accountable. She derived it, as well as her peculiar laws and institutions, from the mother country. But she is accountable for her conduct to the slaves since the era of her independence ; and to those who ask, what has she done for the improvement of so large a portion of her population, what answer can she make ? At the very out-

set of the Declaration of Independence it is said, 'We hold ' these truths to be self-evident, that *all* men are created equal ; ' that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalien- ' able rights ; that among these are life, *liberty*, and the pur- ' suit of happiness.' But such is the inconsistency of human nature, that the very people who made such sacrifices to vindicate these principles, are themselves conspicuous for trampling them under foot ! Slavery is the plague-spot in American society. Its existence, or rather the absence of all vigorous efforts for its mitigation and ultimate extinction, are circumstances of which America ought to be ashamed ; and of which she cannot too soon, or too sincerely repent. Anxious as we are for her happiness and lasting prosperity, we look with horror and dismay at the vast mass of discontent she is nursing in her southern provinces. The opposition of interests that exists amongst the States gives additional importance to this subject. The antipathy to slavery is as strong among the inhabitants of New England as among ourselves ; and it has been doubted by many, whether, if a rebellion among the slaves were to break out, they would take any part in the contest. We do, therefore, hope that the Congress will, while it is yet time, open their eyes to the danger with which the 'bondage of the blacks' threatens the Union ; and that they will provide for their instruction and gradual emancipation.

Mr Stuart gives an account of the unsuccessful attack made by the British troops on New Orleans, during the late unfortunate war. The Americans had every advantage on their side. Placed under cover of intrenchments made of cotton bags, their marksmen took deliberate aim, and, with little or no loss to themselves, kept up so overpowering and murderous a fire, that our hardy veterans were obliged to retreat with the loss of nearly a third of their number killed and wounded. It is believed in America that Sir Edward Pakenham, who lost his life when advancing at the head of the British, endeavoured to excite the ardour of his troops, by promising them the plunder of New Orleans ; and it is even asserted that '*Booty and Beauty*' was the watchword of the British army on that disastrous day. But, notwithstanding the confidence with which this statement has been made, we cannot for a moment doubt that, on investigation, it will be found to be a calumny. It is not conceivable that a brave and experienced officer, like General Pakenham, should have authorized a license which he must have known would make himself infamous, and entail disgrace on the British name. However, as the statement has been credited by persons holding high rank in America, we trust it will be authoritatively

contradicted. Mr Stuart does justice to the decision and talent displayed on this occasion by General Jackson. No man could have conducted himself with greater ability and address, in the difficult situation in which he was placed.

Mr Stuart lays before his readers much interesting information with respect to the conduct followed by some of the State Legislatures and Congress, towards the Indians settled within the territory of the republic,—particularly the Cherokees, the most civilized of all the native tribes. The details are not at all to the credit of the Americans. In dealing with this unfortunate race, they have not scrupled to infringe the most solemn stipulations, and to avow the robber's principle, that '*force makes right.*' But for the interference of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Cherokees would have been expelled from their homes. Congress, as well as the legislature of Georgia, turned a deaf ear to their well founded complaints. 'It is mortifying,' says Mr Stuart, 'to be obliged to confess, that upon such a question as this, the principles of the President of the United States, and of the American government, as well as of the government of the State of Georgia, have been proved to be as overbearing and arbitrary, as those of some European governments towards the unfortunate Poles, and the unoffending inhabitants of Hindostan.'

From New Orleans, Mr Stuart sailed up the 'father of floods' in a magnificent steam-boat, or rather floating hotel. Mrs Trollope seems to have been unlucky in her river trips, and delicately states that she would have preferred a party of 'well-conditioned pigs' to that of a steam-boat. Mr Stuart, who knows something of what is called 'good society,' differs materially from the lady. It is singular, that those who put their faith in Mrs Trollope's accounts of American manners, should be so much disposed to censure General Pillet's equally veracious descriptions of English ladies, and English dinner parties. The voyage from New Orleans to Cincinnati, of 1600 miles, is performed with ease in eleven or twelve days; but the navigation is in some places difficult, and requires the greatest care and attention. The settlements on the banks of the river are still, in many places, 'few and far between;' and Mr Stuart gives various statements illustrative of the half savage manners incident to such a state of society.

The chapter on Illinois is exceedingly instructive; but we regret that we can do little more than recommend it to the particular notice of our readers, and especially of those intending to set out for this land of promise. 'It contains nearly 59,000 square

‘ miles ; is the fourth State in point of extent in the Union, being only inferior in this respect, to Virginia, Georgia, and Missouri ; its general level does not vary above sixty feet, and it consists, with little interruption, of one vast prairie of admirable soil, extending from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan. It is the richest country in point of soil in the world. The French call it the Terrestrial Paradise.’

In this part of America, Mr Stuart met with several Scotch and English families, comfortably settled and prosperous. Vandalia, the capital, and a thriving town, with antiquarian and historical societies, newspapers, magazines, &c. was founded so late as 1821. The land generally consists of almost boundless prairies, of extraordinary fertility, ornamented with trees disposed in groves and stripes. Neither is it swampy nor liable to be overflowed ; it is in fact a dry, undulating, champaign country. The climate is mild ; and, provided settlers take care to be near a supply of water, no place can be more healthy. It possesses vast beds of coal, with lead, lime, and rock-salt ; so that its mineral are hardly inferior to its agricultural capacities. It is bounded by the Mississippi on the west, and touches Lake Michigan on the north-east. Hence, though in the centre of the American continent, the vast lakes, rivers, and canals by which it is bounded and intersected, or to which it has a ready access, give it most of the advantages of an insular situation, and insure its rapid advance in the career of prosperity. In point of soil and situation, the State of Missouri has also very great advantages ; but it is afflicted with the curse of slavery, from which, fortunately, Illinois is entirely free. Mr Stuart is decidedly of opinion, that no part of America deserves so much to be recommended to farmers emigrating from Europe as Illinois. The settlements founded by Messrs Flower and Birkbeck are doing well. They are not, however, planted in the richest part of the State ; but Mr Stuart is satisfied of the general correctness of the statements made by Mr Birkbeck in his Notes and Letters.

We regret that our limits will not permit us to follow farther the course of Mr Stuart's narrative, or to make any more extracts from his instructive volumes. They furnish a vivid and a faithful picture of American life in every part of the Union, from Boston to New Orleans, and from St Louis to New York. We feel assured of their possessing the invaluable quality of perfect trustworthiness. They have neither been written in a spirit of detraction nor of eulogy ; but with a sincere desire to depict things as they really are. The reader, in a word, has everywhere the comfortable conviction, that he is accompanying an unpretending, candid, observing, and very intelligent man ;

of one, too, who has both the mind and qualities of a gentleman, and of a citizen of the world.

Mr Stuart has not said much about American politics; but the eleventh chapter of his first volume contains a brief view of the more prominent points of the American constitution; with an account of the proceedings at a contested election in Saratoga. He seems to think well of the Ballot; but, instead of putting down canvassing, it appears to us to be carried on with far greater activity in America than in England; and instead of affording concealment, it is quite as well known how every man votes in Baltimore or New York, as in Liverpool or Edinburgh. We are sick of the appeals so frequently made in this country, in political matters, to the example of America. Her experience is certainly not to be neglected, and it affords some valuable lessons by which we ought to profit. Still, however, her situation differs in so many respects from that of England, or any other European country, that nothing can be more absurd than to contend, that an institution may be safely adopted here, because it has been found to answer in America. In the United States, every man who has got a couple of dollars in his pocket may acquire an acre of unoccupied land; the rate of wages, as compared with the cost of the principal necessaries of life, is at least twice as high as in England; instead of there being an excess, there is a deficiency of labourers; all internal taxes have been abolished; and Carolina and Georgia threaten to withdraw from the Union, unless the Customs' duties be reduced a half or more. Universal suffrage and vote by Ballot may be harmless in such a country; and when our National Debt is paid off, and we can get a bottle of wine for sixpence, and an estate for twenty pounds, they may not be very injurious here; but till then, we believe we shall do well to shun any closer acquaintance with either the one or the other.

ART. VIII.—*La Fayette et la Révolution de 1830. Histoire des Choses et des Hommes de Juillet, par B. SARRANS, le Jeune; ancien rédacteur en chef du Courrier des Electeurs, Aide-de-camp de La Fayette jusqu' au 26 Decembre 1830, jour de la démission de ce Général. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1832.*

THIS is a wild sort of work, strongly impregnated with the double character of journalist and aide-de-camp which flames upon its title-page. Here are two good-sized volumes made up, in part, of exaggerated leading articles in the tone of the Three Days, with their immediate before and after; and

the rest of declamatory bulletins, such as might be fired off with great propriety from the marching press of a revolutionary army. M. Sarrans handles a pen in the same spirit as he would a musket; and has put gall and gunpowder in about equal proportions into his inkstand.

It is not our intention to investigate the correctness of the details concerning what Casimir Perrier or M. Dupin were saying and doing in the salons, whilst the people were fighting in the streets. The account given by the republican aide-de-camp of La Fayette is pretty much the same as the sketch not long ago presented to us in a small and spiteful Tory volume of English manufacture, aimed at the imputed *Gallomania* of Lord Grey. Violence and passion are alike all the world over. We happen to be near enough for the two extreme parties in France and England to concur in their object and their means. Reckless of future consequences, there is no weapon, sophism, or sneer, which is not welcomed in both countries, for the purpose of discrediting the reputation and the counsels of the men, whose administrations exist only under the pledge of reconciling liberty and order. Accordingly, on both sides the Channel, the enemies of liberty and the enemies of order make common cause against the actual governments of France and England. M. Sarrans pelts the *Doctrinaires* with the reproofs of M. Polignac. So, our Conservative provincials quote the *Standard* in one column and the *Examiner* in the next. A suppressed pamphlet, attributed to M. Dupin, contradicts M. Sarrans, pointblank, on the principal facts in question. Nevertheless, on any thing like a balance of evidence, we incline to the natural presumption, that the lawyers of the Chamber would not be very forward among the fighting men. The truth is, the despotic mandate, and the popular resistance, took all men equally by surprise. At that moment, it is highly probable that there may not have been more than eight, or even five among the French Deputies, who from the first were bold enough to run all chances;—who were so sanguine as to anticipate success;—or so confiding in the virtue of the populace of Paris, as to believe that a victory thus gained would not be ruinously abused. However, it by no means follows that this small and honourable list must necessarily contain the names of those who are most entitled, in other words, who are best qualified, to be the future governors of France.

If we do not think it worth while to criticise the grouping and the colour which M. Sarrans has given to his facts, we have still less inclination to enter on an exposure of his reasonings. The greater part of his 'windy suspiration of forced breath,' is just the same kind of argument that comes out of the mouth of

a trumpet—often not so much—for that at least is never inconsistent nor in contradiction with itself. In case La Fayette had given his sanction to this publication, his authority would have placed it in the most amusing department of French literature—its authentic Memoirs. But this source of private interest is in a great measure destroyed by his express and total disavowal. Its public interest also has been since reduced within comparatively narrow limits, by the calm and steady aspect which the French ministry and the cholera-dispersed Chamber are now, on their reassembling, presenting to the world. Actual appearances in France contrast agreeably with ‘the sound and fury,’ whether signifying much, or ‘signifying nothing,’ which were poured forth a few months back by the republican journals of France and England. This is the more satisfactory, since, on the death of Casimer Perrier, Europe underwent so many additional predictions on the impossibility that his system should survive him.

We had great pleasure, from the very sincere respect which we feel for La Fayette, in hearing that he disclaims all concern in, responsibility for, or sympathy with, the present volumes. We are accustomed always to think of him and of our Major Cartwright together. La Fayette, it is true, has acted a considerable part in more eventful scenes, and on a more brilliant stage. He is the *l'homme de deux mondes*—*Cromwell*—*Grandison*,—and a great deal more of the same sort. In the main, however, he seems at bottom to be very much the Major Cartwright of France; to be adorned with nearly the same sterling virtues, and to possess about the same cast and level of understanding. His generous devotion to the cause of liberty, wherever and whenever it has appeared to be in peril—his spotless and disinterested career, whether in sunshine or through the storm—would have demanded our admiration and affection in ancient Rome. They strike with the effect of a phenomenon coming out from among the ancient nobility of France. Still, it is the character of the patriot and philanthropist which we admire, much more than the opinions of the politician. The consistency of the one has been beyond all praise; whereas the consistency of the other almost rivals the stubborn resolution of the ancient stoic, when he refused to acknowledge on the rack pain to be an evil. In point of character, the Kings of Europe did well after their kind to hate him with a hatred more deeply principled than that with which they hated Bonaparte; for they might be sure that, unlike Bonaparte, he would never become one of themselves. On the other hand, in point of opinions, Charles X. was not far wrong when he let him into partnership in the very

doubtful praise, that they two were the only persons in France whose opinions had never changed.

The adulatory gossip of M. Sarrans concerning his hero here and there reminds us of the ludicrous apprehensions which Dennis the pamphleteer is said to have entertained, lest Louis XIV. had made the surrender of his person a condition for the peace of Europe. We cannot imagine either that foreign diplomacy has insisted on the removal of La Fayette from the councils of France, or that the King, trembling at his popularity, sees in him the spectre of a *Maire du Palais*. We never heard any body consider the worthy general to be a man of real ability; but we never heard any body speak of him as being such a ninny as to be likely to accept the flummery of M. Sarrans, and to think himself competent to direct the destinies of a great empire. The specific faults in his opinions on government arises so entirely from high and amiable qualities, that his errors may make us love him only the more, though somewhat at the expense of his understanding. He thinks too well of the average of human nature; and would throw the reins on the neck of a whole population more undoubtingly, than its knowledge and self-command can possibly deserve. In judging of the power of a people for self-government, he allows something, but not enough, for the inferiority in their moral habits, and for the temptation in their circumstances, by which the inhabitants of an old country are characterised, as compared with the virtues and the facilities of subsistence peculiar to a new. It is folly to expect that the whole nature of the problem is to be changed by the perfectibility of *Owenised* man, and the developement of a new social character under improved systems of general education. When they contrasted savage and civilized life, the ancients found reason to exclaim, that the ignorance of vice was better than the knowledge of virtue. As societies advance, *the external difficulties* will always increase much more rapidly and certain in proportion than the *internal force*, on the growth of which we are directed to rely for their removal.

There is another point which the sanguine temperament of La Fayette too quickly hurries over. The risk attending misgovernment by the many, when it is balanced against the risk of misgovernment by the few, does not turn solely on the probability of the occurrence in the two cases. We ought to compare (supposing it to take place in both) the nature and degree of the only species of mal-administration, which, in the actual state of European society, can ever be thought possible, even for the imaginary interest of the few, with the nature and degree of the mischief which (whilst far short of anarchy) ne-

cessarily follow from the license of popular misrule. Warm and honourable-minded men, like La Fayette, cannot bear to look long enough and steadily enough on two pictures, alike painful and disheartening. Otherwise, it is evident, although the consequences of misgovernment, on the part of the higher classes, are more calculated to provoke our indignation and disgust, that the consequences of misgovernment by the people themselves, strike more deeply at the very foundation of society. Order is worth little without liberty; but liberty is worth nothing without order. At the same time, it is just to La Fayette to state, that his opinions are far from being so extravagant as the aspirations of many who crowd around his banner; and who, under the shelter of his name, would carry on their attacks, overt and covert, upon that constitutional monarchy, of which he has been always, in France, the advocate and defender.

La Fayette is right in appealing to his memorable defence of constitutional monarchy against the Jacobins, as being, among many glorious days, the day of which he is most proud. One such example is a standard service to mankind. It is also perfectly true, that in 1830, he pursued not only a highly honourable course—for that, personally, he was sure to do—but one marked by exemplary moderation. The courage with which he threw himself into the front ranks of the insurrection, whilst the fortune of the Three Days was yet uncertain, will be recollected by posterity with less gratitude than the use to which he turned the extraordinary power with which the moment had invested him. His presentation to the people of their Citizen King, as the best of Republics, has become a constitutional epigram for Europe. It is a pity that flattery should not know where to stop. We will not be provoked to follow. The respect in which La Fayette is held by his countrymen, is much to their credit, in case they love him for that about him which is most to be respected; and which is not generally considered as eminently and characteristically French. In the New World he is evidently more at home than in the Old. Every thing there must flatter (and justly flatter) his principles and his feelings. His connexion with America, as the friend of Washington, and as one of its revolutionary heroes, has been preserved with a fidelity equally honourable to all parties. The right the Americans claim in him as an adopted son, is a point of view in which we love to think both of him and them: nothing can be conceived more impressive than all the circumstances of the invitation, reception, and reward given him by the United States in 1824. His triumphal progress throughout the Union is as romantic

a passage as occurs in the history of any people: it is by far the most romantic and poetical that occurs in theirs.

If the opinions of La Fayette are extreme opinions, and do not appear to be always sufficiently tempered by consideration for the views of others, and by a calm estimate of the force of circumstances, what shall we say of the zealots for whom M. Sarrans writes, and with whom he is longing again to rush into the field? The Conservatives of England and of Europe profess to entertain nearly the same horror of the principles of this restless party at our actual crisis, as was entertained by Burke of their predecessors of 1792. Yet, on this supposition, a great deal of their conduct is difficult to account for, unless we conclude that terror has blinded them to the real nature of the danger; or unless we can suspect that personal hopes and hatreds of domestic growth, are still stronger than even their patriotism or their fears. The truth is, that, according to all appearance, the intrigues, the violence, and the obstinacy of the Conservatives over Europe, can alone at present anywhere make this party as formidable in its means, numbers, and station, as in some places and persons we are quite ready to admit it to be in its character and spirit. M. Sarrans says, that the *monarchie des barricades* is degraded and condemned by the parallel which the *Doctrinaires* have attempted to complete betwixt the *royauté consentie* of our William the Third, and the *royauté populaire* of their Duke of Orleans. Nevertheless, due regard being had to the respective political necessities of the two countries at the two periods, the throne of Louis Philippe in 1830 offers to France the same guarantees, both for security and for progress, as the throne of William the Third offered to England in 1688. Wildly as Burke bolted out of the course in the polemical fever which agitated his old age, most of his admirers will allow that his prescriptive combination of liberty and order must have led him, at the commencement of the French Revolution, to gladly welcome the glimpse of such a compromise between them, as there is now, we trust, a fair probability of securing. Some excuse may be allowed for the mortification of the stirring spirits of a faction, on finding in the new government, which rose up out of their popular insurrection, an obstacle, and not a stepping-stone. What was meant by them for the scaffolding is likely to become the building. It is not strange that they should wince under the scourge of a greatness, 'which their own hands had helped to make so portly.' The pain will not be felt the less, in case it should be their own unreasonableness only which is to blame.

In periods of great excitement, there are men on both sides

who are not to be satisfied, unless they have every thing their own way. These passionate champions insist on fighting out every battle to the last, rather than submit to the disgrace of the slightest modification in their opinions. Under such circumstances, the proof of a sensible and powerful government, consists in its staying the consequences of this impracticable folly by an impartial and vigorous interposition. We are sure that the Carlists cannot now restore what may be called the Stuart branch of the house of Bourbon. The Tories can as soon bring back Gatton and Old Sarum. In this direction we have no fears. There is some sort of cloud—of long standing, and visible enough—in the opposite quarter of the heavens. What form it will assume—whether it is to dilate or to disappear—is a point which the tactics of the aristocratical malecontents will probably have the chief influence in deciding. That the season is not one to play tricks in with impunity, is abundantly clear, from the language and the temper of which M. Sarrans is the organ. Stronger evidence need not be asked for, and scarcely can be furnished, how completely the cause of peace in Europe, and of good government in France, is staked on the stability of the throne of Louis Philippe. The intermediate position which his government has taken up between two irreconcilable extremes, is precisely identical with the intermediate position at present occupied at home, by the administration of Earl Grey. For ourselves, we never felt the slightest apprehension that the elections of a reformed Parliament would bely the confidence which was placed in the English people by the Ministers who brought forward the Reform Bill. It is in *Irish agitation* alone that we ever feared, and where we have in fact found, a pendant to the *mouvement* demagogues of France. The body of the English people want nothing more than the principle and spirit of the Reform Bill honestly applied to all questions of domestic policy. On this point, as on most others, the real feelings and condition of this country are but ill understood abroad. The importance, however, of the turn which our elections might take, has been fully appreciated under the critical state of continental politics. No greater compliment can be paid to any administration, than the opposite sentiments, of equally intense anxiety, with which the ministers of the Holy Alliance on one side, and the nations of Europe on the other, were waiting upon the issue. Upon that issue depended the cordiality of the alliance between France and England. On the cordiality of that alliance rest the best hopes of humanity and freedom. Their hatred of Great Britain, the French opposition journals are not at the trouble to conceal. The British disinterestedness with which we retained

our conquests at the peace provokes our author's sneers. Having spoken of a letter written by La Fayette *in English*, he corrects the expression, and says, rather *in American*. Lord Aberdeen and Prince Metternich do not abhor more strongly than M. Sarrans the good understanding which at present exists between the cabinets of the two great constitutional monarchies of Europe. Both see in that good understanding a fatal barrier to their respective day dreams and designs.

One serious charge has been brought against the foreign policy of Cassimir Perrier. It is with grief that we acknowledge that it cannot be satisfactorily rebutted. We thoroughly share in La Fayette's reiterated and scornful remonstrances against the cruelty and the baseness which encouraged the Poles and the Italians into insurrection for purposes purely French; and, when those purposes had been answered, abandoned them to their fate. This, as a single offence, is as dark and unpardonable an offence as any government can commit. But it is done—the mischief has been suffered. The crime cannot be repeated; and, alas! the dismissal of Sebastiani would not repair it. The facts, melancholy as they are, involve neither principles nor consequences which need to be guarded against, or to be denounced. On the other hand, the foreign policy of the *mouvement* party is one fierce continued threat of war and propagandism over Europe. Whilst the contingency that we might become ultimately implicated in any possible war, however just, was felt, during our late elections, to be the best chance of unseating a ministry in England, it has been the paramount object of the French *mouvement* to make war, somewhere or other;—almost an indispensable condition to the popularity of a government in France. The national arrogance of this school of civilian soldiers, cannot brook the vicissitudes of fortune and the truths of history. It takes comfort in defeats, by writing rubbish about treason and *palmes vendues*; and labours at white-washing the blood-stained Revolution, by attributing its horrors to counter-revolutionists and foreigners. Another war, therefore, is loudly called for, as well as another revolution, to square the account, and to clear up these obscurities. It is only Napoleon, the *domestic* tyrant, who does not find favour in their eyes. Napoleon the conqueror, it is said, perhaps only yielded to compulsion. Austerlitz, and Wagram, and her external conquests, are, in the opinion of M. Sarrans, *perhaps necessities* as much imposed on France as was the field of Fleurus. Comfortable doctrine for the rest of Europe! Enough of nonsense is everywhere talked about *natural rights*; but the favourite right of the republican Bonapartists—a right on the part of France, or of any other country, under

the name of a *natural boundary*, to a territory belonging to another state,—is pre-eminently absurd. Nobody disputes France her civilisation and her glory. We rejoice in them: long may they flourish! But the worst enemies of both are her fanatics, who, on the strength of this supposed pre-eminence, are perpetually seeking to outrage the independence, or disturb the tranquillity of others; and who will never desist from intriguing and grumbling, that France is not in her proper place 'at the head of European civilisation,' as long as other countries refuse to denationalize themselves into the servants of her pleasure, and the missionaries of her opinions.

The domestic policy of France is much more a domestic question. On descending to particulars, foreigners can never know the secret history of a country with sufficient precision to authorize them to pronounce between contending parties, what measures and what institutions may be best adapted to its wants. Very little knowledge, however, is required to ascertain that M. Sarrans and his friends are not the sort of statesmen to whose direction a community in any circumstances, least of all in the circumstances of France, could safely be intrusted. He himself has drawn a humiliating contrast between the representatives, that is, the gentry of France, and the grandeur of the populace of Paris. Now the mass of the French people resemble in character the Irish much more than they do the English. They are equally excitable; as ready to turn out for liberty; but as ignorant also of its limits and its meaning. In this case, what description of qualifications ought the government to possess? And what is the only certificate which M. Sarrans, and the friends of M. Sarrans, can produce?

The effervescence of youthful courage boiling over, is not the essential, or indeed the principal quality required at present. For some years at least, there can be no risk for liberty in France. *That* she has put in safety by her noble efforts. But the triumphs of the Three Days brought with them heavy sacrifices, however gloriously the sacrifices were repaid, and however necessary they were to be endured. The subsequent disturbances at Lyons have been very different affairs. They were sacrifices and scandals, with no juster cause, and no greater compensation, than our Bristol riots or stack-yard burnings. The immediate want of France is repose and order. The government which can obtain them for her at the least cost, and with the least repression, must be, for some time to come, the best government for France. Unless an administration had been found, by which public confidence might be re-established, her sources of natural prosperity, abundant and bursting even as they are, must have rapidly dis-

appeared. Who could trust for this purpose the party of M. Sarrans? Have they that absence of passion, and impartiality of affection, which are necessary to give fair play to the understanding, in arbitrating between the men who would change nothing, and the men who would let nothing stand? When have they ever shown any proof of the deliberate and self-controlling judgment, which will see what it is doing—which will not pull down before it has investigated the nature of the defect—nor build up before it has laid its new foundations sure—which keeps the reins over itself as well as over others in its own hands, and will not be run away with beyond the home where it ought to stop—which has the power of ascertaining the point, where, on the removal of the old disease, a change of medicines is required,—and which at least shall have sense enough to abstain from killing a patient, by blindly continuing in convalescence the self-same applications which may have originally saved his life? These are the St John Long's of politics. M. Sarrans declares, that the French Revolution of 1792 has as yet been more known by its violences than by its benefits. We are convinced that were he and his to have the direction of it, the same might be said, (and much more truly said,) for the next forty years, of the Revolution of 1830.

An insane horror of philosophical principles and statesman-like knowledge,—a disclaimer of all the real qualifications for the highest necessities of the public service,—make a striking characteristic of the party which M. Sarrans represents. Thence the invention of the word *Doctrinaire* as the last and worst title of abuse. Thence the fury with which the foulest dunghill corners of the language have been searched for ordure to throw on the abilities and character of men distinguished throughout Europe for their political and legislative studies. Not only were M. Guizot, and his friend the Duc de Broglie, always the tried and consistent friends of freedom; they are the most accomplished scholars in every branch, of what has long been known, and will, we trust, in England ever be respected, by the name of *constitutional learning*. Out of a great choice, we take by accident the following description of M. Guizot: ‘ Cette insolence d’un rhéteur, type incarné d’une faction que la France ne connaît que par l’obscurité de ses idées politiques, la honte, la lâcheté et la corruption de son caractère; cette insolence déterminina la scission qui depuis a toujours séparé les patriotes de cette oligarchie bâtarde, doctrine d’agiot, camarilla du lendemain, qui se forma sous la dénomination de *juste milieu*, comme si tout, jusqu’à son nom, devait exprimer, en elle, une idée absurde et ridicule.’ Woe be to a country where such

ignorance should ever be in honour, and such scandalous intemperance could be indulged without the reaction of public and general disgust! The science of legislation can only work like nature herself, systematically and slowly. In hands like these, government could at best be nothing but a series of hasty and spirited impulses.

Notwithstanding these writers claim and exercise for themselves an unbounded license, they evidently have no notion of the laws of free discussion. Still less do they feel a deep and reverential love for the charities of toleration. Yet it is out of the prevalence of a charitable conscience, flowing through the temper into the very blood, that the only security for free discussion can ever grow. At the present moment, as citizens they will not yield an inch to those differences, which, in point of fact, are inseparable from all freedom of opinion. There must be diversity in sentiments wherever there is freedom. How kind, therefore, are the artifices, and how right the modifications, which seek to partially harmonize inveterate prejudices, and enable opposite parties to live together in peace and honour under the same government, and on the same soil! Yet these are the considerations which bigots denounce as half measures; as the false logic of mere party politicians; as the devices by which corrupt traitors to a cause calculate on defrauding it of the natural consequences of its triumph. Men of this disposition, who will give up nothing to others, are scarcely conscious that they are advancing a step further, when they compel others to give up every thing to them. They have no scruple, consequently, in declaring, that the millennium for freedom of thought, which they anticipate, is not the era of an uncensored press: it is the happy day when the offices of the *Standards* and *Morning Posts* of France shall be put down. Can partisans, thus intolerant in the character of citizens, have the slightest pretensions to the mediatorial and superintending responsibilities of statesmen? So far from being sufficiently aware of the immense advantage of historical links and constitutional recollections, they seem never to have thought of the conditions by which national character is best preserved; nor of the materials and the methods, out of and by means of which such a system may be constructed, as can or ought to last. France, it is well known, contains in its population of thirty millions, at least three great classes, whose political opinions diverge widely from each other. These are,—its Tory Carlists, its *Juste milieu* Whigs, and its Radical Republicans. Conversion and approximation will take place among them in time. Meanwhile, unless we are prepared for the extirpation of two of these classes by the third,

it is one and the same problem, which the French and Irish governments have to solve at present. They have one most immediate and most urgent duty to perform; by which, and in which, all others must be for a time superseded, or, to speak more truly, are implied. The duty is, that of keeping the peace, and of doing strict, whilst equal, justice between rival and almost hostile parties, unfortunately domiciled under a common roof. In such a case, no class has a right to demand that the whole burden of sacrifice and of submission shall be forcibly imposed upon the shoulders of its opponents. For what is the first lesson to be learned by all who expect to act, or intend to live in freedom and equality with others, in public quite as much as in private life? It is the policy and the justice of those compromises, by which alone discordant sentiments can be softened down into any chance of co-operation and happiness among members of the same society. Without reciprocal concessions, a community so divided in principle and feeling, must be substantially as much divided into the castes of master and of slave, as the Anglo-Saxons under the Normans, or the Greeks under the Turks. M. Sarrans admits the fact, but scorns the consequences. 'Le sol semble porter deux Frances 'irreconciliables: l'une qui relève directement de la Restauration de Coblenz et de Gand; l'autre qui personnifie 89, 1830, 'le consulat et même l'empire.' The possibility never occurs to him of suggesting the terms of an amicable capitulation. His question is, 'à laquelle des deux restera la victoire?' *Væ victis!* We foresee, in the realization of his visions, a worse than Roman triumph,—dust and ashes, captivity and chains.

M. Guizot has been gibbeted with every mark of extravagant obloquy by the republicans of France. And why? Simply because he has endeavoured to weave into a piece, on the safest and most honourable terms, the past, the present, and the future destinies of his country, and to consolidate on principles of well-founded confidence, a monarchical executive, with a republican legislative control. If he sought to facilitate this transition by the force of historical recollections, and the charm of words—if he hoped to compliment the vanquished party into something like patience under their defeat, by speaking of *quasi legitimacy*, and by using, in reference to the Bourbon blood of the Duke of Orleans, *parceque* instead of *quoique*,—surely the popular leaders had no reason to complain. Whilst the discomfited partisans of the ousted Bourbons kept by it, something in point of form, the people got every thing in point of substance. In case this accommodation of constitutional language to the wants of the crisis had been allowed to be the means of compassing a gra-

dual and lasting accommodation in interest and feeling, what better bargain was ever made for so great a blessing? By yielding a little in appearance to his adversaries, he would have preserved the entire reality for his friends. We should like to know, in this dilemma, which of the parties most approved themselves wise practical statesmen, and which were most truly and most objectionably, the *Doctrinaires*—in holding out for abstract opinions, and for the toss-up of all or none?

The most important part of this book is the involuntary and unconscious testimony which M. Sarrans bears in it to the impracticability of establishing a republic for any sound and useful purpose even in revolutionary France. His testimony is the stronger on account of the shame breathed over the confession; in consequence of the absurdity that, according to him, characterises this almost universal feeling out of which the acknowledged impossibility arises. His readers must determine who is the most absurd. Some persons had asked, why La Fayette, a republican at Washington, was not in 1830, a republican at Paris. The following is his justification, and surely an ample one it is.

‘ It is certain, and Louis-Philippe himself then acknowledged it, that the Republic, which engrosses all the affections of La Fayette, was essentially the best form of government to be adopted. But, in the circumstances of the country, was it possible to overlook the force of the painful impression which the word republic had left in France, and the dread which that name still inspired in the contemporaries of the Reign of Terror, and in the sons of the numerous victims who had perished under it? Frightful recollections beset every mind. They saw, doubtless without cause, but they thought they saw already a revival of those revolutionary tribunals, in which counsel were forbidden to defend, and in which a jury, self-styled republican, composed of thirty, forty, and then of sixty judicial murderers, made the guillotine stream with blood, amidst cries of *Vive la Liberté!* and sent indiscriminately to the scaffold all that was conspicuous for merit, for talents, for services performed, or even for beauty; for beauty itself was then a title to proscription. The republican marriages of Nantes were not forgotten;* the horrors of famine, bankruptcy, the maximum, the mutual denunciations, the confiscations, and those frightful days, when terrorism, in a state of madness, had established it as a principle of government, that the tree of liberty ought to be watered with blood, and that money must be coined on the *Place de la Révolution*. These reminiscences of an epoch too near our own times, ter-

* This was the term given to the drownings of Nantes, which consisted in binding together a man and a woman, and then precipitating them into the waves, by means of a vessel with a valve in its bottom,

rified many minds, which reflected not that almost all these horrors were committed by the counter-revolutionists, and at the instigation of foreigners, to pollute the sacred names of liberty, equality, and republic. It was remembered, too, that even under the Republic, when brought back to better principles by the constitution of the year III., and likewise under the Directory, France had still groaned under many acts of violence, dilapidations, and corruptions; and that, in short, the country had been reduced to consider the transaction of the 18th Brumaire as the only means of preventing the return of jacobin terrorism. Such, it must be confessed with pain, were the events which, giving rise to a prejudice as ridiculous as it was unjust, and to a lamentable confounding of the Republic with the excesses to which it had served as a pretext, *had left in men's breasts a decided aversion for that denomination of government.* It was useless to urge that if, in ancient times, and more recently in France, in Venice, and in Genoa, the term republic had denoted ideas of terror, and even of slavery, it was quite otherwise when applied to the American States, where, on the contrary, it expresses principles and establishes facts diametrically opposite to those so much reprobated. But the prejudice was not the less prevalent; and it is undeniable, that with the exception of a very few old republicans, and of a great many young men, who, though enamoured of that form of government, had not yet perhaps very settled notions as to the democratic arrangements that would suit them—it is, I say, undeniable, that with few exceptions beyond these, *the proclaiming of a republic would have given rise to almost universal alarm and opposition in France.* And again, would the army have been as favourably disposed for a republic, as for a prince raised to the throne by the voice of the Chamber of Deputies? I think not.

Institutions are merely so much political mechanism for securing the happiness of man as a member of society. For this purpose it is necessary to consult his feelings and opinions. We have here the unwilling evidence of one of the most uncompromising advocates of republican principles in France, how strongly the feelings and opinions of every thing but the whole of the French people run in the opposite direction. It is admitted that these feelings and opinions must be respected,—although the unreasonableness of the prejudices displayed in them is represented to be a national reproach. Yet on what sort of foundation does this imputation of unreasonableness rest? The French nation have had some practical experience of a republic at home. They shudder at the recollection of what alone they could succeed in making of it, with the native ingredients out of which their prescription was necessarily composed. They came out of the experiment thankful to be relieved from it,—not by a popular monarchy, but—at the price even of despotism itself. The imputation of unreasonableness stands solely on the fanatical imagination, that a form of government of universal application may

be reasoned out from the general principles of human nature; that the same form shall be suitable alike to every variety of civilisation;—that the plant which flourishes in America must of course flourish equally well in Europe. On this crusade M. Sarrans will beat his drum in vain. Never having personally suffered from an excess of the popular element in our institutions, the English people naturally feel less nervous on the subject; but we are sure, if the sense of the nation could be taken, that it would be pronounced as decisively against really republican innovations in England as it can possibly be pronounced in France. Whilst the French Revolution was yet glorying in the hopes of the wise and good, M. Dumont tells us that some friends of Mirabeau, who visited this country, burst out into a prayer that no revolution might ever be enacted within its peaceful shores. The Reform Bill of 1832 will have now left our abstract republican opinionists with still less excuse for schemes, by which there is little indeed to gain, but by which there may be every thing to lose. A conversation in which Mr Hume is reported to have told the late American minister, Mr Maclean, that in case he returned in two years' time, he would probably find us with a Congress and a President, has been of late frequently repeated. By many it was supposed that 'the wish was father to the thought.' Mr Hume has, however, since informed the electors of Middlesex, that it is the American *economy*, and not the American *institutions*, which his constant references to that country are intended to recommend. If Mr Hume will reflect on the Letters in Jefferson's Correspondence, where the stern American republican constantly enforces the radical difference of the principles of society in the Old World and the New, and where he repeats again and again the causes out of which that difference flows, he will perhaps be more studious in taking care, that his language on this subject shall not leave behind an impression on his hearers beyond the strict meaning which he wishes it to convey. Hamilton despaired of a republic even in the United States; Washington doubted; Jefferson confidently believed. Jefferson was of a bold sanguine temperament. In his eagerness he does not appear to have felt the difficulties of popular government; as he states was the case with the most distinguished of his countrymen. He did not allow enough in his calculations for the direct differences of opinion which in free states must honestly spring up. There is a more volcanic element, which also, he must have strangely underrated. He says that he never was able to conceive the existence in a human bosom of the passion, which, nevertheless, by its disturbing force, has overturned more govern-

ments than patriotism has ever raised—the love of power. Yet still, even in America, to what is Jefferson's confidence in the permanence of American republicanism reduced? He prophesies, that instead of Europe advancing to the model of America, America must return at last to the precedent of Europe. This *euthanasia*, in his opinion, will take place as soon as she becomes more manufacturing than agricultural; and when the virtue and intelligence of her country population are overgrown and corrupted by the piled up population of her towns. He could exclaim, even in his own time, more than once on those dissensions from which Congresses and State Governments are no protection,—‘ I regret that I am now to die in the belief, that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness to their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons, and that my only consolation is to be, that I live not to weep over it.’—(Jefferson's *Works*, vol. iv. p. 333.)

The following paragraphs contain a full declaration of Jefferson's creed on the necessity of adapting a form of government to the character and the circumstances of the governed. The ignorance which at present dreams of transferring to France, or England, American institutions, merely because they have been successful in America, may be shaken by his authority, and enlightened by his reasoning. We are not fools enough to expect that demagogues, who misunderstand only in order to misrepresent, will attend to either. He is speaking of the distinction between a natural and artificial aristocracy. It was one of his boasts that he had laid the axe to the root of the last in Virginia.

‘ With respect to aristocracy, we should further consider, that before the establishment of the American states, nothing was known to history but the man of the Old World, crowded within limits either small or overcharged, and steeped in the vices which that situation generates. A government adapted to such men would be one thing, but a very different one that for the man of these states. Here every one may have land to labour for himself if he chooses; or, preferring the exercise of any other industry, may exact for it such compensation as not only to afford a comfortable subsistence, but wherewith to provide for a cessation from labour in old age. Every one, by his property or by his satisfactory situation, is interested in the support of law and order. And such men may safely and advantageously reserve to themselves a wholesome control over their public affairs, and a degree of freedom which, in the hands of the *canaille* of the cities of Europe, would be instantly perverted to the demolition and destruction of every thing public and private. The history of the last twenty-five years of France, and of the last forty years in America,—nay, of its last two hundred years, proves the truth of both parts of this observation.’—(Jefferson's *Works*, vol. iv. 235-6.)

From these, and many other passages, there can be no doubt what application Jefferson would make, at the present moment, of the principles contained in them to the constitution actually most desirable for England. Moreover and especially are we satisfied, that he must have treated with contempt the O'Connell cry for assimilating the legislation of populations in character and condition so dissimilar as the English and the Irish. The reader will observe, by our extract from M. Sarrans, that he takes his stand, as a French republican, on the case of America. Now, what says Jefferson on this point? The application of his principles to France is not left to speculation. This M. Sarrans too must know; for he has quoted part of a letter addressed by Jefferson in 1815 to La Fayette; but has most unfairly suppressed its bearings and its warnings. Is it too late to hope that M. Sarrans and his friends, not satisfied with its compliments, will take also its advice, and bestow on it the calm, considerate, and obedient perusal which it so well deserves? A previous letter, written by Jefferson to Madame de Staël in 1813, during her exile, will show them, that out of personal courtesy to La Fayette, he has perhaps, in his letter of 1815, overstepped his real opinions. He concludes the letter of 1813 by praying that France might be re-established in 'that temperate portion of liberty which does not infer anarchy or licentiousness, and in that high degree of prosperity which would be the consequence of such a government.' His meaning he explains by adding,—'In that, in short, which the constitution of 1789 would have ensured it, if wisdom could have stayed at that point the fervid but imprudent zeal of men, who did not know the character of their own countrymen.'—(Vol. iv. 195.) The view which Jefferson took of the present aspect and future prospects of France, was in unison with this retrospect. Writing to M. de Neuville in 1818, he hopes that France 'will be quiet for the present, and risk no new troubles. Her constitution, as now amended, gives as much of self-government as perhaps she can yet bear, and will give more when the habits of order shall have prepared her to receive more.'—(Vol. iv. 320.) We conclude with a long extract from the above-mentioned letter, addressed by Jefferson to La Fayette. Instigators of the *mouvement*, who profess to swear by America and by Jefferson, do more wisely than well when they garble or pass it over. In answer to the agitators, the Minister of Public Instruction would do well, were he to publish the democratic citizen's reminiscence to the supposed republican general, throughout every part of France. We love liberty as the breath of life. The more we love it, the more do we feel the duty of pro-

claiming that, in the opinion of one whose practical as well as speculative boldness were throughout life alike conspicuous, the time is come when French liberty can protect itself against its enemies easily enough;—the difficulty will be to protect it against its friends.

*'A full measure of liberty is not now perhaps to be expected by your nation; nor am I confident they are prepared to preserve it. More than a generation will be requisite, under the administration of reasonable laws, favouring the progress of knowledge in the general mass of the people, and their habituation to an independent security of person and property, before they will be capable of estimating the value of freedom, and the necessity of a sacred adherence to the principles on which it rests for preservation. Instead of that liberty which takes root and growth in the progress of reason, if recovered by mere force or accident, it becomes, with an unprepared people, a tyranny still, of the many, the few, or the one. Possibly you may remember, at the date of the *jeu de paume*, how earnestly I urged yourself and the patriots of my acquaintance, to enter then into a compact with the King, securing freedom of religion, freedom of the press, trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, and a national legislature, all of which it was known he would then yield: to go home, and let these work on the amelioration of the condition of the people, until they should have rendered them capable of more, when occasions would not fail to arise for communicating to them more. This was as much as I then thought them able to bear, soberly and usefully for themselves. You thought otherwise, and that the dose might still be larger. And I found you were right; for subsequent events proved they were equal to the constitution of 1791. Unfortunately, some of the most honest and enlightened of our patriotic friends (but closet politicians merely, unpractised in the knowledge of man) thought more could still be obtained and borne. They did not weigh the hazards of a transition from one form of government to another, the value of what they had already rescued from those hazards, and might hold in security if they pleased; nor the imprudence of giving up the certainty of such a degree of liberty, under a limited monarch, for the uncertainty of a little more under the form of a republic. You differed from them. You were for stopping there, and for securing the constitution which the National Assembly had obtained. Here, too, you were right; and from this fatal error of the republicans, from their separation from yourself and the constitutionalists in their councils, flowed all the subsequent sufferings and crimes of the French nation. The hazards of a second change fell upon them by the way. The foreigner gained time to anarchise by gold the government he could not overthrow by arms; to crush in their own councils the genuine republicans, by the fraternal embraces of exaggerated and hireling pretenders, and to turn the machine of Jacobinism from the change to the destruction of order; and, in the end, the limited monarchy they had secured was exchanged for the unprincipled and bloody tyranny of Robespierre, and the equally unprincipled and maniac tyranny of Buonaparte.'—(Vol. iv. pp. 253-4.)*

ART. IX.—*History of the War of the Succession in Spain*. By Lord Mahon. 8vo. London: 1832.

THE days when Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, by a Person of Honour, and Romances of M. Scuderi, done into English by a Person of Quality, were attractive to readers and profitable to booksellers, have long gone by. The literary privileges once enjoyed by lords are as obsolete as their right to kill the King's deer on their way to Parliament, or as their old remedy of *scandalum magnatum*. Yet we must acknowledge that, though our political opinions are by no means aristocratical, we always feel kindly disposed towards noble authors. Industry, and a taste for intellectual pleasures are peculiarly respectable in those who can afford to be idle, and who have every temptation to be dissipated. It is impossible not to wish success to a man who, finding himself placed without any exertion, or any merit on his part above the mass of society, voluntarily descends from his eminence in search of distinctions which he may justly call his own.

This is, we think, the second appearance of Lord Mahon in the character of an author. His first book was creditable to him, but was in every respect inferior to the work which now lies before us. He has undoubtedly some of the most valuable qualities of a historian,—great diligence in examining authorities—great judgment in weighing testimony—and great impartiality in estimating characters. We are not aware that he has in any instance forgotten the duties belonging to his literary functions in the feelings of a kinsman. He does no more than justice to his ancestor Stanhope; he does full justice to Stanhope's enemies and rivals. His narrative is very perspicuous, and is also entitled to the praise, seldom, we grieve to say, deserved by modern writers, of being very concise. It must be admitted, however, that, with many of the best qualities of a literary veteran, he has some of the faults of a literary novice. He has no great command of words. His style is seldom easy, and is sometimes unpleasantly stiff. He is so bigoted a purist, that he transforms the Abbé d'Estrées into an Abbot. We do not like to see French words introduced into English composition; but, after all, the first law of writing, that law to which all other laws are subordinate, is this,—that the words employed shall be such as convey to the reader the meaning of the writer. Now an Abbot is the head of a religious house; an Abbé is quite a different sort of person. It is better undoubtedly to use an Eng-

lish word than a French word; but it is better to use a French word than to misuse an English word.

Lord Mahon is also a little too fond of uttering moral reflections, in a style too sententious and oracular. We will give one instance: 'Strange as it seems, experience shows that we usually feel far more animosity against those whom we have injured than against those who injure us: and this remark holds good with every degree of intellect, with every class of fortune, with a prince or a peasant, a stripling or an elder, a hero or a prince.' This remark might have seemed strange at the court of Nimrod or Chedorlaomer; but it has now been for many generations considered as a truism rather than a paradox. Every boy has written on the thesis '*Odisse quem læseris.*' Scarcely any lines in English poetry are better known than that vigorous couplet—

'Forgiveness to the injured does belong;—
But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong.'

The historians and philosophers have quite done with this maxim, and have abandoned it, like other maxims which have lost their gloss, to bad novelists, by whom it will very soon be worn to rags.

It is no more than justice to say, that the faults of Lord Mahon's book are precisely those faults which time seldom fails to cure; and that the book, in spite of its faults, is a valuable addition to our historical literature.

Whoever wishes to be well acquainted with the morbid anatomy of governments—whoever wishes to know how great states may be made feeble and wretched, should study the history of Spain. The empire of Philip the Second was undoubtedly one of the most powerful and splendid that ever existed in the world. In Europe, he ruled Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands on both sides of the Rhine, Franche Comté, Roussillon, the Milanese, and the Two Sicilies. Tuscany, Parma, and the other small states of Italy, were as completely dependent on him as the Nizam and the Rajah of Berar now are on the East India Company. In Asia, the King of Spain was master of the Philippines, and of all those rich settlements which the Portuguese had made on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, in the Peninsula of Malacca, and in the Spice-islands of the Eastern Archipelago. In America, his dominions extended on each side of the equator into the temperate zone. There is reason to believe that his annual revenue amounted, in the season of his greatest power, to four millions sterling,—a sum eight times as large as that which England yielded to Elizabeth. He had a standing army

of fifty thousand excellent troops, at a time when England had not a single battalion in constant pay. His ordinary naval force consisted of a hundred and forty galleys. He held, what no other prince in modern times has held, the dominion both of the land and of the sea. During the greater part of his reign he was supreme on both elements. His soldiers marched up to the capital of France; his ships menaced the shores of England.

It is no exaggeration to say, that during several years, his power over Europe was greater than even that of Napoleon. The influence of the French conqueror never extended beyond low-water mark. The narrowest strait was to his power what it was of old believed that a running stream was to the sorceries of a witch. While his army entered every metropolis, from Moscow to Lisbon, the English fleets blockaded every port, from Dantzic to Trieste. Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca, Guernsey, enjoyed security through the whole course of a war which endangered every throne on the continent. The victorious and imperial nation, which had filled its museums with the spoils of Antwerp, of Florence, and of Rome, was suffering painfully from the want of luxuries which use had rendered necessaries. While pillars and arches were rising to commemorate the French conquests, the conquerors were trying to make coffee out of succory, and sugar out of beet-root. The influence of Philip on the continent was as great as that of Napoleon. The Emperor of Germany was his kinsman. France, torn by religious dissensions, was never a formidable opponent, and was sometimes a dependent ally. At the same time, Spain had what Napoleon desired in vain,—ships, colonies, and commerce. She long monopolized the trade of America, and of the Indian Ocean. All the gold of the West, and all the spices of the East, were received and distributed by her. During many years of war, her commerce was interrupted only by the predatory enterprises of a few roving privateers. Even after the defeat of the Armada, English statesmen continued to look with great dread on the maritime power of Philip. ‘The King of Spain,’ said the Lord Keeper to the two Houses in 1593, ‘since he hath usurped upon the kingdom of Portugal, hath thereby grown mighty by gaining the East Indies: so as, how great soever he was before, he is now thereby manifestly more great: . . . He keepeth a navy armed to impeach all trade of merchandise from England to Gascoigne and Guienne, which he attempted to do this last vintage; so as he is now become a frontier enemy to all the west of England, as well as all the south parts, as Sussex, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight. Yea, by means of his interest in St Maloes, a port full of shipping for the war, he is a danger-

'ous neighbour to the Queen's isles of Jersey and Guernsey, ancient possessions of this crown, and never conquered in the 'greatest wars with France.'

The ascendancy which Spain then had in Europe was, in one sense, well deserved. It was an ascendancy which had been gained by unquestioned superiority in all the arts of policy and of war. In the sixteenth century, Italy was not more decidedly the land of the fine arts, Germany was not more decidedly the land of bold theological speculation, than Spain was the land of statesmen and of soldiers. The character which Virgil has ascribed to his countrymen, might have been claimed by the grave and haughty chiefs who surrounded the throne of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of his immediate successors. That majestic art—'*premere imperio populos*'—was not better understood by the Romans in the proudest days of their republic, than by Gonsalvo and Ximenes, Cortes and Alva. The skill of the Spanish diplomatists was renowned throughout Europe. In England the name of Gondomar is still remembered. The sovereign nation was unrivalled both in regular and irregular warfare. The impetuous chivalry of France, the serried phalanx of Switzerland, were alike found wanting when brought face to face with the Spanish infantry. In the wars of the New World, where something different from ordinary strategy was required in the general, and something different from ordinary discipline in the soldier,—where it was every day necessary to meet by some new expedient the varying tactics of a barbarous enemy,—the Spanish adventurers, sprung from the common people, displayed a fertility of resource, and a talent for negotiation and command, to which history scarcely affords a parallel.

The Castilian of those times was to the Italian what the Roman, in the days of the greatness of Rome, was to the Greek. The conqueror had less ingenuity, less taste, less delicacy of perception than the conquered; but far more pride, firmness, and courage,—a more solemn demeanour, a stronger sense of honour. The one had more subtlety in speculation, the other more energy in action. The vices of the one were those of a coward,—the vices of the other were those of a tyrant. It may be added, that the Spaniard, like the Roman, did not disdain to study the arts and the language of those whom he oppressed. A revolution took place in the literature of Spain, not unlike to that revolution which, as Horace tells us, took place in the poetry of Latium:—'*Capta ferum victorem cepit.*' The slave took prisoner the enslaver. The old Castilian ballads gave place to sonnets in the style of Petrarch, and to heroic poems in the

stanza of Ariosto ; as the national songs of Rome were driven out by imitations of Theocritus, and translations from Menander.

In no modern society—not even in England during the reign of Elizabeth—has there been so great a number of men eminent at once in literature and in the pursuits of active life, as Spain produced during the sixteenth century. Almost every distinguished writer was also distinguished as a soldier and a politician. Boscan bore arms with high reputation. Garcilaso de Vega, the author of the sweetest and most graceful pastoral poem of modern times, after a short but splendid military career, fell sword in hand at the head of a storming party. Alonzo de Ercilla bore a conspicuous part in that war of Arauco, which he afterwards celebrated in the best heroic poem that Spain has produced. Hurtado de Mendoza, whose poems have been compared to those of Horace, and whose charming little novel is evidently the model of *Gil Blas*, has been handed down to us by history as one of the sternest of those iron proconsuls who were employed by the House of Austria to crush the lingering public spirit of Italy. Lope sailed in the Armada ; Cervantes was wounded at Lepanto.

It is curious to consider with how much awe our ancestors in those times regarded a Spaniard. He was, in their apprehension, a kind of demon, horribly malevolent, but withal most sagacious and powerful. ‘ They be verye wyse and politicke,’ says an honest Englishman, in a memorial addressed to Mary, ‘ and can, thorowe ther wysdome, reform and brydell theyr owne natures for a tyme, and applye their conditions to the manners of those men with whom they meddell gladlye by friendshippe ; whose mischievous maners a man shall never knowe untyll he come under ther subjection : but then shall he perfectlye perceyve and fele them : which thyng I praye God England never do : for in dissimulations untyll they have ther purposes, and afterwards in oppression and tyrannye, when they can obtayne them, they do exceed all other nations upon the earthe.’ This is just such language as Arminius would have used about the Romans, or as an Indian statesman of our times would use about the English. It is the language of a man burning with hatred, but cowed by those whom he hates ; and painfully sensible of their superiority, not only in power, but in intelligence.

But how art thou fallen from heaven, oh Lucifer, son of the morning ! How art thou cut down to the ground, that didst weaken the nations ! If we overleap a hundred years, and look at Spain towards the close of the seventeenth century, what a change do we find ! The contrast is as great as that which the

Rome of Gallienus and Honorius presents to the Rome of Marius and Cæsar. Foreign conquest had begun to eat into every part of that gigantic monarchy, on which the sun never set. Holland was gone, and Portugal, and Artois, and Rousillon, and Franche Comté. In the East, the empire founded by the Dutch far surpassed in wealth and splendour that which their old tyrants still retained. In the West, England had seized, and still held, settlements in the midst of the Mexican sea. The mere loss of territory was, however, of little moment. The reluctant obedience of distant provinces generally costs more than it is worth.

Empires which branch out widely are often more flourishing for a little timely pruning. Adrian acted judiciously when he abandoned the conquests of Trajan. England was never so rich, so great, so formidable to foreign princes, so absolutely mistress of the sea, as after the loss of her American colonies. The Spanish empire was still, in outward appearance, great and magnificent. The European dominions subject to the last feeble Prince of the House of Austria were far more extensive than those of Louis the Fourteenth. The American dependencies of the Castilian crown still extended to the North of Cancer and to the South of Capricorn. But within this immense body there was an incurable decay, an utter want of tone, an utter prostration of strength. An ingenious and diligent population, eminently skilled in arts and manufactures, had been driven into exile by stupid and remorseless bigots. The glory of the Spanish pencil had departed with Velasquez and Murillo. The splendid age of Spanish literature had closed with Solis and Calderon. During the seventeenth century many states had formed great military establishments. But the Spanish army, so formidable under the command of Alva and Farnese, had dwindled away to a few thousand men, ill paid and ill disciplined. England, Holland, and France had great navies. But the Spanish navy was scarcely equal to the tenth part of that mighty force which, in the time of Philip the Second, had been the terror of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. The arsenals were deserted. The magazines were unprovided. The frontier fortresses were ungarrisoned. The police was utterly inefficient for the protection of the people. Murders were committed in the face of day with perfect impunity. Bravoës and discarded serving-men, with swords at their sides, swaggered every day through the most public streets and squares of the capital, disturbing the public peace, and setting at defiance the ministers of justice. The finances were in frightful disorder. The people paid much. The government received little. The American viceroys

and the farmers of the revenue became rich, while the merchants broke—while the peasantry starved,—while the body-servants of the sovereign remained unpaid,—while the soldiers of the royal guard repaired daily to the doors of convents, and battled there with the crowd of beggars for a porringer of broth and a morsel of bread. Every remedy which was tried aggravated the disease. The currency was altered; and this frantic measure produced its never-failing effects. It destroyed all credit, and increased the misery which it was intended to relieve. The American gold, to use the words of Ortiz, was to the necessities of the state but as a drop of water to the lips of a man raving with thirst. Heaps of unopened despatches accumulated in the offices, while the Ministers were concerting with bedchamber-women and jesuits the means of tripping up each other. Every foreign power could plunder and insult with impunity the heir of Charles the Fifth. Into such a state had the mighty kingdom of Spain fallen, while one of its smallest dependencies,—a country not so large as the province of Estremadura or Andalusia, situated under an inclement sky, and preserved only by artificial means from the inroads of the ocean,—had become a power of the first class, and treated on terms of equality with the courts of London and Versailles.

The manner in which Lord Mahon explains the financial situation of Spain by no means satisfies us. 'It will be found,' says he, 'that those individuals deriving their chief income from mines, whose yearly produce is uncertain and varying, and seems rather to spring from fortune than to follow industry, are usually careless, unthrifty, and irregular in their expenditure. The example of Spain might tempt us to apply the same remark to states.' Lord Mahon would find it difficult, we suspect, to make out his analogy. Nothing could be more uncertain and varying than the gains and losses of those who were in the habit of putting into the state lotteries. But no part of the public income was more certain than that which was derived from the lotteries. We believe that this case is very similar to that of the American mines. Some veins of ore exceeded expectation; some fell below it. Some of the private speculators drew blanks, and others gained prizes. But the revenue of the state depended not on any particular vein, but on the whole annual produce of two great continents. This annual produce seems to have been almost constantly on the increase during the seventeenth century. The Mexican mines were, through the reigns of Philip the Fourth and Charles the Second, in a steady course of improvement; and in South America, though the district of Potosi was not so productive as formerly, other places more

than made up for the deficiency. We very much doubt whether Lord Mahon can prove that the income which the Spanish government derived from the mines of America fluctuated more than the income derived from the internal taxes of Spain itself.

All the causes of the decay of Spain resolve themselves into one cause, bad government. The valour, the intelligence, the energy, which at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century made the Spaniards the first nation in the world, were the fruits of the old institutions of Castille and Arragon, —institutions which were eminently favourable to public liberty. Those institutions the first Princes of the House of Austria attacked, and almost wholly destroyed. Their successors expiated the crime. The effects of a change from good government to bad government is not fully felt for some time after the change has taken place. The talents and the virtues which a good constitution generates may for a time survive that constitution. Thus the reigns of princes who have established absolute monarchy on the ruins of popular forms of government, often shine in history with a peculiar brilliancy. But when a generation or two has passed away, then comes signally to pass that which was written by Montesquieu,—that despotic governments resemble those savages who cut down the tree in order to get at the fruit. During the first years of tyranny, is reaped the harvest sown during the last years of liberty. Thus the Augustan age was rich in great minds formed in the generation of Cicero and Cæsar. The fruits of the policy of Augustus were reserved for posterity. Philip the Second was the heir of the Cortes and of the *Justiza* Mayor; and they left him a nation which seemed able to conquer all the world. What Philip left to his successors is well known.

The shock which the great religious schism of the sixteenth century gave to Europe, was scarcely felt in Spain. In England, Germany, Holland, France, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, that shock had produced, with some temporary evil, much durable good. The principles of the Reformation had triumphed in some of those countries. The Catholic Church had maintained its ascendancy in others. But though the event had not been the same in all, all had been agitated by the conflict. Even in France, in Southern Germany, and in the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, the public mind had been stirred to its inmost depths. The hold of ancient prejudice had been somewhat loosened. The Church of Rome, warned by the danger which she had narrowly escaped, had, in those parts of her dominion, assumed a milder and more liberal character. She sometimes condescended to submit her high pretensions to the scrutiny of

reason, and availed herself more sparingly than in former times of the aid of the secular arm. Even when persecution was employed, it was not persecution in the worst and most frightful shape. The severities of Lewis the Fourteenth, odious as they were, cannot be compared with those which, at the first dawn of the Reformation, had been inflicted on the heretics in many parts of Europe.

The only effect which the Reformation had produced in Spain, had been to make the Inquisition more vigilant, and the commonalty more bigoted. The times of refreshing came to all neighbouring countries. One people alone remained, like the fleece of the Hebrew warrior, dry in the midst of that benignant and fertilizing dew. While other nations were putting away childish things, the Spaniard still thought as a child, and understood as a child. Among the men of the seventeenth century, he was the man of the fifteenth century, or of a still darker period,—delighted to behold an *Auto-da-fe*, and ready to volunteer on a Crusade.

The evils produced by a bad government and a bad religion, seemed to have attained their greatest height during the last years of the seventeenth century. While the kingdom was in this deplorable state, the king was hastening to an early grave. His days had been few and evil. He had been unfortunate in all his wars, in every part of his internal administration, and in all his domestic relations. His first wife, whom he tenderly loved, died very young. His second wife exercised great influence over him, but seems to have been regarded by him rather with fear than with love. He was childless; and his constitution was so completely shattered, that at little more than thirty years of age, he had given up all hopes of posterity. His mind was even more distempered than his body. He was sometimes sunk in listless melancholy, and sometimes harassed by the wildest and most extravagant fancies. He was not, however, wholly destitute of the feelings which became his station. His sufferings were aggravated by the thought that his own dissolution might not improbably be followed by the dissolution of his empire.

Several princes laid claim to the succession. The King's eldest sister had married Lewis the Fourteenth. The Dauphin would, therefore, in the common course of inheritance, have succeeded to the crown. But the Infanta had, at the time of her espousals, solemnly renounced, in her own name, and in that of her posterity, all claim to the succession. This renunciation had been confirmed in due form by the Cortes. A younger sister of the King had been the first wife of Leopold,

Emperor of Germany. She too, had at her marriage renounced her claims to the Spanish crown; but the Cortes had not sanctioned the renunciation, and it was therefore considered as invalid by the Spanish jurists. The fruit of this marriage was a daughter, who had espoused the elector of Bavaria. The electoral Prince of Bavaria inherited her claim to the throne of Spain. The Emperor Leopold was son of a daughter of Philip the Third, and was therefore first cousin to Charles. No renunciation whatever had been exacted from his mother at the time of her marriage.

The question was certainly very complicated. That claim which, according to the ordinary rules of inheritance, was the strongest, had been barred by a contract executed in the most binding form. The claim of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was weaker. But so also was the contract which bound him not to prosecute his claim. The only party against whom no instrument of renunciation could be produced, was the party who, in respect of blood, had the weakest claim of all.

As it was clear that great alarm would be excited throughout Europe, if either the Emperor or the Dauphin should become King of Spain, each of those Princes offered to waive his pretensions in favour of his second son;—the Emperor, in favour of the Archduke Charles, the Dauphin, in favour of Philip Duke of Anjou.

Soon after the peace of Ryswick, William the Third and Lewis the Fourteenth determined to settle the question of the succession, without consulting either Charles or the Emperor. France, England, and Holland, became parties to a treaty by which it was stipulated that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should succeed to Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands. The Imperial family were to be bought off with the Milanese, and the Dauphin was to have the two Sicilies.

The great object of the King of Spain, and of all his counselors, was to avert the dismemberment of the monarchy. In the hope of attaining this end, Charles determined to name a successor. A will was accordingly framed, by which the crown was bequeathed to the Bavarian Prince. Unhappily, this will had scarcely been signed when the Prince died. The question was again unsettled, and presented greater difficulties than before.

A new Treaty of Partition was concluded between France, England, and Holland. It was agreed that Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, should descend to the Archduke Charles. In return for this great concession made by the Bourbons to a rival house, it was agreed that France should have the Milanese,

or an equivalent in a more commodious situation,—if possible, the province of Lorraine.

Arbuthnot, some years later, ridiculed the Partition Treaty with exquisite humour and ingenuity. Every body must remember his description of the paroxysm of rage into which poor old Lord Strutt fell, on hearing that his runaway servant, Nick Frog, his clothier, John Bull, and his old enemy, Lewis Baboon, had come with quadrants, poles, and inkhorns, to survey his estate, and to draw his will for him. Lord Mahon speaks of the arrangement with grave severity. He calls it ‘an iniquitous compact, concluded without the slightest reference to the welfare of the states so readily parcelled and allotted; insulting to the pride of Spain, and tending to strip that country of its hard-won conquests.’ The most serious part of this charge would apply to half the treaties which have been concluded in Europe quite as strongly as to the Partition Treaty. What regard was shown in the treaty of the Pyrenees to the welfare of the people of Dunkirk and Roussillon,—in the treaty of Nimeguen to the welfare of the people of Franche Comté,—in the treaty of Utrecht to the welfare of the people of Flanders,—in the treaty of 1735, to the welfare of the people of Tuscany? All Europe remembers, and our latest posterity will, we fear, have reason to remember, how coolly, at the last great pacification of Christendom, the people of Poland, of Norway, of Belgium, and of Lombardy, were allotted to masters whom they abhorred. The statesmen who negotiated the Partition Treaty, were not so far beyond their age and ours in wisdom and virtue, as to trouble themselves much about the happiness of the people whom they were apportioning among foreign masters. But it will be difficult to prove, that the stipulations which Lord Mahon condemns were in any respect unfavourable to the happiness of those who were to be transferred to new rulers. The Neapolitans would certainly have lost nothing by being given to the Dauphin, or to the Great Turk. Addison, who visited Naples about the time at which the Partition Treaty was signed, has left us a frightful description of the misgovernment under which that part of the Spanish Empire groaned. As to the people of Lorraine, a union with France would have been the happiest event which could have befallen them. Lewis was already their sovereign for all purposes of cruelty and exaction. He had kept the province during many years in his own hands. At the peace of Ryswick, indeed, the Duke had been allowed to return. But the conditions which had been imposed on him, made him a mere vassal of France.

We cannot admit that the Treaty of Partition was objectionable because it 'tended to strip Spain of hard-won conquests.' The inheritance was so vast, and the claimants so mighty, that without some dismemberment, it was scarcely possible to make a peaceable arrangement. If any dismemberment was to take place, the best way of effecting it surely, was to separate from the monarchy those nations which were at a great distance from Spain,—which were not Spanish in manners, in language, or in feelings,—which were both worse governed and less valuable than the old provinces of Castile and Arragon,—and which, having always been governed by foreigners, would not be likely to feel acutely the humiliation of being turned over from one master to another.

That England and Holland had a right to interfere, is plain. The question of the Spanish succession was not an internal question, but a European question. And this Lord Mahon would admit. He thinks, that when the evil had been done, and a French Prince was reigning at the Escorial, England and Holland would be justified in attempting, not merely to strip Spain of its remote dependencies, but to conquer Spain itself—that they would be justified in attempting to put, not merely the passive Flemings and Italians, but the reluctant Castilians and Asturians, under the dominion of a stranger. The danger against which the Partition Treaty was intended to guard, was precisely the same danger which afterwards was made the ground of war. It will be difficult to prove, that a danger which was sufficient to justify the war, was insufficient to justify the provisions of the treaty. If, as Lord Mahon contends, it was better that Spain should be subjugated by main force, than that she should be governed by a Bourbon, it was surely better that she should be deprived of Lombardy and the Milanese, than that she should be governed by a Bourbon.

Whether the treaty was judiciously framed, is quite another question. We disapprove of the stipulations. But we disapprove of them, not because we think them bad, but because we think that there was no chance of their being executed. Lewis was the most faithless of politicians. He hated the Dutch. He hated the Government which the Revolution had established in England. He had every disposition to quarrel with his new allies. It was quite certain that he would not observe his engagements, if it should be for his interest to violate them. Even if it should be for his interest to observe them, it might well be doubted whether the strongest and clearest interest would induce a man so haughty and self-willed, to co-operate

heartily with two governments which had always been the objects of his scorn and aversion.

When intelligence of the second Partition-Treaty arrived at Madrid, it roused to momentary energy the languishing ruler of a languishing state. The Spanish ambassador at the court of London was directed to remonstrate with the government of William; and his remonstrances were so insolent that he was commanded to leave England. Charles retaliated by dismissing the English and Dutch ambassadors. The French King, though the chief author of the Partition Treaty, succeeded in turning the whole wrath of Charles and of the Spanish people from himself, and in directing it against the maritime powers. Those powers had now no agent at Madrid. Their perfidious ally was at liberty to carry on his intrigues unchecked; and he fully availed himself of this advantage.

A long contest was maintained with varying success by the factions which surrounded the miserable King. On the side of the Imperial family was the Queen, herself a Princess of that family; with her were allied the confessor of the King, and most of the ministers. On the other side, were two of the most dexterous politicians of that age, Cardinal Porto Carrero, Archbishop of Toledo, and Harcourt, the ambassador of Lewis.

Harcourt was a noble specimen of the French aristocracy in the days of its highest splendour,—a finished gentleman, a brave soldier, and a skilful diplomatist. His courteous and insinuating manners,—his Parisian vivacity tempered with Castilian gravity,—made him the favourite of the whole court. He became intimate with the grandees. He caressed the clergy. He dazzled the multitude by his magnificent style of living. The prejudices which the people of Madrid had conceived against the French character,—the vindictive feelings generated during centuries of national rivalry,—gradually yielded to his arts; while the Austrian ambassador, a surly, pompous, niggardly German, made himself and his country more and more unpopular every day.

Harcourt won over the court and the city: Porto Carrero managed the King. Never were knave and dupe better suited to each other. Charles was sick, nervous, and extravagantly superstitious. Porto Carrero had learned in the exercise of his profession the art of exciting and soothing such minds; and he employed that art with the calm and demure cruelty which is the characteristic of wicked and ambitious priests.

He first supplanted the confessor. The state of the poor King, during the conflict between his two spiritual advisers, was horrible. At one time he was induced to believe that his malady was the same with that of the wretches described in the New

Testament, who dwelt among the tombs; whom no chains could bind, and whom no man dared to approach. At another time, a sorceress, who lived in the mountains of the Asturias, was consulted about his malady. Several persons were accused of having bewitched him. Porto Carrero recommended the appalling rite of exorcism, which was actually performed. The ceremony made the poor King more nervous and miserable than ever. But it served the turn of the Cardinal, who, after much secret trickery, succeeded in casting out, not the devil, but the confessor.

The next object was to get rid of the Ministers. Madrid was supplied with provisions by a monopoly. The government looked after this most delicate concern, as it looked after every thing else. The partisans of the House of Bourbon took advantage of the negligence of the administration. On a sudden the supply of food failed. Exorbitant prices were demanded. The people rose. The royal residence was surrounded by an immense multitude. The Queen harangued them. The priests exhibited the host. All was in vain. It was necessary to awaken the King from his uneasy sleep, and to carry him to the balcony. There a solemn promise was given, that the unpopular advisers of the crown should be forthwith dismissed. The mob left the palace, and proceeded to pull down the houses of the ministers. The adherents of the Austrian line were thus driven from power, and the government was intrusted to the creatures of Porto Carrero. The king left the city in which he had suffered so cruel an insult, for the magnificent retreat of the Escorial. Here his hypochondriac fancy took a new turn. Like his ancestor, Charles the Fifth, he was haunted by a strange curiosity to pry into the secrets of that grave, to which he was hastening. In the cemetery which Philip the Second had formed beneath the pavement of the church of St Lawrence, reposed three generations of Castilian princes. Into these dark vaults the unhappy monarch descended by torch-light, and penetrated to that superb and gloomy chamber, where, round the great black crucifix, are ranged the coffins of the kings and queens of Spain. There he commanded his attendants to open the massy chests of bronze in which the relics of his predecessors decayed. He looked on the ghastly spectacle with little emotion till the coffin of his first wife was unclosed, and she appeared before him,—such was the skill of the embalmer,—in all her well-remembered beauty. He cast one glance on those beloved features unseen for eighteen years,—those features over which corruption seemed to have no power,—and rushed from the vault, exclaiming, ‘She is with God; and I shall soon be with her.’ The awful sight completed the

ruin of his body and mind. The Escorial became hateful to him ; and he hastened to Aranjuez. But the shades and waters of that delicious island-garden, so fondly celebrated in the sparkling verse of Calderon, brought no solace to their unfortunate master. Having tried medicine, exercise, and amusement in vain, he returned to Madrid to die.

He was now beset on every side by the bold and skilful agents of the House of Bourbon. The leading politicians of his court assured him, that Lewis, and Lewis alone, was sufficiently powerful to preserve the Spanish monarchy undivided; and that Austria would be utterly unable to prevent the Treaty of Partition from being carried into effect. Some celebrated lawyers gave it as their opinion, that the act of renunciation executed by the late Queen of France ought to be construed according to the spirit, and not according to the letter. The letter undoubtedly excluded the French Prince. The spirit was merely this,—that ample security should be taken against the union of the French and Spanish crowns on one head.

In all probability, neither political nor legal reasonings would have sufficed to overcome the partiality which Charles felt for the House of Austria. There had always been a close connexion between the two great royal lines which sprung from the marriage of Philip and Juana. Both had always regarded the French as their natural enemies. It was necessary to have recourse to religious terrors ; and Porto Carrero employed those terrors with true professional skill. The King's life was drawing to a close. Would the most Catholic prince commit a great sin on the brink of the grave? And what could be a greater sin than, from an unreasonable attachment to a family name, from an unchristian antipathy to a rival house, to set aside the rightful heir of an immense heritage? The tender conscience and the feeble intellect of Charles were strongly wrought upon by these appeals. At length Porto Carrero ventured on a master-stroke. He advised Charles to apply for counsel to the Pope. The King, who, in the simplicity of his heart, considered the successor of St Peter as an infallible guide in spiritual matters, adopted the suggestion ; and Porto Carrero, who knew that his Holiness was a mere tool of France, awaited with perfect confidence the result of the application. In the answer which arrived from Rome, the King was solemnly reminded of the great account which he was soon to render, and cautioned against the flagrant injustice which he was tempted to commit. He was assured that the right was with the House of Bourbon ; and reminded that his own salvation ought to be dearer to him than the House of Austria. Yet he still continued irresolute. His attachment to his family, his

aversion to France, were not to be overcome even by Papal authority. At length he thought himself actually dying, when the cardinal redoubled his efforts. Divine after divine, well tutored for the occasion, was brought to the bed of the trembling penitent. He was dying in the commission of known sin. He was defrauding his relatives. He was bequeathing civil war to his people. He yielded, and signed that memorable Testament, the cause of many calamities to Europe. As he affixed his name to the instrument, he burst into tears. 'God,' he said, 'gives kingdoms and takes them away. I am already as good as dead.'

The will was kept secret during the short remainder of his life. On the 3d of November, 1700, he expired. All Madrid crowded to the palace. The gates were thronged. The antechamber was filled with ambassadors and grandees, eager to learn what dispositions the deceased sovereign had made. At length folding doors were flung open. The Duke of Abrantes came forth, and announced that the whole Spanish monarchy was bequeathed to Philip, Duke of Anjou. Charles had directed that, during the interval which might elapse between his death and the arrival of his successor, the government should be administered by a council, of which Porto Carrero was the chief member.

Lewis acted, as the English ministers might have guessed that he would act. With scarcely the show of hesitation, he broke through all the obligations of the Partition Treaty, and accepted for his grandson the splendid legacy of Charles. The new sovereign hastened to take possession of his dominions. The whole court of France accompanied him to Sceaux. His brothers escorted him to that frontier, which, as they weakly imagined, was to be a frontier no longer. 'The Pyrenees,' said Lewis, 'have ceased to exist.' Those very Pyrenees, a few years later, were the theatre of a war between the heir of Lewis and the prince whom France was now sending to govern Spain.

If Charles had ransacked Europe to find a successor whose moral and intellectual character resembled his own, he could not have chosen better. Philip was not so sickly as his predecessor; but he was quite as weak, as indolent, and as superstitious; he very soon became quite as hypochondriacal and eccentric; and he was even more uxorious. He was indeed a husband of ten thousand. His first object, when he became King of Spain, was to procure a wife. From the day of his marriage to the day of her death, his first object was to have her near him, and to do what she wished. As soon as his wife died, his first object was to procure another. Another was found, as unlike the former as possible. But she was a wife—and Philip was content. Nei-

ther by day nor by night, neither in sickness nor in health, neither in time of business nor in time of relaxation, did he ever suffer her to be absent from him for half an hour. His mind was naturally feeble; and he had received an enfeebling education. He had been brought up amidst the dull magnificence of Versailles. His grandfather was as imperious and as ostentatious in his intercourse with the royal family as in public acts. All those who grew up immediately under the eye of Lewis, had the manners of persons who had never known what it was to be at ease. They were all taciturn, shy, and awkward. In all of them, except the Duke of Burgundy, the evil went further than the manners. The Dauphin, the Duke of Berri, Philip of Anjou, were men of insignificant characters. They had no energy, no force of will. They had been so little accustomed to judge or to act for themselves, that implicit dependence had become necessary to their comfort. The new King of Spain, emancipated from control, resembled that wretched German captive, who, when the irons which he had worn for years were knocked off, fell prostrate on the floor of his prison. The restraints which had enfeebled the mind of the young Prince were required to support it. Till he had a wife he could do nothing; and when he had a wife he did whatever she chose.

While this lounging, moping boy was on his way to Madrid, his grandfather was all activity. Lewis had no reason to fear a contest with the Empire single-handed. He made vigorous preparations to encounter Leopold. He overawed the States-General by means of a great army. He attempted to soothe the English government by fair professions. William was not deceived. He fully returned the hatred of Lewis; and, if he had been free to act according to his own inclinations, he would have declared war as soon as the contents of the will were known. But he was bound by constitutional restraints. Both his person and his measures were unpopular in England. His secluded life and his cold manners disgusted a people accustomed to the graceful affability of Charles the Second. His foreign accent and his foreign attachments were offensive to the national prejudices. His reign had been a season of distress, following a season of rapidly-increasing prosperity. The burdens of the war, and the expense of restoring the currency, had been severely felt. Nine clergymen out of ten were Jacobites at heart, and had sworn allegiance to the new dynasty, only in order to save their benefices. A large proportion of the country gentlemen belonged to the same party. The whole body of agricultural proprietors was hostile to that interest, which the creation of the national debt had brought into notice, and which was believed

to be peculiarly favoured by the Court—the moneyed interest. The middle classes were fully determined to keep out James and his family. But they regarded William only as the less of two evils; and, as long as there was no imminent danger of a counter-revolution, were disposed to thwart and mortify the sovereign by whom they were, nevertheless, ready to stand, in case of necessity, with their lives and fortunes. They were sullen and dissatisfied. ‘There was,’ as Somers expressed it in a remarkable letter to William, ‘a deadness and want of spirit in the nation universally.’

Every thing in England was going on as Lewis could have wished. The leaders of the Whig party had retired from power, and were extremely unpopular on account of the unfortunate issue of the Partition Treaty. The Tories, some of whom still cast a lingering look towards St Germain, were in office, and had a decided majority in the House of Commons. William was so much embarrassed by the state of parties in England, that he could not venture to make war on the house of Bourbon. He was suffering under a complication of severe and incurable diseases. There was every reason to believe that a few months would dissolve the fragile tie which bound up that feeble body with that ardent and unconquerable soul. If Lewis could succeed in preserving peace for a short time, it was probable that all his vast designs would be securely accomplished. Just at this crisis, the most important crisis of his life, his pride and his passions hurried him into an error, which undid all that forty years of victory and intrigue had done,—which produced the dismemberment of the kingdom of his grandson, and brought invasion, bankruptcy, and famine, on his own.

James the Second died at St Germain. Lewis paid him a farewell visit, and was so much moved by the solemn parting, and by the grief of the exiled queen, that, losing sight of all considerations of policy, and actuated, as it should seem, merely by compassion, and by a not ungenerous vanity, he acknowledged the Prince of Wales as King of England.

The indignation which the Castilians had felt when they heard that three foreign powers had undertaken to regulate the Spanish succession, was nothing to the rage with which the English learned that their good neighbour had taken the trouble to provide them with a king. Whigs and Tories joined in condemning the proceedings of the French Court. The cry for war was raised by the city of London, and echoed and re-echoed from every corner of the realm. William saw that his time was come. Though his wasted and suffering body could hardly move without support, his spirit was as energetic and resolute

as when, at twenty-three, he bade defiance to the combined force of England and France. He left the Hague, where he had been engaged in negotiating with the States and the Emperor a defensive treaty against the ambitious designs of the Bourbons. He flew to London. He remodelled the ministry. He dissolved the Parliament. The majority of the new House of Commons was with the King, and the most vigorous preparations were made for war.

Before the commencement of active hostilities, William was no more. But the Grand Alliance of the European Princes against the Bourbons was already constructed. 'The master workman died,' says Mr Burke, 'but the work was formed on true mechanical principles, and it was as truly wrought.' On the 15th of May, 1702, war was proclaimed by concert at Vienna, at London, and at the Hague.

Thus commenced that great struggle, by which Europe, from the Vistula to the Atlantic Ocean, was agitated during twelve years. The two hostile coalitions were, in respect of territory, wealth, and population, not unequally matched. On the one side were France, Spain, and Bavaria; on the other, England, Holland, the Empire, and a crowd of inferior Powers.

That part of the war which Lord Mahon has undertaken to relate, though not the least important, is certainly the least attractive. In Italy, in Germany, and in the Netherlands, great means were at the disposal of great generals. Mighty battles were fought. Fortress after fortress was subdued. The iron chain of the Belgian strongholds was broken. By a regular and connected series of operations extending through several years, the French were driven back from the Danube and the Po into their own provinces. The war in Spain, on the contrary, is made up of events which seem to have no dependence on each other. The turns of fortune resemble those which take place in a dream. Victory and defeat are not followed by their usual consequences. Armies spring out of nothing, and melt into nothing. Yet, to judicious readers of history, the Spanish conflict is perhaps more interesting than the campaigns of Marlborough and Eugene. The fate of the Milanese, and of the Low Countries, was decided by military skill. The fate of Spain was decided by the peculiarities of the national character.

When the war commenced, the young King was in a most deplorable situation. On his arrival at Madrid, he found Porto Carrero at the head of affairs, and he did not think it fit to displace the man to whom he owed his crown. The Cardinal was a mere intriguer, and in no sense a statesman. He had acquired in the Court and in the Confessional, a rare degree of skill in all

the tricks by which weak minds are managed. But of the noble science of government—of the sources of national prosperity—of the causes of national decay—he knew no more than his master. It is curious to observe the contrast between the dexterity with which he ruled the conscience of a foolish valetudinarian, and the imbecility which he showed when placed at the head of an empire. On what grounds Lord Mahon represents the Cardinal as a man ‘of splendid genius,’—‘of vast abilities,’ we are unable to discover. Lewis was of a very different opinion, and Lewis was very seldom mistaken in his judgment of character. ‘Every body,’ says he, in a letter to his ambassador, ‘knows how incapable the Cardinal is. He is an object of ‘contempt to his countrymen.’

A few miserable savings were made, which ruined individuals, without producing any perceptible benefit to the state. The police became more and more inefficient. The disorders of the capital were increased by the arrival of French adventurers,—the refuse of Parisian brothels and gaming-houses. These wretches considered the Spaniards as a subjugated race whom the countrymen of the new sovereign might cheat and insult with impunity. The King sate eating and drinking all night, and lay in bed all day,—yawned at the council table, and suffered the most important papers to lie unopened for weeks. At length he was roused by the only excitement of which his sluggish nature was susceptible. His grandfather consented to let him have a wife. The choice was fortunate. Maria Louisa, princess of Savoy, a beautiful and graceful girl of thirteen, already a woman in person and mind, at an age when the females of colder climates are still children, was the person selected. The King resolved to give her the meeting in Catalonia. He left his capital, of which he was already thoroughly tired. At setting out, he was mobbed by a gang of beggars. He, however, made his way through them, and repaired to Barcelona.

Lewis was perfectly aware that the Queen would govern Philip. He, accordingly, looked about for somebody to govern the Queen. He selected the Princess Orsini to be first lady of the bedchamber,—no insignificant post in the household of a very young wife, and a very uxorious husband. This lady was the daughter of a French peer, and the widow of a Spanish grandee. She was, therefore, admirably fitted by her position to be the instrument of the Court of Versailles at the Court of Madrid. The Duke of Orleans called her, in words too coarse for translation, the Lieutenant of Captain Maintenon; and the appellation was well deserved. She aspired to play in Spain the part which Madame de Maintenon had played in France. But,

though at least equal to her model in wit, information, and talents for intrigue, she had not that self-command, that patience, that imperturbable evenness of temper, which had raised the widow of a buffoon to be the consort of the proudest of kings. The princess was more than fifty years old; but was still vain of her fine eyes, and her fine shape; she still dressed in the style of a girl; and she still carried her flirtations so far as to give occasion for scandal. She was, however, polite, eloquent, and not deficient in strength of mind. The bitter Saint Simon owns that no person whom she wished to attach, could long resist the graces of her manners and of her conversation.

We have not time to relate how she obtained, and how she preserved her empire over the young couple in whose household she was placed,—how she became so powerful, that neither minister of Spain, nor ambassador from France, could stand against her,—how Lewis himself was compelled to court her,—how she received orders from Versailles to retire,—how the queen took part with her favourite attendant,—how the king took part with the queen,—and how, after much squabbling, lying, shuffling, bullying, and coaxing, the dispute was adjusted. We turn to the events of the war.

When hostilities were proclaimed at London, Vienna, and the Hague, Philip was at Naples. He had been with great difficulty prevailed upon, by the most urgent representations from Versailles, to separate himself from his wife, and to repair without her to his Italian dominions, which were then menaced by the Emperor. The Queen acted as Regent, and, child as she was, seems to have been quite as competent to govern the kingdom as her husband, or any of his ministers.

In August, 1702, an armament, under the command of the Duke of Ormond, appeared off Cadiz. The Spanish authorities had no guards, and no regular troops. The national spirit, however, supplied in some degree what was wanting. The nobles and peasantry advanced money. The peasantry were formed into what the Spanish writers call bands of heroic patriots, and what General Stanhope calls a 'rascally foot militia.' If the invaders had acted with vigour and judgment, Cadiz would probably have fallen. But the chiefs of the expedition were divided by national and professional feelings,—Dutch against English, and land against sea. Sparre, the Dutch general, was sulky and perverse,—according to Lord Mahon, because he was a citizen of a republic. Bellasys, the English general, embezzled the stores,—we suppose, because he was the subject of a monarchy. The Duke of Ormond, who had the command

of the whole expedition, proved on this occasion, as on every other, destitute of the qualities which great emergencies require. No discipline was kept; the soldiers were suffered to rob and insult those whom it was most desirable to conciliate. Churches were robbed, images were pulled down, nuns were violated. The officers shared the spoil, instead of punishing the spoilers; and at last the armament, loaded, to use the words of Stanhope, 'with a great deal of plunder and infamy,' quitted the scene of Essex's glory, leaving the only Spaniard of note who had declared for them to be hanged by his countrymen.

The fleet was off the coast of Portugal, on the way back to England, when the Duke of Ormond received intelligence that the treasure-ships from America had just arrived in Europe, and had, in order to avoid his armament, repaired to the harbour of Vigo. The cargo consisted, it was said, of more than three millions sterling in gold and silver, besides much valuable merchandise. The prospect of plunder reconciled all disputes. Dutch and English, admirals and generals, were equally eager for action. The Spaniards might with the greatest ease have secured the treasure, by simply landing it; but it was a fundamental law of Spanish trade that the galleons should unload at Cadiz, and at Cadiz only. The Chamber of Commerce at Cadiz, in the true spirit of monopoly, refused, even at this conjuncture, to bate one jot of its privilege. The matter was referred to the Council of the Indies: that body deliberated and hesitated just a day too long. Some feeble preparations for defence were made. Two ruined towers at the mouth of the bay were garrisoned by a few ill-armed and untrained rustics; a boom was thrown across the entrance of the bay; and some French ships of war, which had convoyed the galleons from America, were moored in the basin within. But all was to no purpose. The English ships broke the boom; Ormond and his soldiers scaled the forts; the French burned their ships, and escaped to the shore. The conquerors shared some millions of dollars;—some millions more were sunk. When all the galleons had been captured or destroyed, there came an order in due form allowing them to unload.

When Philip returned to Madrid in the beginning of 1703, he found the finances more embarrassed, the people more discontented, and the hostile coalition more formidable than ever. The loss of the galleons had occasioned a great deficiency in the revenue. The Admiral of Castile, one of the greatest subjects in Europe, had fled to Lisbon, and sworn allegiance to the Archduke. The King of Portugal soon after acknowledged Charles

as King of Spain, and prepared to support the title of the House of Austria by arms.

On the other side, Lewis sent to the assistance of his grandson an army of 12,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Berwick. Berwick was the son of James the Second and Arabella Churchill. He had been brought up to expect the highest honours which an English subject could enjoy; but the whole course of his life was changed by the revolution which overthrew his infatuated father. Berwick became an exile, a man without a country; and from that time forward his camp was to him in the place of a country, and professional honour was his patriotism. He ennobled his wretched calling. There was a stern, cold, Brutus-like virtue, in the manner in which he discharged the duties of a soldier of fortune. His military fidelity was tried by the strongest temptations, and was found invincible. At one time he fought against his uncle; at another time he fought against the cause of his brother; yet he was never suspected of treachery, or even of slackness.

Early in 1704, an army, composed of English, Dutch, and Portuguese, was assembled on the western frontier of Spain. The Archduke Charles had arrived at Lisbon, and appeared in person at the head of his troops. The military skill of Berwick held the Allies in check through the whole campaign. On the south, however, a great blow was struck. An English fleet, under Sir George Rooke, having on board several regiments, commanded by the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, appeared before the rock of Gibraltar. That celebrated stronghold, which nature has made all but impregnable, and against which all the resources of the military art have been employed in vain, was taken as easily as if it had been an open village in a plain. The garrison went to say their prayers instead of standing on their guard. A few English sailors climbed the rock. The Spaniards capitulated; and the British flag was placed on those ramparts, from which the combined armies and navies of France and Spain have never been able to pull it down. Rooke proceeded to Malaga, gave battle in the neighbourhood of that port to a French squadron, and after a doubtful action returned to England.

But greater events were at hand. The English government had determined to send an expedition to Spain, under the command of Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough. This man was, if not the greatest, yet assuredly the most extraordinary character of that age; the King of Sweden himself not excepted. Indeed, Peterborough may be described as a polite, learned,

and amorous Charles the Twelfth. His courage had all the French impetuosity, and all the English steadiness. His fertility and activity of mind were almost beyond belief. They appeared in every thing that he did—in his campaigns, in his negotiations, in his familiar correspondence, in his lightest and most unstudied conversation. He was a kind friend, a generous enemy, and a thorough gentleman. But his splendid talents and virtues were rendered almost useless to his country, by his levity, his restlessness, his irritability, his morbid craving for novelty and for excitement. He loved to fly round Europe faster than a travelling courier. He was at the Hague one week, at Vienna the next. Then he took a fancy to see Madrid; and he had scarcely reached Madrid, when he ordered horses and set off for Copenhagen. No attendants could keep up with his speed. No bodily infirmities could confine him. Old age, disease, imminent death, produced scarcely any effect on his intrepid spirit. Just before he underwent the most horrible of surgical operations, his conversation was as sprightly as that of a young man in the full vigour of health. On the day after the operation, in spite of the intreaties of his medical advisers, he would set out on a journey. His figure was that of a skeleton. But his elastic mind supported him under fatigues and sufferings which seemed sufficient to bring the most robust man to the grave. Change of employment was as necessary to him as change of place. He loved to dictate six or seven letters at once. Those who had to transact business with him, complained, that though he talked with great ability on every subject, he could never be kept to the point. 'Lord Peterborough,' said Pope, 'would say very pretty and lively things in his letters, but they would be rather too gay and wandering; whereas, were Lord Bolingbroke to write to an emperor, or to a statesman, he would fix on that point which was the most material, would set it in the strongest and finest light, and manage it so as to make it the most serviceable to his purpose.' What Peterborough was to Bolingbroke as a writer, he was to Marlborough as a general. He was, in truth, the last of the knights-errant,—brave to temerity—liberal to profusion—courteous in all his dealings with enemies—the protector of the oppressed—the adorer of women. His virtues and vices were those of the *Round Table*. Indeed, his character can hardly be better summed up, than in the lines in which the author of that clever little poem, *Monks and Giants*, has described Sir Tristrem.

'His birth, it seems, by Merlin's calculation,
Was under Venus, Mercury, and Mars;

His mind with all their attributes was mix'd,
And, like those planets, wandering and unfix'd.

‘ From realm to realm he ran, and never staid :
Kingdoms and crowns he won, and gave away :
It seem'd as if his labours were repaid
By the mere noise and movement of the fray :
No conquests nor acquirements had he made ;
His chief delight was, on some festive day
To ride triumphant, prodigal, and proud,
And shower his wealth amidst the shouting crowd.

‘ His schemes of war were sudden, unforeseen,
Inexplicable both to friend and foe ;
It seem'd as if some momentary spleen
Inspired the project, and impell'd the blow ;
And most his fortune and success were seen
With means the most inadequate and low ;
Most master of himself, and least encumber'd,
When overmatch'd, entangled, and outnumber'd.’

In June 1705, this remarkable man arrived at Lisbon with 5000 Dutch and English soldiers. There the Archduke embarked with a large train of attendants, whom Peterborough entertained magnificently during the voyage at his own expense. From Lisbon the armament proceeded to Gibraltar, and, having taken the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt on board, steered to the north-east, along the coast of Spain.

The first place at which the expedition touched, after leaving Gibraltar, was Altea, in Valencia. The wretched misgovernment of Philip had excited great discontent throughout this province. The invaders were eagerly welcomed. The peasantry flocked to the shore, bearing provisions, and shouting—‘ Long live Charles the Third.’ The neighbouring fortress of Denia surrendered without a blow.

The imagination of Peterborough took fire. He conceived the hope of finishing the war at one blow. Madrid was but 150 miles distant. There was scarcely one fortified place on the road. The troops of Philip were either on the frontiers of Portugal, or on the coast of Catalonia. At the capital there was no military force, except a few horse, who formed a guard of honour round the person of Philip. But the scheme of pushing into the heart of a great kingdom with an army of only 7000 men, was too daring to please the Archduke. The Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who, in the reign of the late King of Spain, had been Governor of Catalonia, and who overrated his own

influence in that province, was of opinion that they ought instantly to proceed thither, and to attack Barcelona. Peterborough was hampered by his instructions, and found it necessary to submit.

On the 16th of August the fleet arrived before Barcelona; and Peterborough found, that the task assigned to him by the Archduke and the Prince was one of almost insuperable difficulty. One side of the city was protected by the sea; the other by the strong fortifications of Monjuich. The walls were so extensive, that 30,000 men would scarcely have been sufficient to invest them. The garrison was as numerous as the besieging army. The best officers in the Spanish service were in the town. The hopes which the Prince of Darmstadt had formed of a general rising in Catalonia, were grievously disappointed. The invaders were joined only by about 1500 armed peasants, whose services cost more than they were worth.

No general was ever in a more deplorable situation than that in which Peterborough was now placed. He had always objected to the scheme of besieging Barcelona. His objections had been overruled. He had to execute a project which he had constantly represented as impracticable. His camp was divided into hostile factions, and he was censured by all. The Archduke and the Prince blamed him for not proceeding instantly to take the town; but suggested no plan by which 7000 men could be enabled to do the work of 30,000. Others blamed their general giving up his own opinion to the childish whims of Charles, and for sacrificing his men in an attempt to perform what was impossible. The Dutch commander positively declared that his soldiers should not stir: Lord Peterborough might give what orders he chose, but to engage in such a siege was madness; and the men should not be sent to certain death where there was no chance of obtaining any advantage.

At length, after three weeks of inaction, Peterborough announced his fixed determination to raise the siege. The heavy cannon were sent on board. Preparations were made for re-embarking the troops. Charles and the Prince of Hesse were furious; and most of the officers blamed their general for having delayed so long the measure which he had at last found it necessary to take. On the 12th of September there were rejoicings and public entertainments in Barcelona for this great deliverance. On the following morning the English flag was flying on the ramparts of Monjuich. The genius and energy of one man had supplied the place of forty battalions.

At midnight Peterborough had called on the Prince of Hesse, with whom he had not for some time been on speaking terms.

'I have resolved, sir,' said the Earl, 'to attempt an assault; you may accompany us, if you think fit, and see whether I and my men deserve what you have been pleased to say of us.' The Prince was startled. The attempt, he said, was hopeless; but he was ready to take his share; and without further discussion, he called for his horse.

Fifteen hundred English soldiers were assembled under the Earl. A thousand more had been posted as a body of reserve, at a neighbouring convent, under the command of Stanhope. After a winding march along the foot of the hills, Peterborough and his little army reached the walls of Monjuich. There they halted till daybreak. As soon as they were descried, the enemy advanced into the outer ditch to meet them. This was the event on which Peterborough had reckoned, and for which his men were prepared. The English received the fire, rushed forward, leaped into the ditch, put the Spaniards to flight, and entered the works together with the fugitives. Before the garrison had recovered from their first surprise, the Earl was master of the outworks, had taken several pieces of cannon, and had thrown up a breastwork to defend his men. He then sent off for Stanhope's reserve. While he was waiting for this reinforcement, news arrived that 3000 men were marching from Barcelona towards Monjuich. He instantly rode out to take a view of them; but no sooner had he left his troops than they were seized with a panic. Their situation was indeed full of danger; they had been brought into Monjuich, they scarcely knew how; their numbers were small; their general was gone: their hearts failed them, and they were proceeding to evacuate the fort. Peterborough received information of these occurrences in time to stop the retreat; he galloped up to the fugitives, addressed a few words to them, and put himself at their head. The sound of his voice and the sight of his face restored all their courage, and they marched back to their former position.

The Prince of Hesse had fallen in the confusion of the assault, but every thing else went well. Stanhope arrived; the detachment which had marched out of Barcelona retreated; the heavy cannon were disembarked, and brought to bear on the inner fortifications of Monjuich, which speedily fell. Peterborough, with his usual generosity, rescued the Spanish soldiers from the ferocity of the victorious army, and paid the last honours with great pomp to his rival the Prince of Hesse.

The reduction of Monjuich was the first of a series of brilliant exploits. Barcelona fell, and Peterborough had the glory of taking, with a handful of men, one of the largest and strongest

towns of Europe. He had also the glory, not less dear to his chivalrous temper, of saving the life and honour of the beautiful Duchess of Popoli, whom he met flying with dishevelled hair from the fury of her pursuers. He availed himself dexterously of the jealousy with which the Catalonians regarded the inhabitants of Castile. He guaranteed to the province in the capital of which he was now quartered, all its ancient rights and liberties; and thus succeeded in attaching the population to the Austrian cause.

The open country declared in favour of Charles. Tarragona, Tortosa, Gerona, Lerida, San Mateo, threw open their gates. The Spanish government sent the Count of Las Torres with 7000 men to reduce San Mateo. The Earl of Peterborough, with only 1200 men, raised the siege. His officers advised him to be content with this extraordinary success. Charles urged him to return to Barcelona; but no remonstrances could stop such a spirit in the midst of such a career. It was the depth of winter. The country was mountainous. The roads were almost impassable. The men were ill clothed. The horses were knocked up. The retreating army was far more numerous than the pursuing army. But difficulties and dangers vanished before the energy of Peterborough. He pushed on, driving Las Torres before him. Nules surrendered to the mere terror of his name; and, on the 4th of February, 1706, he arrived in triumph at Valencia. There he learned that a body of 4000 men was on the march to join Las Torres. He set out at dead of night from Valencia,—passed the Xucar, came unexpectedly on the encampment of the enemy, and slaughtered, dispersed, or took the whole reinforcement. The Valencians, as we are told by a person who was present, could scarcely believe their eyes when they saw the prisoners brought in.

In the mean time the Courts of Madrid and Versailles, exasperated and alarmed by the fall of Barcelona, and by the revolt of the surrounding country, determined to make a great effort. A large army, nominally commanded by Philip, but really under the orders of Marshal Tessé, entered Catalonia. A fleet, under the Count of Toulouse, one of the natural children of Lewis the Fourteenth, appeared before the port of Barcelona. The city was attacked at once by sea and land. The person of the Archduke was in considerable danger. Peterborough, at the head of about 3000 men, marched with great rapidity from Valencia. To give battle with so small a force to a great regular army, under the conduct of a Marshal of France, would have been madness. The Earl therefore took his post on the neighbouring mountains, harassed the enemy with incessant

alarms, cut off their stragglers, intercepted their communications with the interior, and introduced supplies, both of men and provisions, into the town. He saw, however, that the only hope of the besieged was on the side of the sea. His commission from the British government gave him supreme power, not only over the army, but, whenever he should be actually on board, over the navy also. He put out to sea at night in an open boat, without communicating his design to any person. He was picked up, several leagues from the shore, by one of the ships of the English squadron. As soon as he was on board, he announced himself as first in command, and sent a Pinnace with his orders to the Admiral. Had these orders been given a few hours earlier, it is probable that the whole French fleet would have been taken. As it was, the Count of Toulouse stood out to sea. The port was open. The town was relieved. On the following night the enemy raised the siege, and retreated to Roussillon. Peterborough returned to Valencia; and Philip, who had been some weeks absent from his wife, could endure the misery of separation no longer, and flew to rejoin her at Madrid.

At Madrid, however, it was impossible for him or for her to remain. The splendid success which Peterborough had obtained on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, had inspired the sluggish Galway with emulation. He advanced into the heart of Spain. Berwick retreated. Alcantara, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Salamanca fell, and the conquerors marched towards the capital.

Philip was earnestly pressed by his advisers to remove the seat of government to Burgos. The advanced guard of the allied army was already seen on the heights above Madrid. It was known that the main body was at hand. The unfortunate Prince fled with his Queen and his household. The royal wanderers, after travelling eight days on bad roads, under a burning sun, and sleeping eight nights in miserable hovels, one of which fell down and nearly crushed them both to death, reached the metropolis of Old Castile. In the mean time the invaders had entered Madrid in triumph, and had proclaimed the Archduke in the streets of the imperial city. Arragon, ever jealous of the Castilian ascendancy, followed the example of Catalonia. Saragossa revolted without seeing an enemy. The governor, whom Philip had set over Carthage, betrayed his trust, and surrendered to the allies the best arsenal, and the last ships which Spain possessed.

Toledo had been for some time the retreat of two ambitious, turbulent, and vindictive intriguers, the Queen Dowager and Cardinal Porto Carrero. They had long been deadly enemies.

They had led the adverse factions of Austria and France. Each had in turn domineered over the weak and disordered mind of the late King. At length the impostures of the priest had triumphed over the blandishments of the woman: Porto Carrero had remained victorious, and the Queen had fled, in shame and mortification, from the court, where she had once been supreme. In her retirement she was soon joined by him whose arts had destroyed her influence. The Cardinal, having held power just long enough to convince all parties of his incompetency, had been dismissed to his See, cursing his own folly, and the ingratitude of the house which he had served too well. Common interests and common enmities reconciled the fallen rivals. The Austrian troops were admitted into Toledo without opposition. The Queen Dowager flung off that mourning garb which the widow of a King of Spain wears through her whole life, and blazed forth in jewels. The Cardinal blessed the standards of the invaders in his magnificent cathedral, and lighted up his palace in honour of the great event. It seemed that the struggle had terminated in favour of the Archduke, and that nothing remained for Philip but a prompt flight into the dominions of his grandfather.

So judged those who were ignorant of the character and habits of the Spanish people. There is no country in Europe which it is so easy to overrun as Spain—there is no country in Europe which it is more difficult to conquer. Nothing can be more contemptible than the regular military resistance which it offers to an invader—nothing more formidable than the energy which it puts forth when its regular military resistance has been beaten down. Its armies have long borne too much resemblance to mobs; but its mobs have had, in an unusual degree, the spirit of armies. The soldier, as compared with other soldiers, is deficient in military qualities; but the peasant has as much of those qualities as the soldier. In no country have such strong fortresses been taken by a mere *coup-de-main*—in no country have unfortified towns made so furious and obstinate a resistance to great armies. War in Spain has, from the days of the Romans, had a character of its own; it is a fire which cannot be raked out; it burns fiercely under the embers; and long after it has, to all seeming, been extinguished, bursts forth more violently than ever. This was seen in the last war. Spain had no army which could have looked in the face an equal number of French or Prussian soldiers; but one day laid the Prussian monarchy in the dust; one day put the crown of France at the disposal of invaders. No Jena, no Waterloo, would have enabled Joseph to reign in quiet at Madrid.

The conduct of the Castilians throughout the War of the Succession was most characteristic. With all the odds of number and situation on their side, they had been ignominiously beaten. All the European dependencies of the Spanish crown were lost. Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia, had acknowledged the Austrian Prince. Gibraltar had been taken by a few sailors; Barcelona stormed by a few dismounted dragoons; the invaders had penetrated into the centre of the Peninsula, and were quartered at Madrid and Toledo. While these events had been in progress, the nation had scarcely given a sign of life. The rich could not be prevailed on to give or to lend for the support of war; the troops had shown neither discipline nor courage; and now at last, when it seemed that all was lost,—when it seemed that the most sanguine must relinquish all hope,—the national spirit awoke, fierce, proud, and unconquerable. The people had been sluggish when the circumstances might well have inspired hope; they reserved all their energy for what appeared to be a season of despair. Castile, Leon, Andalusia, Estremadura, rose at once; every peasant procured a firelock or a pike; the allies were masters only of the ground on which they trode. No soldier could wander a hundred yards from the main body of the army without the most imminent risk of being poniarded; the country through which the conquerors had passed to Madrid, and which, as they thought, they had subdued, was all in arms behind them; their communications with Portugal were cut off. In the mean time, money began, for the first time, to flow rapidly into the treasury of the fugitive King. ‘The day before yesterday,’ says the Princess Orsini, in a letter written at this time, ‘the priest of a village, which contains only a hundred and twenty houses, brought a hundred and twenty pistoles to the Queen. “My flock,” said he, “are ashamed to send you so little; but they beg you to believe, that in this purse there are a hundred and twenty hearts faithful even to the death.” The good man wept as he spoke, and indeed we wept too. Yesterday another small village, in which there are only twenty houses, sent us fifty pistoles.’

While the Castilians were every where arming in the cause of Philip, the Allies were serving that cause as effectually by their mismanagement. Galway staid at Madrid, where his soldiers indulged in such boundless licentiousness, that one half of them were in the hospitals. Charles remained dawdling in Catalonia. Peterborough had taken Requena, and wished to march towards Madrid, and to effect a junction with Galway; but the Archduke refused his consent to the plan. The indignant general remained accordingly in his favourite city, on the

beautiful shores of the Mediterranean, reading Don Quixote, giving balls and suppers, trying in vain to get some good sport out of the Valencian bulls, and making love, not in vain, to the Valencian women.

At length the Archduke advanced into Castile, and ordered Peterborough to join him. But it was too late. Berwick had already compelled Galway to evacuate Madrid; and when the whole force of the Allies was collected at Guadalaxara, it was found to be decidedly inferior in numbers to that of the enemy.

Peterborough formed a plan for regaining possession of the capital. His plan was rejected by Charles. The patience of the sensitive and vainglorious hero was worn out. He had none of that serenity of temper which enabled Marlborough to act in perfect harmony with Eugene, and to endure the vexations interference of the Dutch deputies. He demanded permission to leave the army. Permission was readily granted, and he set out for Italy. That there might be some pretext for his departure, he was commissioned by the Archduke to raise a loan at Genoa, on the credit of the revenues of Spain.

From that moment to the end of the campaign, the tide of fortune ran strong against the Austrian cause. Berwick had placed his army between the Allies and the frontiers of Portugal. They retreated on Valencia, and arrived in that province, leaving about ten thousand prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

In January 1707, Peterborough arrived at Valencia from Italy, no longer bearing a public character, but merely as a volunteer. His advice was asked, and it seems to have been most judicious. He gave it as his decided opinion, that no offensive operations against Castile ought to be undertaken. It would be easy, he said, to defend Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, against Philip. The inhabitants of those parts of Spain were attached to the cause of the Archduke; and the armies of the House of Bourbon would be resisted by the whole population. In a short time, the enthusiasm of the Castilians might abate. The government of Philip might commit unpopular acts. Defeats in the Netherlands might compel Lewis to withdraw the succours which he had furnished to his grandson. Then would be the time to strike a decisive blow. This excellent advice was rejected. Peterborough, who had now received formal letters of recall from England, departed before the opening of the campaign; and with him departed the good fortune of the Allies. Scarcely any general had ever done so much with means so small. Scarcely any general had ever displayed equal originality and boldness. He possessed, in the highest degree, the art of conciliating those whom he had subdued. But he was not

equally successful in winning the attachment of those with whom he acted. He was adored by the Catalonians and Valencians; but he was hated by the Prince, whom he had all but made a great king; and by the generals, whose fortune and reputation were staked on the same venture with his own. The English government could not understand him. He was so eccentric, that they gave him no credit for the judgment which he really possessed. One day he took towns with horse-soldiers; then again he turned some hundreds of infantry into cavalry at a minute's notice. He obtained his political intelligence chiefly by means of love affairs, and filled his despatches with epigrams. The ministers thought that it would be highly impolitic to intrust the conduct of the Spanish war to so volatile and romantic a person. They therefore gave the command to Lord Galway, an experienced veteran—a man who was in war what Moliere's doctors were in medicine; who thought it much more honourable to fail according to rule, than to succeed by innovation; and who would have been very much ashamed of himself if he had taken Monjuich by means so strange as those which Peterborough employed. This great commander conducted the campaign of 1707 in the most scientific manner. On the plain of Almanza he encountered the army of the Bourbons. He drew up his troops according to the methods prescribed by the best writers; and in a few hours lost eighteen thousand men, a hundred and twenty standards, all his baggage and all his artillery. Valencia and Arragon were instantly conquered by the French, and at the close of the year, the mountainous province of Catalonia was the only part of Spain which still adhered to Charles.

'Do you remember, child,' says the foolish woman in the Spectator to her husband, 'that the pigeon-house fell the very afternoon that our careless wench spilt the salt upon the table?'—'Yes, my dear,' replies the gentleman, 'and the next post brought us an account of the battle of Almanza.' The approach of disaster in Spain had been for some time indicated by omens much clearer than the mishap of the salt-cellar;—an ungrateful Prince, an undisciplined army, a divided council, envy triumphant over merit, a man of genius recalled, a pedant and a sluggard intrusted with supreme command. The battle of Almanza decided the fate of Spain. The loss was such as Marlborough or Eugene could scarcely have retrieved, and was certainly not to be retrieved by Stanhope and Staremberg.

Stanhope, who took the command of the English army in

Catalonia, was a man of respectable abilities, both in military and civil affairs; but fitter, we conceive, for a second than for a first place. Lord Mahon, with his usual candour, tells us, what we believe was not known before, that his ancestor's most distinguished exploit, the conquest of Minorca, was suggested by Marlborough. Staremburg, a cold and methodical tactician of the German school, was sent by the Emperor to command in Catalonia. Two languid campaigns followed, during which neither of the hostile armies did any thing memorable; but, during which, both were nearly starved.

At length, in 1710, the chiefs of the Allied forces resolved to venture on bolder measures. They began the campaign with a daring move,—pushed into Arragon, defeated the troops of Philip at Almenara, defeated them again at Saragossa, and advanced to Madrid. The King was again a fugitive. The Castilians sprang to arms with the same enthusiasm which they had displayed in 1706. The conquerors found the capital a desert. The people shut themselves up in their houses, and refused to pay any mark of respect to the Austrian prince. It was necessary to hire a few children to shout before him in the streets. Meanwhile, the court of Philip, at Valladolid, was thronged by nobles and prelates. Thirty thousand people followed their King from Madrid to his new residence. Women of rank, rather than remain behind, performed the journey on foot. The peasants enlisted by thousands. Money, arms, and provisions, were supplied in abundance by the zeal of the people. The country round Madrid was infested by small parties of irregular horse. The Allies could not send off a despatch to Arragon, or introduce a supply of provisions into the capital. It was unsafe for the Archduke to hunt in the immediate vicinity of the palace which he occupied.

The wish of Stanhope was to winter in Castile. But he stood alone in the council of war; and, indeed, it is not easy to understand how the Allies could have maintained themselves through so unpropitious a season, in the midst of so hostile a population. Charles, whose personal safety was the first object of the generals, was sent with an escort of cavalry to Catalonia, in November; and, in December, the army commenced its retreat towards Arragon.

But the Allies had to do with a master-spirit. The King of France had lately sent the Duke of Vendome to command in Spain. This man was distinguished by the filthiness of his person, by the brutality of his demeanour, by the gross buffoonery of his conversation, and by the impudence with which he abandoned himself to the most nauseous of all vices. His

sluggishness was almost incredible. Even when engaged in a campaign, he often passed whole days in his bed. His strange torpidity had been the cause of some of the most severe defeats which the French had sustained in Italy and Flanders. But when he was roused by any great emergency, his resources, his energy, and his presence of mind, were such as had been found in no French general since the death of Luxembourg.

At this crisis, Vendome was all himself. He set out from Talavera with his troops; and pursued the retreating army of the Allies with a speed, perhaps never equalled, in such a season, and in such a country. He marched night and day. He swam, at the head of his cavalry, the flooded stream of Henares; and, in a few days, overtook Stanhope, who was at Brihuega with the left wing of the Allied army. 'Nobody with me,' says the English general, 'imagined that they had any foot within some 'days' march of us; and our misfortune is owing to the incredible diligence which their army made.' Stanhope had but just time to send off a messenger to the centre of the army, which was some leagues from Brihuega, before Vendome was upon him. The town was invested on every side. The walls were battered with cannon. A mine was sprung under one of the gates. The English kept up a terrible fire till their powder was spent. They then fought desperately with the bayonet against overwhelming odds. They burned the houses which the assailants had taken. But all was to no purpose. The British general saw that resistance could produce only a useless carnage. He concluded a capitulation, and his gallant little army became prisoners of war on honourable terms.

Scarcely had Vendome signed the capitulation, when he learned that Staremberg was marching to the relief of Stanhope. Preparations were instantly made for a general action. On the day following that on which the English had delivered up their arms, was fought the obstinate and bloody battle of Villa Viciosa. Staremberg remained master of the field. Vendome reaped all the fruits of the engagement. The Allies spiked their cannon, and retired towards Arragon. But even in Arragon they found no place of rest. Vendome was behind them. The guerilla parties were around them. They fled to Catalonia; but Catalonia was invaded by a French army from Roussillon. At length the Austrian general, with 6000 harassed and dispirited men, the remains of a great and victorious army, took refuge in Barcelona; almost the only place in Spain which recognised the authority of Charles.

Philip was now much safer at Madrid than his grandfather at Paris. All hope of conquering Spain in Spain was at an end. But,

in other quarters the house of Bourbon was reduced to the last extremity. The French armies had undergone a series of defeats in Germany, in Italy, and in the Netherlands. An immense force, flushed with victory, and commanded by the greatest generals of the age, was on the borders of France. Lewis had been forced to humble himself before the conquerors. He had even offered to abandon the cause of his grandson; and his offer had been rejected. But a great turn in affairs was approaching.

The English administration, which had commenced the war against the House of Bourbon, was an administration composed of Tories. But the war was a Whig war. It was the favourite scheme of William, the Whig King. Lewis had provoked it, by recognising, as sovereign of England, a prince peculiarly hateful to the Whigs. It had placed England in a position of marked hostility to that power, from which alone the Pretender could expect efficient succour. It had joined England in the closest union to a Protestant and republican state;—a state which had assisted in bringing about the Revolution, and which was willing to guarantee the execution of the Act of Settlement. Marlborough and Godolphin found that they were more zealously supported by their old opponents than by their old associates. Those ministers who were zealous for the war were gradually converted to Whiggism. The rest dropped off, and were succeeded by Whigs. Cowper became chancellor. Sunderland, in spite of the very just antipathy of Anne, was made Secretary of State. On the death of the Prince of Denmark a more extensive change took place. Wharton became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Somers President of the Council. At length the administration was wholly in the hands of the Low Church party.

In the year 1710, a violent change took place. The Queen had always been a Tory at heart. Her religious feelings were all on the side of the Established Church. Her family feelings pleaded in favour of her exiled brother. Her interest disposed her to favour the zealots of prerogative. The affection which she felt for the Duchess of Marlborough, was the great security of the Whigs. That affection had at length turned to deadly aversion. While the great party which had long swayed the destinies of Europe, was undermined by bedchamber women at Saint James's, a violent storm gathered in the country. A foolish parson had preached a foolish sermon against the principles of the Revolution. The wisest members of the government were for letting the man alone. But Godolphin, inflamed with all the zeal of a new-made Whig, and exasperated by a

nickname which was applied to him in this unfortunate discourse, insisted that the preacher should be impeached. The exhortations of the mild and sagacious Somers were disregarded. The impeachment was brought; the doctor was convicted; and the accusers were ruined. The clergy came to the rescue of the persecuted clergyman. The country gentlemen came to the rescue of the clergy. A display of Tory feelings, such as England had not witnessed since the closing years of Charles the Second's reign, appalled the ministers, and gave boldness to the Queen. She turned out the Whigs, called Harley and St John to power, and dissolved the Parliament. The elections went strongly against the late government. Stanhope, who had in his absence been put in nomination for Westminster, was defeated by a Tory candidate. The new Ministers, finding themselves masters of the new Parliament, were induced by the strongest motives to conclude a peace with France. The whole system of alliance in which the country was engaged was a Whig system. The general by whom the English armies had constantly been led to victory, and for whom it was impossible to find a substitute, was now, whatever he might formerly have been, a Whig general. If Marlborough were discarded, it was probable that some great disaster would follow. Yet, if he were to retain his command, every great action which he might perform would raise the credit of the party in opposition.

A peace was therefore concluded between England and the Princes of the House of Bourbon. Of that peace Lord Mahon speaks in terms of the severest reprehension. He is, indeed, an excellent Whig of the time of the first Lord Stanhope. 'I cannot but pause for a moment,' says he, 'to observe how much the course of a century has inverted the meaning of our party nicknames,—how much a modern Tory resembles a Whig of Queen Anne's reign, and a Tory of Queen Anne's reign a modern Whig.'

We grant one-half of Lord Mahon's proposition: from the other half we altogether dissent. We allow that a modern Tory resembles, in many things, a Whig of Queen Anne's reign. It is natural that such should be the case. The worst things of one age or nation often resemble the best things of another. The livery of an English footman outshines the royal robes of King Pomarre. A modern shopkeeper's house is as well furnished as the house of a considerable merchant in Anne's reign. Very plain people now wear finer cloth than Beau Fielding or Beau Edgeworth could have procured in Queen Anne's reign. We would rather trust to the apothecary of a modern village than

to the physician of a large town in Anne's reign. A modern boarding-school miss could tell the most learned Professor of Anne's reign some things in geography, astronomy, and chemistry, which would surprise him.

The science of government is an experimental science; and therefore it is, like all other experimental sciences, a progressive science. Lord Mahon would have been a very good Whig in the days of Harley. But Harley, whom Lord Mahon censures so severely, was very Whiggish when compared even with Clarendon; and Clarendon was quite a democrat when compared with Lord Burleigh. If Lord Mahon lives, as we hope he will, fifty years longer, we have no doubt that, as he now boasts of the resemblance which the Tories of our time bear to the Whigs of the Revolution, he will then boast of the resemblance borne by the Tories of 1882, to those immortal patriots, the Whigs of the Reform Bill.

Society, we believe, is constantly advancing in knowledge. The tail is now where the head was some generations ago. But the head and the tail still keep their distance. A nurse of this century is as wise as a justice of the quorum and cust-alarum in Shallow's time. The wooden spoon of this year would puzzle a senior wrangler of the reign of George the Second. A boy from the National School reads and spells better than half the knights of the shire in the October Club. But there is still as wide a difference as ever between justices and nurses, senior wranglers and wooden spoons, members of Parliament and children at charity schools. In the same way, though a Tory may now be very like what a Whig was 120 years ago, the Whig is as much in advance of the Tory as ever. The stag, in the Treatise on the Bathos, who 'feared his hind feet would o'ertake the 'fore,' was not more mistaken than Lord Mahon, if he thinks that he has really come up with the Whigs. The absolute position of the parties has been altered; the relative position remains unchanged. Through the whole of that great movement, which began before these party-names existed, and which will continue after they have become obsolete—through the whole of that great movement, of which the Charter of John, the institution of the House of Commons, the extinction of Villainage, the separation from the See of Rome, the expulsion of the Stuarts, the reform of the Representative System, are successive stages,—there have been, under some name or other, two sets of men;—those who were before their age, and those who were behind it—those who were the wisest among their contemporaries, and those who gloried in being no wiser than their great-grandfathers. It is delightful to think, that in due time

the last of those who straggle in the rear of the great march, will occupy the place now occupied by the advanced guard. The Tory Parliament of 1710 would have passed for a most liberal Parliament in the days of Elizabeth; and there are few members of the Conservative Club who would not have been fully qualified to sit with Halifax and Somers at the Kit-cat.

Though, therefore, we admit that a modern Tory bears some resemblance to a Whig of Queen Anne's reign, we can by no means admit that a Tory of Anne's reign resembled a modern Whig. Have the modern Whigs passed laws for the purpose of closing the entrance of the House of Commons against the new interests created by trade? Do the modern Whigs hold the doctrine of divine right? Have the modern Whigs laboured to exclude all dissenters from office and power? The modern Whigs are, indeed, like the Tories of 1712, desirous of peace, and of close union with France. But is there no difference between the France of 1712 and the France of 1832? Is France now the stronghold of the 'Popish tyranny' and the 'arbitrary power' against which our ancestors fought and prayed? Lord Mahon will find, we think, that his parallel is, in all essential circumstances, as incorrect as that which Fluellen drew between Macedon and Monmouth; or as that which an ingenious Tory lately discovered between Archbishop Williams and Archbishop Vernon.

We agree with Lord Mahon in thinking highly of the Whigs of Queen Anne's reign. But that part of their conduct which he selects for especial praise, is precisely the part which we think most objectionable. We revere them as the great champions of political and of intellectual liberty. It is true, that, when raised to power, they were not exempt from the faults which power naturally engenders. It is true, that they were men born in the seventeenth century, and that they were therefore ignorant of many truths which are familiar to the men of the nineteenth century. But they were, what the reformers of the Church were before them, and what the reformers of the House of Commons have been since,—the leaders of their species in a right direction. It is true, that they did not allow to political discussion that latitude which to us appears reasonable and safe; but to them we owe the removal of the Censorship. It is true, that they did not carry the principle of religious liberty to its full extent; but to them we owe the Toleration Act.

Though, however, we think that the Whigs of Anne's reign were, as a body, far superior in wisdom and public virtue to their contemporaries the Tories, we by no means hold ourselves bound to defend all the measures of our favourite party. A life

of action, if it is to be useful, must be a life of compromise. But speculation admits of no compromise. A public man is often under the necessity of consenting to measures which he dislikes; lest he should endanger the success of measures which he thinks of vital importance. But the historian lies under no such necessity. On the contrary, it is one of his most sacred duties to point out clearly the errors of those whose general conduct he admires.

It seems to us, then, that on the great question which divided England during the last four years of Anne's reign, the Tories were in the right, and the Whigs in the wrong. That question was, Whether England ought to conclude peace without exacting from Philip a resignation of the Spanish crown?

No Parliamentary struggle, from the time of the Exclusion Bill to the time of the Reform Bill, has been so violent as that which took place between the authors of the Treaty of Utrecht and the War Party. The Commons were for peace; the Lords were for vigorous hostilities. The Queen was compelled to choose which of her two highest prerogatives she would exercise,—whether she would create Peers, or dissolve the Parliament. The ties of party superseded the ties of neighbourhood and of blood; the members of the hostile factions would scarcely speak to each other, or bow to each other; the women appeared at the theatres bearing the badges of their political sect. The schism extended to the most remote counties of England. Talents, such as had never before been displayed in political controversy, were enlisted in the service of the hostile parties. On the one side was Steele, gay, lively, drunk with animal spirits, and with factious animosity; and Addison, with his polished satire, his inexhaustible fertility of fancy, and his graceful simplicity of style. In the front of the opposite ranks appeared a darker and fiercer spirit,—the apostate politician, the ribald priest, the perjured lover,—a heart burning with hatred against the whole human race,—a mind richly stored with images from the dung-hill and the lazar-house. The ministers triumphed, and the peace was concluded. Then came the reaction. A new sovereign ascended the throne. The Whigs enjoyed the confidence of the King and of the Parliament. The unjust severity with which the Tories had treated Marlborough and Walpole, was more than retaliated. Harley and Prior were thrown into prison; Bolingbroke and Ormond were compelled to take refuge in a foreign land. The wounds inflicted in this desperate conflict continued to rankle for many years. It was long before the members of either party could discuss the question of the peace of Utrecht with calmness and impartiality. That the Whig

Ministers had sold us to the Dutch; that the Tory Ministers had sold us to the French; that the war had been carried on only to fill the pockets of Marlborough; that the peace had been concluded only to facilitate the bringing over the Pretender;—these imputations, and many others, utterly unfounded, or grossly exaggerated, were hurled backward and forward by the political disputants of the last century. In our time the question may be discussed without irritation. We will state, as concisely as possible, the reasons which have led us to the conclusion at which we have arrived.

The dangers which were to be apprehended from the Peace were two: First, the danger that Philip might be induced, by feelings of private affection, to act in strict concert with the elder branch of his house—to favour the French trade at the expense of England—and to side with the French government in future wars; secondly, the danger that the posterity of the Duke of Burgundy might become extinct—that Philip might become heir by blood to the French crown—and that thus two great monarchies might be united under one sovereign.

The first danger appears to us altogether chimerical. Family affection has seldom produced much effect on the policy of princes. The state of Europe at the time of the peace of Utrecht, proved, that in politics the ties of interest are much stronger than those of consanguinity. The Elector of Bavaria had been driven from his dominions by his father-in-law; Victor Amadeus was in arms against his sons-in-law; Anne was seated on a throne from which she had assisted to push a most indulgent father. It is true that Philip had been accustomed from childhood to regard his grandfather with profound veneration. It was probable, therefore, that the influence of Lewis at Madrid would be very great; but Lewis was more than seventy years old; he could not live long; his heir was an infant in the cradle. There was surely no reason to think that the policy of the King of Spain would be swayed by his regard for a nephew whom he had never seen.

In fact, soon after the peace, the two branches of the House of Bourbon began to quarrel. A close alliance was formed between Philip and Charles, lately competitors for the Castilian crown. A Spanish princess, betrothed to the King of France, was sent back in the most insulting manner, to her native country; and a decree was put forth by the Court of Madrid, commanding every Frenchman to leave Spain. It is true that, fifty years after the peace of Utrecht, an alliance of peculiar

strictness was formed between the French and Spanish governments. But it is certain that both governments were actuated on that occasion, not by domestic affection, but by common interests and common enmities. Their compact, though called the Family Compact, was as purely a political compact as the league of Cambrai, or the league of Pilnitz.

The second danger was, that Philip might have succeeded to the crown of his native country. This did not happen. But it might have happened; and at one time it seemed very likely to happen. A sickly child alone stood between the King of Spain and the heritage of Lewis the Fourteenth. Philip, it is true, solemnly renounced his claims to the French Crown. But the manner in which he had obtained possession of the Spanish crown, had lately proved the inefficacy of such renunciations. The French lawyers declared the renunciation null, as being inconsistent with the fundamental law of the monarchy. The French people would probably have sided with him whom they would have considered as the rightful heir. Saint Simon, though much less the slave of prejudice than most of his countrymen, and though strongly attached to the Regent, declared, in the presence of that Prince, that he never would support the claims of the House of Orleans against those of the King of Spain. 'If such,' he said, 'be my feelings, what must be the feelings of others?' Bolingbroke, it is certain, was fully convinced, that the renunciation was worth no more than the paper on which it was written; and demanded it only for the purpose of blinding the English Parliament and people.

Yet, though it was at one time probable that the posterity of the Duke of Burgundy would become extinct, and though it is almost certain that if the posterity of the Duke of Burgundy had become extinct, Philip would have successfully preferred his claim to the crown of France, we still defend the principle of the Treaty of Utrecht. In the first place, Charles had, soon after the battle of Villa-Viciosa, inherited, by the death of his elder brother, all the dominions of the House of Austria. It might be argued, that if to these dominions he had added the whole monarchy of Spain, the Balance of Power would be seriously endangered. The union of the Austrian dominions and Spain would not, it is true, have been so alarming an event as the union of France and Spain. But Charles was actually Emperor. Philip was not, and never might be, King of France. The certainty of the less evil might well be set against the chance of the greater evil.

But, in fact, we do not believe that Spain would long have remained under the government either of the Emperor, or of the King of France. The character of the Spanish people was a better security to the nations of Europe than any will, any instrument of renunciation, or any treaty. The same energy which the people of Castile had put forth when Madrid was occupied by the Allied armies, they would have again put forth as soon as it appeared that their country was about to become a province of France. Though they were no longer masters abroad, they were by no means disposed to see foreigners set over them at home. If Philip had become King of France, and had attempted to govern Spain by mandates from Versailles, a second Grand Alliance would easily have effected what the first had failed to accomplish. The Spanish nation would have rallied against him as zealously as it had before rallied round him. And of this he seems to have been fully aware. For many years the favourite hope of his heart was, that he might ascend the throne of his grandfather; but he seems never to have thought it possible that he could reign at once in the country of his adoption, and in the country of his birth.

These were the dangers of the peace; and they seem to us to be of no very formidable kind. Against these dangers are to be set off the evils of war and the risk of failure. The evils of the war,—the waste of life, the suspension of trade, the expenditure of wealth, the accumulation of debt,—require no illustration. The chances of failure it is difficult at this distance of time to calculate with accuracy. But we think that an estimate approximating to the truth, may, without much difficulty, be formed. The Allies had been victorious in Germany, Italy, and Flanders. It was by no means improbable that they might fight their way into the very heart of France. But at no time since the commencement of the war had their prospects been so dark in that country, which was the very object of the struggle. In Spain they held only a few square leagues. The temper of the great majority of the nation was decidedly hostile to them. If they had persisted,—if they had obtained success equal to their highest expectations,—if they had gained a series of victories as splendid as those of Blenheim and Ramilies,—if Paris had fallen,—if Lewis had been a prisoner,—we still doubt whether they would have accomplished their object. They would still have had to carry on interminable hostilities against the whole population of a country which affords peculiar facilities to irregular warfare; and in which invading armies suffer more from famine than from the sword.

We are, therefore, for the peace of Utrecht. It is true, that we by no means admire the statesmen who concluded that peace. Harley, we believe, was a solemn trifler,—St John a brilliant knave. The great body of their followers consisted of the country clergy and the country gentry;—two classes of men who were then immeasurably inferior in respectability and intelligence to decent shopkeepers or farmers of our time. Parson Barnabas, Parson Trulliber, Sir Wilful Witwould, Sir Francis Wronghead, Squire Western, Squire Sullen,—such were the people who composed the main strength of the Tory party for sixty years after the Revolution. It is true that the means by which the Tories came into power in 1710, were most disreputable. It is true, that the manner in which they used their power, was often unjust and cruel. It is true, that in order to bring about their favourite project of peace, they resorted to slander and deception, without the slightest scruple. It is true, that they passed off on the British nation a renunciation which they knew to be invalid. It is true, that they gave up the Catalans to the vengeance of Philip, in a manner inconsistent with humanity and national honour. But on the great question of Peace or War, we cannot but think that, though their motives may have been selfish and malevolent, their decision was beneficial to the state.

But we have already exceeded our limits. It remains only for us to bid Lord Mahon heartily farewell, and to assure him, that whatever dislike we may feel for his political opinions, we shall always meet him with pleasure on the neutral ground of literature.

ART. X.—*The History of Parliament with a view to Constitutional Reform.* 8vo. Edinburgh: 1832.

IT is with feelings of no ordinary satisfaction that we recur to the important subject which was discussed in our last Number, under the title, 'Working and Prospects of the Reform.' What we then hoped, though certainly with some confidence, has come to pass; indeed, our sanguine expectations have been exceeded. 'The exultation of the enemies of Reform' HAS 'ceased; they' HAVE 'abandoned their fond hopes that the bill 'would not work; they' HAVE 'given up their vain expectations that it was so full of errors as to be inoperative.' (No. xxi. p. 245.) 'A large majority of our fifty-three' ARE 'men 'of liberal principles; but with hardly any mixture of wild, 'fantastic theorists, and none of profligate speculators in confusion;' and we believe, though of course here we speak with less confidence, that 'the whole representatives, at least in 'Great Britain,' ARE 'chosen in something like the same proportion.' (Ib. p. 249.) The subject of that Paper is now fit to be resumed; and we shall therefore, without farther preface, request the reader's attention to some of the remarks which the late election of the first freely chosen Parliament is calculated to suggest;—both as regards the working of the Bill in that election; the farther measures which, like all works of human law-givers, may be required to perfect, or even to mend it; and the kind of Parliament which it seems to have given the country.

The first consideration that attracts our notice is naturally the manner in which the Reform Bill has performed its office—'the working of the Bill.' And here it will at once be admitted that never was success more complete. All the sanguine hopes of friends have been surpassed, and the confident predictions of the enemy have been most signally disappointed. That so great a change could be effected without much difficulty and many unforeseen obstructions—that a machinery, such as the Bill had created, could be put in motion so as to work truly and smoothly—still more, that it should perform all its movements without misadventure—seemed hardly possible. No one would have been greatly surprised had it come to a stand from some unforeseen impediment, something unprovided for,—that numberless events should occur of which no account had been taken, seemed almost certain:—that for the first time, and until tried and adjusted, it should be found barely capable of going on and doing its appointed office, appeared almost as much as could be

expected. Nothing of the kind; it has performed all its work from the beginning to the end without even a jar. We speak merely of its parts such as they are, and its work and manner of working as appointed: that the experience of this first election has pointed out, in both form and substance, several obvious improvements, and improvements easily made, there cannot be any doubt.

If we were called upon to name the parts of the Bill which have the most completely answered, or rather surpassed expectation, we should point to the Registry and its consequence, the manner of taking the Poll. With all reformers a registry has, at every period of the question, been a very favourite object; and yet its extreme difficulty has always been felt and acknowledged. It has now been attained, and with very little inconvenience—with none which may not be remedied hereafter, or which is necessarily inherent in every such arrangement. The principal inconveniences apprehended were—the litigation which would be occasioned for a great length of time, while the scrutiny was going on—and the number of voters who would not be registered. The former has been found much less considerable, both in expense and tediousness, than was expected. The latter is, to a certain degree, inseparable from all registration. In truth, you are placed in this dilemma—unless the excitement of a pending contest operate at the moment, voters will not register themselves; and yet the main use of the registry is to have their claims decided when men's passions are not roused. Moreover, if a contest is going on, the candidates or their partisans are likely to take upon themselves the labour and the expense of registering their supporters; and thus a door is opened to the very costliness, the influence, and the bribery, which registration is intended to exclude. Much of this evil, however, is temporary, and can only occur at the first. Wherever the process has been gone through with tolerable completeness, it has been performed once for all; and there remains nothing to be done but to register the changes from year to year. We apprehend that wherever there has been an expectation of a contest, the process has been tolerably complete; and that in other places it has been prevented by obstructions easily remedied, especially in the counties. We allude particularly to the extremely injudicious provision of the bill throwing the expense, though trifling, upon the voters. We doubt if any thing so absurd, and indeed paltry as this saving, effected by the landed interest, was ever before attempted or imagined. It was said to be in order that the county rates should not be burdened—that is, loaded with the fraction of a feather. Take the case of Southern Northum-

berland, where, we perceive, about 5000 voters may have been registered by the members in the late contest. The rental of the county, if we rightly remember the returns of the income tax, was a million and a quarter; and of the southern division it may have been L.800,000. To pay the shillings for 5000 votes would, therefore, have cost a gentleman of L.1200 a-year, exactly three half-crowns; and the county rates would have been burdened to the serious, and it may truly be said, *incalculable* amount of not one farthing, nor yet one third of a farthing in the pound; but 3-10th parts of one farthing. Or take the West Riding of Yorkshire, the rental of which was two millions—the registered votes about 10,000—the shilling duty would have been an addition to the county rate of less than a quarter of a farthing in the pound; and this not yearly, but once for all—never to be paid again to the end of time. For the expense of registering a few votes every year, would clearly be below the powers of any calculation; in as much as a hundred such registrations would only throw upon the rates the four hundredth part of a farthing in the pound. The removal of this gross absurdity, and perhaps some alteration of the rules as to payment of rates in towns, would facilitate the process as far as can be effected. The people, too, will become better acquainted with it; and many of the foolish prejudices which obstructed it, in England especially, may be expected to wear away, as they were the result of ignorance and inadvertence. Thus, if the landlords were wholly inexcusable for the piece of thrift which we have adverted to, the tenants and yeomanry were no less absurd on their part, who doggedly refused to register themselves,—saying, ‘they had always voted without being registered, and did not see why they should have any thing of the kind done now.’ In general, we believe, that in the new Burghs, and certainly in Scotland, the alacrity to be registered was the most conspicuous. To our countrymen, the novelty of exercising political rights proved, as might be expected, a strong stimulus; and they were, generally speaking, willing to comply with the conditions upon which the franchise was to be enjoyed.

The success of the plan for taking the poll at various places at the same time, while the whole was restricted to two days, has been most complete, and without the least alloy. This also had long been a favourite object with all reformers; and they have been highly gratified to find its good effects so universally admitted, even by the stoutest enemies of reform. We, in this part of the country, where popular elections were never before known, cannot judge of the improvement which has thus been effected; but in England it is allowed on all

hands, to have been most important and most manifest. No man could have expected a few years ago, to see the day when all the inhabitants of the metropolis, a million and a half in number, should hold eight elections to return sixteen representatives—each election producing a keenly fought contest—and all over in two days; with so much quiet that it might not be very easy to believe any election at all was going on; while every voter could go at his leisure, and at whatever hour best suited his convenience, give his vote and retire, unconscious that he had been near any crowd. In like manner was South Lancashire polled out, with as much quiet as a vestry could be holden, and in two winter days,—having a population of near a million, and embracing Manchester, Liverpool, and a whole cluster of the most populous manufacturing towns.

The exceptions to this account of tranquillity and order were few and trifling. In some four or five places there were riotous proceedings; in none such tumult as to prevent all the voters from exercising the franchise with ease and safety, either on the day appointed, or on the day to which the interruption occasioned an adjournment; so that the rioters never in any instance accomplished the object of preventing the return being made according to the sense of those who had the right of voting. All the direct operation of force has, therefore, been completely excluded; and the voters have been every where enabled, with perfect security, and without the least trouble, to exercise their rights.

In another particular, and a far more important one, it must be admitted that the new system has failed to work all the improvement that could have been wished. Open violence has been effectually prevented; but influence has not yet been subdued. This influence is of two descriptions, and we shall consider each in its turn. The one is that of Bribery—the other that of Intimidation. But upon both of these heads it must in fairness be remembered, that the Reform has nothing to answer for;—if it has not removed the evils of the old system, it has at least, except in two particulars, to be afterwards mentioned, added nothing to them. The worst that can be laid to its charge is, the having removed a large portion of them, and left some still remaining.

That bribery has not been completely prevented by the Reform must be allowed; and the door is plain through which it has been suffered to enter. The worst part of the Bill was all along felt to be the continuance of the *Freeman* right of voting. That class is, beyond doubt, the very worst to which the franchise could have been intrusted; more especially that portion of

it that obtains the right by inheritance. Those who become free by apprenticeship are, generally speaking, of a better description; being persons of industrious habits, and some substance. But those who have the right, merely because their parents had earned it, are as little likely to deserve it, as the descendants of men ennobled for their merit are to possess the same qualities. This is, indeed, the worst form of hereditary title: it has none of the few safeguards which exist in those of a higher description, while it has all their drawbacks. It must be recollected, too, that in the old boroughs the habit of receiving bribes had become general and inveterate. All sense of shame was extinguished by its prevalence; the whole caste of Freemen deemed it part of their privilege to be bought and sold; and men, even in other respects of reputable character, were often found accessible to this customary corruption, at least in its more mitigated form of headmoney. When the body of Freemen generally were habituated to such practices, a great number of them were sure to be found in each place, sunk in the lowest state of venality and corruption—selling themselves for a price, or like cattle, bartered by wholesale dealers in the crime. It is beyond all question clear, that the late elections have exhibited instances of bribery among the Freemen, on a scale that would have done credit to the worst days of the old system. And this is the place to mention one of the two particulars, wherein we have said that the Reform has somewhat increased the evil. The registry gives each party a pretty accurate view of the state of the poll beforehand. All the voters are known, and a tolerable estimate can be formed how the case is likely to stand on the vote. The candidate sees that there are a thousand respectable householders, whom no bribe can reach. Of these, he finds he shall have four hundred, and his adversary five; and that a hundred may be undecided, or may not vote at all. But he likewise sees that three hundred Freemen are registered, and of these there may be two hundred whom money will procure. If he can buy the whole, or nearly the whole of these, and obtain his half of the better sort who won't take bribes, the election is secure. The knowledge of the exact numbers wanted, and the certainty that each vote, when purchased, will prove good, facilitates in a considerable degree this most infamous and execrable crime. The continuance of the right in Freemen is deeply to be lamented. Whether the wisdom and energy of the new Parliament will at once apply the remedy, by altering this part of the former act, or will rest satisfied for the present with proceedings against the perpetrators of the offence, it is impossible to foresee. But the country has a right to require,

that if the less effectual measure is adopted—if, for the present, the Freemen are suffered to retain the right they have in so many places abused—at least, wherever the case can be proved, they shall be disfranchised in a body. It may not be fit to visit the sins of some communities which have disgraced themselves upon the whole body of Freemen throughout the country; but in whatever place that class of voters shall be proved to have renewed those scenes, which made the name of Liverpool so famous two years ago, and had wellnigh disfranchised the borough for ever, the Freemen should as a body be disfranchised in such places; and the right of election, so grievously abused by them, confined to the respectable members of the elective body.

The other evil which has not been extirpated by the Reform presents much greater difficulties. It is by no means in itself of so crying a nature as the corruption which debases the morals of the people, but it defeats the whole purposes of the elective franchise. We refer, of course, to the influence exercised over voters by those upon whom they are in some degree dependent, — as by landlords over their tenants, or customers over tradesmen. We have said that there were two particulars in which the new system might be said to have given greater scope to bribery and to influence than they had before; and one of these, relating to bribery, has been explained. The other relates to influence through the extension of the franchise to leaseholders, but more especially through the provision forced upon the Ministers by the House of Commons, for giving votes to tenants at will. The avowed object of the Tories in this was to increase the direct influence of the landed interest—giving, as it were, so many votes to each landowner; for unless it did so, the landed interest gained nothing by the change. Those statesmen, then, of all others, cannot be heard to contend that the tenantry, and especially the tenants at will, are free, and exercise the right of voting without any control; for that right was given them by those statesmen, in order that it might be exercised at the will of their landlords.

The case of agricultural tenants is most frequently referred to as that which exhibits the effect of influence and intimidation; and *tenant*, in the larger sense of the word, comprehends not merely the person who by the provision of the bill votes in respect of his leasehold, but him also who, being a leaseholder to a considerable amount, is also a freeholder, and who, therefore, may be induced to exercise his freehold right of voting under the influence of the landlord of his rented farm. Long before the Reform, it is well known that many tenants in England, especially in counties where contests had been frequent,

were possessed of forty-shilling freeholds; and others had acquired or inherited freehold property, without any view to the qualification. But the number of tenants who can vote, consequently the amount of landlords' influence over voters, has certainly been increased by the Bill; and especially by the clause qualifying tenants at will. It is, however, by no means true, that this constitutes the only species of influence, or that which operates the most hardly, or the most extensively, in elections. The tradesman suffers from his customers, perhaps, in a worse way; for he is exposed to the threats of a class who have far less fellow-feeling with him, and for whom he naturally has less respect and kindness, than a tenant has for his landlord. Nor is it any mitigation of the evil that he may have customers on both sides, while the force upon the tenant must needs all operate in one direction. It is no comfort to the shopkeeper, when half a dozen of his customers threaten him if he votes for A, that as many should threaten him if he votes for B. He has but the choice between the two losses, and he may vote for neither party,—that is, disfranchise himself, and possibly offend both.

But a third class of voters is in a still worse state; and theirs is the case where influence operates in its most unmitigated form: indeed influence is not the name—oppression and tyranny are the words that justly belong to it. We refer to the unfortunate occupiers of houses in towns, who can only drive the trade which supports them in the premises they possess; and who, if turned out, must perish, even though they should find another shelter, their means of subsistence being gone. The influence of landlords over tenants in the country had long been known; but, partly from the kindly footing on which these classes generally stood with one another, partly from the numbers not being very large in proportion to the whole voters, it never had excited much irritation, either on the part of the voters, whose rights were more or less disturbed, or of the country, which saw elections swayed by other considerations than the free choice of the electors. But of late, experiments have been tried both upon the patience of tradesmen and tenants in towns, and upon the forbearance of the public;—and tried too upon so large a scale, and with circumstances of such aggravated harshness, such ostentatious tyranny,—that the question begins to assume a new form; and those who before doubted the necessity of interfering to protect the voter from such oppression, and the country from its consequences, seem to think the time come when the legislature can no longer stand aloof, and suffer each man 'to do as he likes with his own.' In some places cus-

tomers have combined and given notice to shopkeepers that at their peril they voted for a certain candidate. This has been done extensively in certain towns where the great enemies of reform bear sway among the upper classes; but it has been also tried upon a great scale in places where the Trades Unions and the Political Unions have influence; and large bodies of workmen have threatened retail dealers and publicans with deserting their shops immediately, unless they should support the man of their choice—that is, the man selected by their leaders. It is satisfactory to hear, what we believe to be the case, that in no one instance have the candidates, supported either by threatening Conservative Clubs, or threatening Unions, been returned to Parliament. That several, both of the Clubs and Unions, have succeeded in returning members, may be true; but there is no instance, as far as we have been able to ascertain, where either the one or the other employed with success the threat of not dealing,—or that which in Ireland, the native place of this tyrannous invention, is called *exclusive dealing*.

But a far greater success has attended another form of oppression. Landlords and their agents have driven whole streets of their tenantry to the poll, like droves of cattle to the market. In one town, the landlord openly avowed his intention of thus forcing the return. In another, after the election was over, the occupiers of a Peer's houses, who had dared to obey the King's writ, and choose two Burgesses to represent them, were served, to the number of some threescore, with notices to quit, by way of revenge, or at least of punishment, to deter others from offending in that behalf. In a third place, the landlord had actually, with a view to the election, taken the precaution of making his yearly tenants, on pain of notice to quit, give up their holdings, and become weekly tenants, so that they might, on the first disobedience, be turned into the streets, within seven days at farthest, nay possibly within as many hours; for he had only to follow up this proceeding, (for which we cannot find any adequate name,) with another not one whit worse, and give the week's notice so as to expire on the day of the poll; and then the voter who exercised his right against his landlord's wishes, left the booth with the conscious satisfaction of having discharged his duty to his country, and the certainty of sleeping with his family in the street that very night, in December.

Such are certainly the worst instances of intimidation being successful in England and Scotland. But both there, though very partially, and in Ireland, upon an extensive scale, actual force has been resorted to. In some of the English boroughs

we understand that the mobs have been set on to maltreat those who favoured the unpopular candidate. This has happened, however, so rarely, and to so inconsiderable an extent, that we might safely pass it over;—especially as the admirable arrangements of the Bill have exceedingly diminished the risk of such proceedings proving effectual to interrupt the elections. But in Ireland it is far otherwise. Every engine of oppression has been used by the agitators, and in some instances by the priests; and not seldom by the two classes of agitators, the lay and the clerical, in conflict with each other. The system which in that unhappy country has for a long time prevailed, of threatening the lives of those who presume to disobey the mandates of the cabals that seek to defy the law, has been resorted to generally at recent elections; and the accounts of these proceedings in this country, so peaceful and even tranquil, are there more like the details of military than of political operations. In a single county, we perceive that shots were fired at the candidate's carriage;—houses of freeholders surrounded by armed mobs, and the inhabitants having votes forced to promise, with pistols at their breasts,—or as the phrase is, 'to pledge themselves;' voters surrounded and carried off, or maltreated; escorts of soldiers required to carry them in a precarious safety to and from the polling booths; and in one place, a trench dug across the road to stop and upset the mail coach, which was conveying, or suspected of conveying to the poll, voters who opposed the repeal candidate!

Now we believe no man will venture deliberately to deny, that if such practices continue,—whether the violent outrages upon the law in Ireland, or the more dangerous and more subtle violations of all right which in England elude the law, or break it more effectually, because more securely, than if they openly invaded it—they will become so utterly intolerable, so inconsistent with even the shadow of free choice, that a remedy must be administered; and that the only question will be, whether or not the remedy which may be propounded, is likely to be effectual, in case it should be attended with evils which we ought not to encounter unless sure of success. We are aware that in these words we have described the BALLOT.

Were the Ballot unattended with mischief, there is no doubt that the continuance and spreading of the oppressions we have been describing, would fully justify, nay would demand a resort to it, even if its efficacy was more than questionable; because the evil complained of has become so crying, that we should be justified in trying a remedy, if there was even a

chance of cure, provided it could do no harm. But if it is attended with mischief, the question comes to be most important, what chance it affords of producing the good sought from its operation; because if that chance is but slender, we are bound to consider the price paid. This enquiry, therefore, resolves itself into three:—1. Will the Ballot protect the voter? 2. Will it produce mischief, whether it succeeds or fails in giving protection? 3. If it protects the voter, is that benefit sufficient to outweigh the mischiefs it occasions?

On each of these questions we shall offer a few remarks, rather as the materials for reflection, than by way of exhausting the subject; still less of coming to a peremptory decision of what appears to be a matter involved in much doubt, and for determining which, the facts are not sufficiently before us. Thus much we may confidently state, that the expedient in question has of late assumed a form entirely new, as regards its importance. The recent conduct of certain English proprietors and clubs, and of Irish agitators and priests, has advanced it most rapidly in the good opinion of the country. Those persons alone are answerable, but the English proprietors above them all, for the space which the Ballot now fills in the public eye. And if it shall be resorted to, and shall be admitted to be a bad remedy for a worse evil, we have them to thank for making that evil so unbearable that we should have been driven to bear any alternative rather than endure it longer. To them, assuredly, it is owing that we are now engaged seriously in discussing what a year or two ago we should have deemed hardly worth any argument. The Ultra Tories have brought many ills upon their country; they, and their natural allies, seditious mobs, in both parts of the empire, may possibly add *this* to the catalogue. Let us, however, examine the matter a little in detail.

1. Will the Ballot be effectual to its purpose of protecting the voter from injury, and preventing candidates from bribing? Will it put an end to intimidation and corruption? That such is its tendency cannot be denied. At first sight it looks as if it must with certainty produce the desired effect, and to the full extent. Perhaps even the closest inspection, the most practical consideration, may still leave it in possession of a portion of this virtue; but there seems no reason to doubt that very material deductions must be made in accommodating the theory to the practice.

First of all, let us consider the case so much referred to, of agricultural tenants, for whose sake chiefly the doctrine of the Ballot was originally broached. It is admitted that the farmer may thus conceal from his landlord for whom he votes, and that for a time at least, it may be kept secret. But this supposes that

he has actually given his vote. Will he be suffered to do so unless the landlord can depend upon him? He has been canvassed; he has either stated how he should vote, or refused to give any answer. In the latter case, the landlord will set him down as suspected; in the former, it will depend on his way of answering. But the canvasser has other means than the mere answer, of examining the trustworthiness of the voters. They are known to entertain certain opinions; to associate with certain persons; to express themselves for, or against the candidates. It will only be upon a due sifting, by all such means, that the farmer can be expected to pass muster, and be suffered to give his vote. If he cannot be trusted, he will either be paired off with some known adversary, or at least required to remain at home. The argument for the Ballot all along presupposes two things;—the existence of power in the landlord over the tenant, and the disposition to use it oppressively. The farmer will therefore be forced to pair or stay away, unless the landlord can make sure of his vote, and ‘trust him in the dark.’

Suppose, however, that the poor man has escaped the scrutiny; and that all depends on the answer he gives to the canvasser. He has one way, and one way only, of being allowed to exercise the franchise; he must boldly and openly assert that he is for the landlord’s candidate, when he means to vote secretly against him; he must act this part skilfully, and not over-act it; he must put on the air of frankness and honesty whilst conscious of telling an untruth, and of plotting to deceive. This is an art not very easily learnt; but we will suppose it acquired, and practised so successfully that the farmer is allowed to vote. The first risk he runs of a discovery is from the calculations of the canvassers, who, now that the polling goes on in several places at once, are enabled to check the hourly returns from each booth with their canvass-books, and—especially if they have a note from the poll-clerks of who came up during the hour—to tell pretty accurately whether promises have been kept or broken. One or two may escape, but more cannot. Hence certain persons are set down as suspected of having played false, and are watched ever after. The next chance of detection is in the daily conversation of the voter himself, especially if watched from being suspected. Does any one that knows the habits of country people doubt the truth coming out in the course of a few weeks? But an oppressive landlord (and the case supposes such a one), without having obtained proof against his tenant, will be apt to turn him out on grave suspicion,

Nay, if he is a violent and capricious man (and perhaps we might say that the case supposes such a one also), he will do so upon a very slight suspicion, and by way of keeping his vassals in fear and dependency. It is clear that the tenantry of such a lord will very speedily wish for the protection of open voting; and if the Ballot be still continued, will protect themselves against it by not voting at all. That alone can save them, both from the charge of perfidy, and the danger of ejection.

Much of this reasoning is applicable to the tenants of town houses, but not the whole. In particular, they are far less liable to be watched; and can more easily turn aside impertinent questions. They have very little intercourse with the landlord and his agents; and they vote in most cases among a greater number of other persons: although, certainly, there are some towns, or parts of towns, where one landlord owns so many houses, that he may, by a resident agent and practised canvasser, and the resources of the spy system, which would speedily connect itself with the Ballot, set at defiance all attempts at concealment. It may be said that the tenants of such a district would be a match for the landlord, who never could afford to turn out scores of occupiers, and suffer whole streets to be untenanted. But, in the first place, this argument is contrary to the supposition, and would go to prove the Ballot unnecessary; in the next place, the process which the landlord would take is manifestly of a different kind, though as effectual;—he would make examples of some to deter others; and lastly, the threat would operate on all, for though each might know it would not be universally executed, no one could tell that the vengeance would not fall on him. Upon the whole, we take it to be clear, that though the owner of a few houses would lose his power of intimidation by the Ballot, the great landlord, against whom its protection is mainly wanted, would be as strong as before; and that the tenants here, as in the case of farmers, would find it necessary to protect themselves against the arts of spies, the whispers of informers, the malice of tale-bearers and tale-makers (trades generally united in the same individuals), and the partial counsel of agents;—in a word, would find it necessary to protect themselves, by refusing to vote at all; so that here, as in the other case, the Ballot, instead of protecting the voter, would disfranchise him.

It is true we have all along been proceeding upon the supposition, that while the mode of taking the vote is altered, other things will remain the same;—that men will continue to ask votes; to be ‘instant in season and out of season,’ like good canvassers, and not ready to take a refusal—that voters will con-

tinue to discourse among themselves, and in their families, upon the great topic of the day,—the approaching, or pending, or past election—and that a seat in Parliament will continue to be the object of strong desire, and one to obtain which rich and powerful men will eagerly give their time, their money, and their influence. This last is one of the suppositions involved in the very question of Ballot. But all these things we had a good right to assume, for they are morally inherent in our nature, or our habits (which is the same thing), and far beyond the reach of any act of Parliament.

If the Ballot had been coeval with our elective system, the case, we readily admit, would have been different. Our feelings and our habits would have been fitted to it, and have grown up in harmony with it,—always supposing that it had continued to be a really secret method of voting. To ask a vote, still more to ask a question as to how a vote had been given, would no more have entered into any man's mind, than it now does to overlook a person when he is writing, or to open letters directed to another. But we are considering what protection the Ballot, now first introduced, will give to men whose habits are already formed and cannot be changed—at least not during the few years that they would bear such an experiment to be tried.

Another, and a most serious difficulty, springs from the same source. In order that the experiment may have any chance of succeeding, the prevailing opinion must be in its favour. It may plainly be rendered inoperative by the community being much divided respecting its merits; for those who have an aversion to it will make a point of not taking the benefit of it, and will ostentatiously declare their votes. In what kind of predicament will this place those who choose to vote secretly? Will they not be charged with concealing their votes for some reason best known to themselves? The most perfect state of things for giving the Ballot fair play—but one which it would be absurdly romantic to expect—would be the absolute inaction of all landlords, candidates, canvassers, committees,—the non-existence of all electioneering machinery—so that not a word should ever be said to any voter either before, or at, or after the election, upon any one matter relating to it. Yet all this would avail exactly nothing, if a number of voters, hating the plan of secret voting, were to declare publicly for whom they voted—if the occupiers of half the street owned by the great man, were to march up with his candidate's name in their hats—for he and his agents would very soon begin to enquire what had become of the rest of the street. We wish not to go at present into the details of any plan of Ballot; but rather to assume that means

may be devised of securing secrecy; and yet we feel the greatest difficulty in imagining how any contrivance could prevent a voter who was desirous of showing how he voted, from disclosing it at the moment to some one on the spot. It may be possible to keep at a distance the parties and their agents; indeed, unless this possibility is granted, there is an end of the whole question; but it seems hardly practicable to cut off a voter so completely from all persons as to prevent him letting his vote with certainty be known to some one, if he is resolved to show it.

The argument which has now been maintained applies to a certain extent, but with materially diminished force, to the case of tradesmen in towns; and in proportion to the size of the town the force of the argument is impaired. Indeed it is here, if anywhere, that the Ballot appears capable of affording protection. The circumstance which chiefly distinguishes the case of Tradesman and Customer from that of Tenant and Landlord, is the subdivision of the influence in the former case, and its concentration in the latter. The landlord is one; he acts by one agent, or set of agents. To give unity to his proceedings, and make them available to the accomplishment of his purpose, no combination is required; and this, although it makes his power the more formidable, renders evasion by means of the Ballot more hopeless; because the same man who will threaten to eject, will not fail to take every inquisitorial step, and employ all the resources of vigilance—agents, informers, spies—to detect a breach of engagement. A body of customers can hardly do this; practically, it would in all likelihood be found that they never made any such attempt. The probability is, that customers would no longer canvass their tradesmen, or endeavour to sway their votes. In narrow districts they might do so; but in a large town the practice would most likely cease, when the votes were to be given in secret. If anywhere, then, we think in such places the protection would be obtained.

But it must in fairness be stated, that even here, there are circumstances to lessen the value of that protection. If the spirit of the contest runs high, extraordinary zeal among the members of the community may produce combinations; and a scrutiny almost as severe as that of a landlord among his tenants, or a master among his workmen. Let us suppose such a feeling to exist as lately embodied the multitudes of persons having no votes in some of the new boroughs in Lancashire,—especially if organized associations, or Unions existed. The being suspected of secretly favouring an unpopular candidate might, with such bodies, go far to ruin the tradesman who voted by Ballot. In the fear of incurring their displeasure, many a shopkeeper would

be fain not to vote at all; and that, even when he intended to support their favourite—for he would find this the only absolute security against their vengeance. Thus, even in the case where the Ballot seems the most likely to afford protection, it is very far from being a safeguard that can be relied upon.

For the like reason, it is clear, that against the excesses of popular violence—against the kind of influence exerted in the Irish elections—against priests and agitators, and armed bands, and the infuriate rabble, whether of the towns or the peasantry,—it would be a most inefficient protection. Whoever was known to vote by the Ballot, would be exposed to suspicion, if he was not one of whose steady attachment the person of influence, the tyrant of the mob, whether priest or agitator, had the most implicit assurance; and even those who had voted the most steadily, could never be safe against the machinations of their enemies, secretly insinuating in the ears of those directors of the popular fury surmises which might in a moment point it to their destruction. At present, the victim of those oppressors is at least safe if he obeys their commands. Under the Ballot, the probability is that many who now vote openly would not dare to encounter the suspicion to which they might expose themselves; for that in Ireland it should become the practice for the rulers of the multitude to leave voters to themselves, merely because the franchise was exercised in secret, is what no one, however slight may have been his acquaintance with that unhappy country, would expect.

Is the Ballot more likely to prevent bribery on the candidate's part than intimidation on the voter's? That its direct tendency is to facilitate bribery on the voter's part, cannot be denied: if any one can be found to bribe him, he is enabled to do the service purchased in perfect security. But it is said, that as he may betray his employer, and take the money without doing the work, no one will be disposed to give any for so precarious a chance. Bribing, to pair off, or to stay away, it is admitted, cannot be reached by the Ballot; but bribing actually to vote, it is contended, may. We greatly question the view thus taken, both of electors and candidates. In the first place, all the arguments against the possibility of concealment apply directly to this part of the question; for if the voter is pretty sure that his treachery will be discovered sooner or later, he will do the bribe-worthy service for his own sake. Why should he not? A person capable of taking a bribe is not very likely to have any romantic notions of public duty, or any strong attachment to political principles; and as for the risk of his taking bribes on both sides (which the Ballot, be it observed in passing, enables

him to do,) it is not so likely as to form any part of the candidate's practical calculations. But, in the next place, and chiefly, will not the eagerness of the parties, the one to gain his election, the other to obtain his shameful hire, find means to evade the law? One method is obvious, and quite sure of being resorted to. Instead of paying the money for the vote when promised, a bargain will be made to pay it if the party is elected; and thus every bribed voter will be converted into a zealous partisan, whose vile interest is the same with that of the more vile persons that have bought his services, as well as his conscience, with a price. That the laws against bribery, in all its forms, demand revision, and that severe examples must be made in those places where the existing law has been violated, we are ready to admit. That the Ballot, favouring as it does every species of corruption in the voter, is calculated to destroy the intention to corrupt him, on the part of the candidate and his friends, we cannot perceive. The balance in regard to bribery appears plainly against it.

2. Having ascertained how slender the protection is which the Ballot can bestow, we may now shortly consider the price to be paid for it. Far be it from us, in pursuing this argument, to use exaggerated or declamatory language. The controversy has been, very unnecessarily, and very unfortunately, mixed up with much angry contention; and almost equally by both sides. They who object to the Ballot are not only charged with weakness, folly, and want of common understanding, but roundly accused of favouring corrupt influence, and desiring to see tyranny and intimidation triumph. They, again, who favour the Ballot, are not only sneered at as theorists, visionaries, and the advocates of an un-English custom, but are more than half suspected of underrating the sacred obligations of a promise, and encouraging the practice of dissimulation. We have very recently seen well-known Journalists maintaining, on the one hand, that whoever opposed the Ballot must be dishonest; and on the other, that a person who befriended it disregarded truth and honour. It is hard to say which of those absurdities is the more revolting, and argues the greatest intemperance and inconsiderateness. The question is not to be decided by such bandying of hard names;—by substituting for strong arguments bad words, and miscalling either the advocate or the cause. The Ballot may be a theory, and yet a well-founded one;—it may be a foreign invention, and yet a beneficial one, which it becomes us to import. Its friends, too, may have the most perfect regard for truth, and set the highest value upon obligations of honour; because their support of it may depend on their belief that it tends

to the violation of neither. While, to charge its enemies with a wish to screen oppression, is abundantly absurd, and indeed a plain blunder; inasmuch as their objection mainly rests upon the proof of its affording no shelter to the voter, and interposing no obstruction in the oppressor's way.

Laying aside all those unseemly and childish topics, of railing rather than argument, the question remains to be asked, does the Ballot tend to shake the morals of the community? And here again we must assume, that the support of the voter is an object of anxious desire with the candidate, and his principal friends; for upon this the whole case for the Ballot turns. We must farther assume that no law can prevent canvassing; and that under the new, as under the existing system, voters will be solicited by those having power over them, and will be called upon to declare their intentions. Then, in what way can the Ballot protect,—or rather, in what way does it profess to protect, the voter who dreads the displeasure of his landlord, his master, or his customer? Simply by enabling him to promise one way and vote another, without being found out. But suppose the new law were to prohibit all canvassing, so that no one should be called on to declare his sentiments—to promise or refuse; and suppose, what is plainly impossible, that it were effectually to prohibit all equivalent proceedings;—such as sounding voters by third parties, asking indirect questions, discussing political points bearing on the contest, and so forth—and suppose the voter, without ever having opened his lips upon the matter, or even made any sign by which his intention could be conjectured, gives his secret vote—is the law farther to seal the lips of all men, including the voter, at all moments, and in all companies, after the election is over? This is manifestly impracticable; and if it were, would be a tyranny, worse by a great deal, than any which can now be complained of. Then the voter's whole life must be so adjusted as to deceive the person whose vengeance he has reason to dread. Having first deceived him that he might be allowed to vote, he must go on keeping up the deception, that he may not be punished for the double offence—the disobedience and the treachery. We really do not see how any man can doubt that such a life of deception would be the lot of the voter whom the Ballot had effectually protected; and still less can we comprehend how such a life could be led without utter ruin to the voter's honesty. It is said, indeed, that slavish obedience ruins a man's character as much. But in what way is slavery fatal to virtue?—Chiefly by eradicating all sense of honour, all love of truth. The great corrupter of the heart is that fear which is

at once the bitterest, and the most debasing part of the slave's lot. But it works corruption and debasement mainly by making falsehood familiar. If, then, the Ballot familiarizes falsehood, it is as bad as oppression; but it is clear that the oppression we are treating of does not degrade like other tyranny;—it teaches no falsehood. A voter is compelled not to vote according to his conscience, or even to vote contrary to his conscience. His lot is most hard; the conduct of his oppressor is execrable; no epithet is so bad that he has not amply earned it: but still his dependent deceives no one in the vote he gives; he votes avowedly under compulsion. The public is injured, no doubt; and by the Ballot this injury is avoided, for the real, though carefully concealed opinion of the voter is fairly represented. But this appears to be a good purchased too dear, when it can only be obtained by the habitual practice of deception on the voter's part. Suppose a whole district under one influence: the Ballot, it is said, enables all its electors to choose whom they please, by only pretending to have an opinion the very reverse of that which their secret votes have expressed. It may safely be affirmed that this is not the only deception which will be known in that district.

But there is another and a most important consideration to be kept in view. The representative, all admit, even the most strenuous friends of the Ballot, must exercise his functions openly, and in the face of his constituents, to whom he is responsible. Nor can any exception be allowed in favour of those members who are under the influence of powerful persons. Officers in the army, servants of the East India Company and the Bank, practising barristers and solicitors, whose bread may depend on friends or clients, mercantile men having connexions in trade at home or abroad—all must vote in open day, although their vote may be their ruin. Then, is not the franchise of the elector also to be exercised, and for the same reason, in the face of the country! The voter is responsible to the public as well as the member; he has a public trust to discharge. His franchise is not a property which he holds for his own profit or gratification, but a power conferred upon him, to be exercised for the benefit of the state. What security can the state have that it shall be honestly exercised, if it is to be used in the dark? The advocates of the Ballot appear always to have viewed this subject from one side; they have found that intimidation deterred some voters, and have therefore seen in secrecy only a protection to conscience. They have forgotten that corruption swayed others, and that here publicity is the safeguard against fraud. As the representative may often find it difficult,

sometimes hardly possible, to perform his duty when ruin awaits him, so may the elector; but the evil of exposing both to this danger, and of thus exposing the state to the risk of an honest opinion being withheld through fear, is less than the evil of enabling the one and the other to exercise their functions unseen by their fellow-citizens, and under the influence of feelings which they may gratify in the dark, and dare not avow.

Strong as this reasoning appears to us, in whatever way the elective franchise is distributed, it seems altogether irresistible when that franchise is confined to a certain class,—those possessing property of a certain amount. On whatever principle, however, the selection is made, the existence of a select body endowed with the privilege of election is that which so greatly fortifies the argument for publicity. Those individuals, assuredly, are bound to regard themselves, if any men are, as acting for others as well as for their own interest; and those others who have no votes are entitled to know how a trust so nearly affecting them is exercised. To them the electors are responsible in some sort, as the members are to the electors; and if by secret votes the whole feelings and opinions of the non-electors may be set at nought, and the choice made without the least sympathy or approval on their part, no one can doubt their right to demand an instant extension of the franchise. But this would not cure the evil, as long as any large classes remained non-electors; and, however desirable it might be that the whole people should be in circumstances both of independence and of education, which might justify their being comprehended in the qualification, we believe there are not many persons who seriously think it would be safe, at present, to give every male of full age the power of choosing members by Ballot. That this power may hereafter be greatly extended is not unlikely; that it may ultimately receive even the fullest extension is possible. No man can pretend to set bounds to the progress of this, any more than of any other improvement in our institutions; but, for the present, there seems no reason to doubt, that the means are fully afforded of choosing a Parliament which really represents the people, and is both fitted and likely to better their condition, and reform our institutions.

3. The third question which we proposed to examine has been answered in discussing the first two. The practical result seems to be, that too little benefit is likely to accrue from the Ballot in protecting one class of voters, the tradesmen in large towns, to counterbalance the mischiefs sure to flow from removing that check of publicity, under which all public duties ought to be performed.

That this subject, as well as every other connected with the

Reform, will receive the most deliberate and searching discussion from the new Parliament, we confidently expect: that the discussion will be calm, and therefore satisfactory to rational men, we also earnestly hope. They are the worst friends both to the new system of election, and the Ministry which framed it, who would seek to stifle, if they could, or in any way to discourage the most ample consideration of any great question, in which a considerable portion of the community has taken a lively interest. But, perhaps, it is not going too far to suggest the expediency of giving the new system a fair trial; and of rather endeavouring to extract from it all the good which it is calculated to bestow upon the country, than of occupying a whole session in trying to alter it for the better.

We have left very little space for reflections upon the composition of the new Parliament, and its probable operations. Certainly nothing was ever more signal than has been the discomfiture of the party hostile to improvement. Of the fifty-three members which our part of the island sends to Parliament, only nine or ten belong to that class; and their proportion in England and Wales is, though somewhat, yet not much greater. But the victories which have been obtained over strong combinations of local influence, in several of our counties, being the close boroughs of the Tory party, are still more remarkable than the numerical results of the whole elections. Nay, there is a symptom more gratifying still, because more clearly indicating the progress of liberal opinions, and the downfall of the narrow-minded bigotry under which the country has suffered so long. Of the 130 or 140 Tories* who have been returned, and are avowedly members of that party, still more of the 15 or 20 wavering and uncertain men who deny their being Tories, there were many who did not venture to profess the doctrines of the party—nay, many who were fain to profess moderately liberal sentiments, when they had contests, and were in danger of being flung out. To Ireland the observation may not extend; but it would be difficult to find a single address from a known Tory candidate, previous to his election, in which illiberal opinions were plainly avowed; and easy to find many in which those of an opposite complexion were, with certain reserves, but very plainly professed.†

* These numbers refer to the whole returns for both Great Britain and Ireland.

† An indication of the same kind has been exhibited by the newspapers. Some of these are manifestly in the hands of persons as hos-

The general prevalence of these principles, indeed, and their universal predominancy in whole tracts of country, of great extent, and of paramount importance whether we regard the riches, the numbers, or the intelligence of their inhabitants, has been wholly unexampled. The proportion of liberal members for Scotland we have already adverted to. The whole West Riding of Yorkshire has, we believe, returned not one of a contrary description, nor has the seven districts of the Metropolis. Many divided counties have not returned one Tory member for either division—as Devonshire, Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Hampshire, Durham, Surry, Sussex; and if we take the great agricultural and manufacturing districts, comprised in the whole of Yorkshire and Lancashire, we have a population of above two millions and a half, and sixty-two members chosen, only five of whom, at the utmost, are what has of late been called *Conservatives*, and one or two liberal Tories; making in all but seven who have any leanings against Reform. It is equally satisfactory to mark the sobriety and good sense which the people have in almost every place displayed, in refusing to exact pledges from their representatives. Those, generally speaking, who had no past services to which they could appeal, or who were not recommended by local connexion, were the persons who attempted—but attempted in vain—to outbid others by offering to pledge themselves;—that is, to enter a deliberative assembly under an obligation not to deliberate. By those who demanded pledges something more was undoubtedly meant. They certainly, in many instances, intended to keep their members in perpetual thralldom; and to dictate from clubs or other associations, what conduct should from time to time be pursued by those whom they had sent to exercise their own judgment in counselling for the good of the state. Few, excepting some of the delegates of one of the members for the sister kingdom, could

tile to the Ministry as men can be, and far more so than they can safely show themselves. Towards one or two individuals in high office, any reader of certain papers can easily descry a personal hostility, arising, probably, from intelligence withheld, or from other considerations of a mercantile cast. But it is a ‘war in disguise’ which is waged by those journals against the Administration at large, and it is covered over with the loudest professions of zeal for the cause of Reform in all its branches. The Scotch are generally reckoned a nation extremely alive to their own interests, and sometimes accused of temporizing with such views. But we really think our southern neighbours, as far as the press is concerned, perhaps we might say the hustings too, have beaten us hollow in *wariness* on this occasion.

be found willing to bear such thralldom ; and in that part of the empire a noble example has been shown of resistance to this disgraceful and insupportable dictation ; for it is hard to say whether Sir H. Parnell's retirement, or Sir F. Burdett's election is the most glorious ; both having alike vindicated the honour and asserted the independence of the people's representatives against those who would make them the slaves of a cabal. The electors in England and Scotland have shown themselves worthy of having honest and independent members, and have regarded with disdain those who sought their favour by the extremes of self-abasement.

The Parliament thus chosen has a difficult task cast upon it ; but it will be comforted by the assurance that the people will continue the same just and enlightened confidence, so long as no reason is given for doubting the honesty of its intentions. Much will, no doubt, be expected ; but the people are reasonable while they are anxious ;—will show that they can think for themselves ; will refuse to be led by knots of agitators ; and will expect—most justly expect—that their sentiments and their wishes shall be ascertained, not by a few individuals who may assume to speak in their name, either at Clubs or through the Press, but by communication with known portions of their body, or with persons of established weight among them. The Press and the Clubs have done service, never to be adequately repaid, in the cause of freedom, and above all in bringing about the late Reform. The country's gratitude is due for these, to an extent that baffles description. The time may again come when their aid shall be once more required, and their power called into action, for the salvation of the state ; but such is not the ordinary and the sound condition of affairs. When a full representative constitution has been obtained, the direct authority of the government must be wielded by the Parliament, and in the Parliament must the country's confidence be reposed. That body may want auxiliaries—may require critics—may be with advantage reminded of its own duties and the people's claims—must be content to have its conduct watched, and discussed, and scrutinized ; but its dignity must be upholden, and its privileges respected, and its authority implicitly obeyed ; for it is no longer the mock, but the real representative of all the powers and all the interests in the state, and embraces within its circle the People, as well as the Peer and the Prince.

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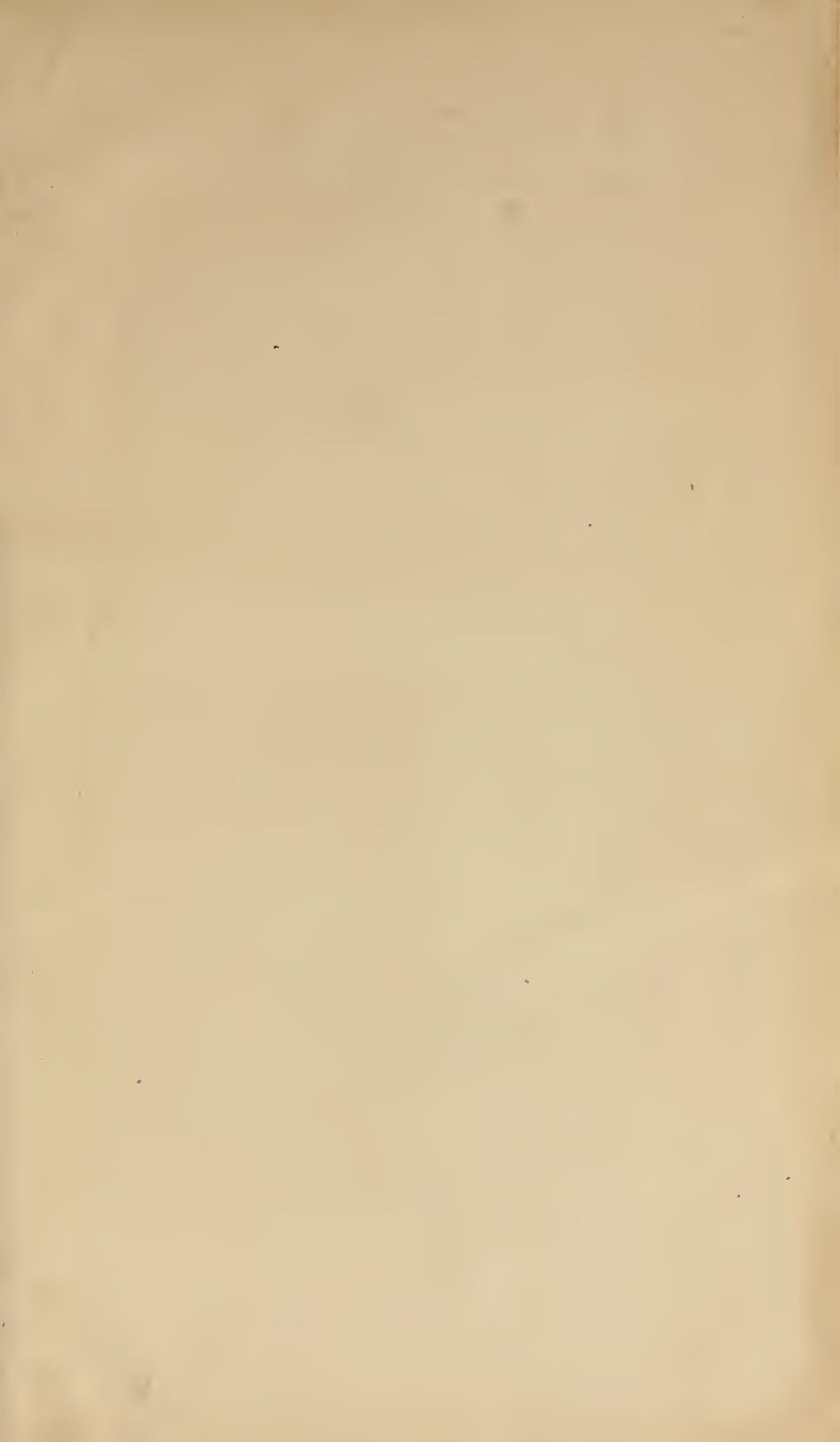
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